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COUNCILS  
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ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS  
RELATING TO  
*GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:*

EDITED, AFTER SPELMAN AND WILKINS,

BY

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V. CHURCH OF CUMBRIA OR STRATHCLYDE: A.D. 600-1188.

VI. BRITISH CHURCHES ABROAD:

(I.) BRITISH CHURCH IN ARMORICA: A.D. 387-818.

(II.) SEE OF BRETOÑA IN GALICIA: A.D. 569-830.

VII. CHURCH OF SCOTLAND DURING THE CELTIC PERIOD AND UNTIL  
DECLARED INDEPENDENT OF THE SEE OF YORK: A.D. 400-1188.



## NOTICE.

WHEN, in 1871, the Third Volume of this work was published, a hope was entertained that the Second, which had been delayed by the illness of the Editor, might soon follow it. The death of Mr. Haddan, by which the whole Church of England suffers a severe loss, has summarily disappointed that expectation. The present portion of the work, comprising the documentary history of three out of the four Churches whose records were to form the second volume, was completed by Mr. Haddan some time before his death; and a small part of the eighth, the Irish, division, had likewise passed through the Press. As some considerable delay must occur before this can be finished, it has seemed good to publish at once the first half of the volume. It has a completeness of its own, and although illustrating and illustrated by the portion that is to follow, may very well be given to the world by itself. This is now done in accordance with the expressed wishes of some of the most eminent Scottish antiquaries. The remainder of the volume will be proceeded with as soon as possible.

OXFORD,  
*March* 18, 1873.





# CONTENTS.

A. D.		PAGE
600—1188.	V. CHURCH OF CUMBRIA OR STRATHCLYDE . . . . .	I
600—908.	<i>Period the First. Until the Kingdom of Strathclyde was united to that of Scotland</i> . . . . .	3
Before 600.	Foundation of the See of Glasgow by S. Kentegern . . . . .	4
666 x 669.	Lands granted to Wilfrid in Lancashire . . . . .	5
680.	Council of Rome. Wilfrid answers there for the faith of Britons, etc. . . . .	5
685.	English Cumbria taken from Glasgow and united (in part) to Lindisfarne . . . . .	6
697.	Moling Abbat of Luachra . . . . .	6
704.	Strathclyde Britons apparently adopt the Roman Easter . . . . .	6
721.	A Bishop of Strathclyde (?) at a Roman Council . . . . .	7
730—803.	Anglian See of Whitherne or Candida Casa . . . . .	7
782 x 804.	Letter of Alcuin to the Monks of Whitherne . . . . .	8
854.	Eardulf of Lindisfarne still claims Carlisle as within his diocese . . . . .	8
875 x 883.	Cumberland, and possibly Whitherne, still seemingly regarded as Anglian . . . . .	9
908—1188.	<i>Period the Second. Until the Church of Cumbria was united, partly to that of England, partly to that of Scotland</i> . . . . .	10
1053 x 1060.	Bishops of Glasgow consecrated by Kinsi Archbishop of York . . . . .	11
1072.	Council of Windsor. Compact between Archbishops Lanfranc and Thomas . . . . .	12
1089.	Nunnery of Armethwaite founded by William Rufus . . . . .	12
1100 x 1107.	English Cumbria (together with Hexhamshire) and Teviotdale taken from Durham; the former assigned to York, the latter to Glasgow . . . . .	12
1101.	Pope Paschal II. to the Suffragans of York (referred to) . . . . .	13
1101 x 1112.	Benedictine Cell at Wetherall founded . . . . .	13
1102.	A British Bishop of (apparently) Strathclyde . . . . .	13
1102.	Augustinian Canons established at Carlisle by Henry I. . . . .	13
1109 x 1114.	A Bishop of Glasgow consecrated by Thomas II. of York . . . . .	14
1109 x 1114.	Claim of York over Glasgow, and of Durham over Teviotdale, still maintained . . . . .	15
1113.	Benedictine Abbey of Selkirk, afterwards (1128) of Kelso, founded . . . . .	15
1117 (prob.).	Consecration of John to the See of Glasgow by Pope Paschal II. . . . .	16
1118.	Augustinian Monastery of Jedburgh founded . . . . .	16
1118.	Pope Gelasius II. to John Bishop of Glasgow (not preserved) . . . . .	16
1119.	Ralph of Canterbury to Pope Calixtus II. (referred to) . . . . .	16

A. D.		PAGE
1119.	Pope Calixtus II. to the Scottish Bishops (referred to)	17
1120 or 1121.	Inquisition into the lands of the See of Glasgow under David Prince of Cumbria	17
After 1120.	Priory of S. Bees refounded	20
1122.	Pope Calixtus II. to John Bishop of Glasgow	20
1122, 1123.	John of Glasgow suspended by Thurstin Archbishop of York, etc.	21
1122.	Pope Calixtus II. to Thurstin Archbishop of York	21
1122.	Pope Calixtus II. to John Bishop of Glasgow	22
After 1124.	King David's grant of the tithe of his chan to Glasgow Bishopric	22
1125.	Council of Roxburgh under Cardinal John of Crema (referred to)	23
1125.	Thurstin's claim over Glasgow renewed at Rome before Honorius II.	23
1125 or 1126.	Pope Honorius II. to Gilla-Aldan Bishop Elect of Candida Casa	24
1125 or 1126.	Pope Honorius II. to John Bishop of Glasgow	24
1125 x 1160.	Abbeys of Souleseat, Holywood, etc., founded in Galloway	25
1126 x 1140.	Revival of the See of Candida Casa as a Suffragan See to York.	25
	Profession of Gilla-Aldan Bishop of Candida Casa to Archbishop Thurstin	25
1126.	Cause between the Scottish Bishops and Thurstin deferred	26
1131.	Pope Innocent II. to John Bishop of Glasgow	26
1133.	First Bishop of Carlisle, and in subjection to York	26
1134.	Cistercian Abbey of Calder founded	27
1134 or 1135.	Pope Innocent II. to Thurstin Archbishop of York	28
1136.	Refoundation of Melrose, by King David	28
1136.	Dedication of Glasgow Cathedral	28
1136.	Pope Innocent II. to William Archbishop of Canterbury	29
1136.	Pope Innocent II. to Thurstin Archbishop of York	29
1136.	Pope Innocent II. to Stephen King of England	30
1138.	Council at Carlisle under the Legate Alberic	31
1140—1144.	Abbeys of Kilwinning and Lismahago, and the Maison Dieu at Roxburgh, founded	32
1142.	Foundation of the Abbey of Dundrennan	32
1147.	Herbert Bishop of Glasgow consecrated by the Pope at Auxerre	33
1147 x 1164.	Constitutions of Bishop Herbert for Glasgow Cathedral after the custom of Sarum	33
1150.	Foundation of the Abbeys of Holmcultram and Dryburgh	33
1154.	Christian of Whitheme consecrated under the authority of the Archbishop of York	33
1155.	Bull of Pope Adrian IV. to the Scottish Bishops (referred to)	34
1156—1219.	See of Carlisle vacant	34
1160.	Cluniac Abbey of Paisley founded	34
1164.	Attempted Legatine Scottish Council at Norham Castle	34
1164.	Ingelram Bishop of Glasgow consecrated by the Pope at Sens	35
1164, 1165.	Lincluden and Canoby founded	36
1165.	Pope Alexander III. to the Canons of Glasgow	37
1169.	Augustinian Abbey of Lanercost founded	37
1170.	Bull of Alexander III. declaring Glasgow an independent See (referred to)	37
1170 (?).	Pope Alexander to the Abbats, etc., patrons of benefices in the diocese of Glasgow	38
1173.	Privilege of Pope Alexander III. for the See of Glasgow (referred to)	38



# CONTENTS.

xiii

A. D.		PAGE
1174.	Election of Bishop Jocelyn to the See of Glasgow . . . . .	38
1174.	Treaty of Falaise (referred to) . . . . .	39
1174, 1175.	Confirmation and Consecration (by the Papal Legate at Clairvaux) of Jocelyn Bishop of Glasgow . . . . .	39
1175.	Privilege of Pope Alexander III. to Bishop Jocelyn of Glasgow . . . . .	40
1175.	Bull of Alexander III. enjoining obedience to Bishop Jocelyn . . . . .	40
1175.	Privilege of Alexander III. declaring Glasgow immediately dependent upon the Pope . . . . .	41
1175.	Bulls of Alexander III. to the Scottish Bishops (referred to) . . . . .	43
1175.	Conference at York (referred to) . . . . .	44
1176.	Council of Northampton (referred to) . . . . .	44
1177.	Christian of Whitherne suspended by Cardinal Vivian for refusing to attend the Council of Edinburgh . . . . .	44
1179.	Bull of Alexander III. repeating the privilege granted to the See of Glasgow . . . . .	45
1181.	Completion of Glasgow Cathedral . . . . .	47
1182.	Bull of Lucius III. repeating the privilege granted to the See of Glas- gow (referred to) . . . . .	47
1182 x 1185.	Bull of Lucius III. to Glasgow respecting patronage . . . . .	47
1186.	Attempt to renew the See of Carlisle after thirty years' vacancy . . . . .	47
1186 or 1187.	Privilege of Urban III. to the Bishops of Glasgow . . . . .	48
1186 or 1187.	Bull of Urban III. repeating the privilege granted to the See of Glas- gow (referred to) . . . . .	49
1186 or 1187.	Privilege of Urban III. to the Bishops of Glasgow . . . . .	49
1188.	Bull of Clement III. declaring the Church of Scotland (including Glasgow but omitting Galloway) to be independent (referred to) . . . . .	50
	Appendix A. Sepulchral Christian Inscribed Stones, and other Monuments, in Scottish and English Cumbria, A.D. 450-900 . . . . .	51
	B. Bishopric of Candida Casa or Whitherne, as sub- ject ecclesiastically to York, A.D. 1188-1472 . . . . .	56
	C. Bishop of Glasgow in subjection to York, A.D. 1318-1323 . . . . .	68
	VI. BRITISH CHURCHES ABROAD. i. BRITISH CHURCH IN ARMORICA UNTIL THE SUPPRESSION OF BRITISH CUSTOMS THERE, A.D. 387-818.	
	ii. BRITISH SEE AT BRETOÑA IN GALICIA, A.D. 569-830 . . . . .	69
387-818.	i. <i>British Church in Armorica</i> . . . . .	71
461.	First Bréton Bishop recorded . . . . .	72
465.	Council of Vannes to ordain S. Padarn . . . . .	73
475 x 480.	Faustus the Bréton, Abbat of Lerins, Bishop of Riez . . . . .	73
511.	Bréton Bishop at the first Council of Orleans . . . . .	74
512.	See of Léon erected by King Childebert . . . . .	74
520 (?).	Foundation of Gildas' Abbey of Ruys . . . . .	74
541.	Easter Question at the fourth Council of Orleans . . . . .	75
553 x 561.	Bréton Synod excommunicates the Bishop of Vannes . . . . .	75
555 or 557.	Welsh or Bréton Bishops at Paris . . . . .	75
561, 566.	Immigration of Britons into Brittany under Maclou, Maglorius, etc. . . . .	76
567.	Council of Tours asserts the supremacy of Tours over Brittany . . . . .	77

A. D.		PAGE
577, 590.	Differences of Easter Cycle . . . . .	77
578 x 586.	Intended pilgrimage of S. Winoch to Jerusalem . . . . .	78
578 x 590.	Saxons on the border of Brittany adopt Bréton customs . . . . .	78
600.	British Monastery of S. Méen, in Brittany, founded . . . . .	78
786.	Brétons submit to Charlemagne at the Council of Worms . . . . .	79
817.	Letters Patent of Louis le Débonnaire for the Abbey of Landevenech . . . . .	79
818.	Council of Vannes under Louis le Débonnaire . . . . .	80
	Appendix A. Liturgy of (probably) the Tenth Century, belonging to Brittany . . . . .	81
	B. Legendary Lives of Bréton Saints, A.D. 450-800 . . . . .	86
	C. Supremacy of the See of Tours over Brittany, and especially as against the Archbishopric of Dol . . . . .	91
	D. Inscribed and other Christian Monuments of early Brittany . . . . .	97
569-830.	ii. <i>See of Bretoña in Galicia apparently British</i> . . . . .	99
	<i>Brittenburg, Bretangen, etc.</i> . . . . .	101
400-1188.	VII. THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND DURING THE CELTIC PERIOD, AND UNTIL FORMALLY DECLARED INDEPENDENT OF THE SEE OF YORK . . . . .	103
400-565.	<i>Period the First. Before S. Columba</i> . . . . .	*105
565-849.	<i>Period the Second. During the Supremacy of the Presbyter-Abbats of Hy</i> . . . . .	106
565.	Conversion of the Northern Picts by the preaching of S. Columba . . . . .	106
563 x 671.	Christian Settlements, mostly in Western Scotland . . . . .	107
574.	"Ordination" of Aidan King of Dalriada by S. Columba . . . . .	108
575.	Council of Drumceat in Ireland (referred to) . . . . .	108
597.	Death of S. Columba . . . . .	108
604 x 610.	Letter of Laurentius Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishops and Abbats, "per universam Scottiam" (referred to) . . . . .	108
634.	Letter of Cummianus to Segienus Abbat of Hy respecting Easter (referred to) . . . . .	108
635.	Mission of Bishop Aidan to Northumbria from Hy . . . . .	108
635.	Columbite Church in Rathlin . . . . .	109
680.	Council of Rome, where Wilfrid answers for the faith of Scots and Picts, etc. (referred to) . . . . .	109
681-685.	Episcopate of Trumwini over Picts, at Abercorn (referred to) . . . . .	109
686.	Adamnan's visit to Aldfrid of Northumbria, to redeem Irish prisoners . . . . .	109
692.	Irish Columbite Monasteries subject to Hy . . . . .	109
697.	"Cain Adhamnani," and Council of Birr (?) . . . . .	110
704.	Adamnan fails to convert Hy to the Roman Easter and Tonsure . . . . .	110
679 x 704.	Canones Adamnani . . . . .	111
704.	Death of Adamnan . . . . .	114
710 (?).	Letter of Ceolfrid to Nectan Mac Derili King of the Picts (referred to) . . . . .	114
712.	A Bishop at Hy . . . . .	114
716-718.	The Monks of Hy accept the Roman Easter, etc., but lose for a time the supremacy over the Pictish Church, which passes (perhaps) to Abernethy . . . . .	114
721.	A Pictish Bishop of "Scotia" at a Council of Rome . . . . .	116
723-791.	Royal Monks, Dalriad, Pictish, Irish, at Hy . . . . .	116

# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
727—778.	Supremacy of Hy over Irish Columbite Monasteries . . . . . 116
736 × 747.	Kilrimont or S. Andrew's founded by Angus King of the Picts . . . . . 117
782.	Death of an "Æconomus" of Hy . . . . . 117
813, 816.	Canons of Chalons, and of Cealchyth, against "Scoti" (referred to) . . . . . 117
794—849.	Hy ravaged by Northmen. Columbite Irish supremacy passes to Kells . . . . . 118
842.	Grant of Lochleven by King Brude to the Keledei (earliest Scottish record of them) . . . . . 118
849.	Primacy of Pictish Kingdom, and S. Columba's relics, transferred to Dunkeld by Kenneth Mac Alpin . . . . . 118
Appendix A. Rule of S. Columba . . . . . 119	
	B. Laws attributed to Kenneth Mac Alpin (spurious) . . . . . 122
	C. Inscribed and other Christian Monuments in the Pictish and Scottish Kingdoms . . . . . 125
	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; margin-right: 10px;">{</div> <div> <p>A. Monuments of Semi-Roman date and character, A. D. 400-600 (?) . . . . . 125</p> <p>B. Monuments in the Pictish Kingdom, A. D. 700-900 (?) . . . . . 126</p> <p>C. Monuments among the Scots of Dal- riada, A. D. 700-1000 (?) . . . . . 132</p> <p>D. Monuments in Laodonia or Saxonia . . . . . 134</p> </div> </div>
	D. Abbats of Hy during the Columbite Primacy, A. D. 563-849 . . . . . 135
	E. Lives of Saints of (Dalriad) Scottish or Pictish Churches, prior to A. D. 850 . . . . . 139
<i>Period the Third. From the Primacy of Dunkeld, A. D. 849-906 (?), and that of S. Andrew's from the latter year, to the Consecration of Turgot to S. Andrew's, A. D. 1109 . . . . . 142</i>	
854.	Martyrdom (so called) of Indrecht Abbat of Hy . . . . . 142
860 × 863.	Council (so called) of Forteviot under Donald King of Pictavia . . . . . 143
865, 873.	Primates, Abbats of Dunkeld, and Bishops . . . . . 143
878.	Northmen at Hy . . . . . 143
878 × 896.	King Cyric's (or Grig's) gift of "liberty to the Scottish Church" . . . . . 143
906.	Council of Scone, under Constantine King, and Cellach Bishop, of Alban . . . . . 144
909 (?).	S. Columba still the Patron Saint of Alban . . . . . 145
927—938.	Coarbs of S. Columba, and Tanist Abbat of Hy . . . . . 146
929.	"Procurator Legis Adamnani" ( <i>Maor Cana Adamnain</i> ) . . . . . 146
946.	King Constantine becomes Abbat of the Keledei of S. Andrew's . . . . . 147
Before 955.	The Keledei of Lochleven make over their island to the Bishop of S. Andrew's . . . . . 147
963.	Death of Fothadh I., "Bishop of the Islands of Alba" (proper styles of the chief Scottish Bishop: <i>vide</i> note) . . . . . 148
965.	A lay (Keledean) Abbat at Dunkeld . . . . . 148
966—1011.	Bishops, Herenach, and Abbats of Hy, and Coarbs of S. Columba . . . . . 148
967 × 971.	Pilgrimage of Leot and Sluagadach to Rome . . . . . 149
970.	Cellach II. succeeds Maelbrigid I. as Bishop of Alba . . . . . 149

A. D.		PAGE
971 x 995.	Foundation of Brechin (Keledean) by Kenneth Mac Malcolm . . .	149
977.	Bishop Beornhelm (a "Scott") at the Council of Calne . . .	149
980.	King of Athcliath (Dublin) at Hy (the first Christian Danish Chief recorded) . . . . .	150
1003 x 1033.	Grant of Malcolm II. to the Monastery of Deer . . . . .	150
1018.	Church gifts of Malcolm II. (spurious laws and council of Perth) . .	150
1026.	Lord of the Cinel Conaill at Hy . . . . .	151
1028 x 1055.	Grant of Malduin Bishop of Alban (or S. Andrew's) to the Keledei of Lochleven . . . . .	151
1034.	<i>Ferlegin</i> of Kells, and <i>Culebadh</i> of S. Columba . . . . .	151
1039 x 1034.	Grant by King Macbeth and Queen Gruoch to the Keledei of Lochleven . . . . .	151
1045.	Lay (Keledean) Abbat of Dunkeld . . . . .	152
1050.	Macbeth at Rome . . . . .	152
1055 (?).	A (Northman) Bishop of the Orkneys sent by Adalbert Archbishop of Bremen . . . . .	153
1055.	Death of Malduin Bishop of Alban . . . . .	153
1055 x 1059.	Grant by Tuathal Bishop of S. Andrew's to the Keledei of Lochleven	153
1059 x 1093.	Grant by Fothadh II. Bishop of S. Andrew's to the Keledei of Lochleven . . . . .	153
1063.	Morthlach erected by Malcolm Canmore into an Episcopal Monastery	153
1065.	Death of Dubhtach, chief <i>Anmchara</i> of Ireland and Alba . . . .	154
1070.	Foundation of Dunfermlin, upon Queen Margaret's marriage . . .	154
1070 x 1089.	Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury to Margaret Queen of the Scots .	155
1070 x 1089.	Councils under Malcolm III. and Queen Margaret, to reform the Scottish Church . . . . .	156
1070 x 1093.	Hy restored by Queen Margaret . . . . .	159
1070 x 1093.	Hermits in Scotland in the time of Queen Margaret . . . . .	159
1072.	Compact between Lanfranc and Archbishop Thomas I. of York, at the Council of Windsor, assigning to York the primacy over Scotland (extract) . . . . .	159
1072 x 1093.	Fothadh II. Bishop of the Scots said to have professed subjection to the See of York . . . . .	160
1073.	Pope Gregory VII. to Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury (extract) .	160
1073 x 1100.	Melrose and Jedburgh still subject to Durham ecclesiastically, although politically subject to Malcolm III. of Scotland . . . .	161
1073.	Ralph Bishop of the Orkneys consecrated by the Archbishop of York (Archbishop Thomas to Lanfranc, Lanfranc to Bishops of Worcester and Chester, etc.) . . . . .	162
1079 (?).	Bishops of Man and the Isles (Hrölfr, William, Wymund) . . . .	164
1093.	Malcolm III. of Scotland at the foundation of the new Cathedral of Durham . . . . .	164
1093.	Death of Fothadh II. (the last Celtic "Archbishop of Alban"). . .	165
1094.	Grant of Duncan King of Scotia to Durham . . . . .	165
1097 or 1098.	Foundation of Coldingham by Edgar King of the Scots . . . . .	165
1097.	Hy occupied by Magnus King of Norway . . . . .	166
1101.	Pope Paschal II. to the Bishops of Scotland, Suffragans of York . .	167
1101 x 1108.	Roger Bishop of the Orkneys consecrated at York. (Line of Northman Bishops from the same date: <i>vide</i> note) . . . . .	167
1102 (?).	Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury to Haco Earl of the Orkneys . .	167

# CONTENTS.

A. D.		xvii PAGE
1104.	Opening of S. Cuthbert's Tomb in the presence of Alexander, afterwards King of Scotland . . . . .	168
1107.	Edgar King of Scotland dies at Dunedin . . . . .	169
1107.	Alexander King of the Scots to Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury (not preserved) . . . . .	169
1107.	Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury to Alexander King of the Scots . . . . .	169
1107 & 1124.	Foundation and endowment of a parish church at Edenham (in Roxburghshire) . . . . .	170
1107.	Turgot elected	
1109.	„ consecrated	
	} to the See of S. Andrew's . . . . .	170
1109.	Death of a chief <i>Anmchara</i> of the community of Columcille . . . . .	172
	Appendix A. Chief Bishops of Alban or of the Scots, A. D.	
	(before) 896-1109 . . . . .	173
	B. Keledei (vulgo "Culdees") in Scotland, c. A. D.	
	800—c. A. D. 1150 . . . . .	175
	(Henry of Silgrave's list of Lothian and Scottish Religious Houses, c. A. D. 1272) . . . . .	181
	C. Lives of Scottish Saints, A. D. 850-1150 . . . . .	183
	D. Sepulchral Christian Inscriptions in the Isle of Man . . . . .	185
1109—1188.	<i>Period the Fourth. York claim of Supremacy over the Scottish Church; and Formation of the Scottish Dioceses . . . . .</i>	188
1109—1115.	Failure, retirement, and death, of Turgot, the first English Bishop of S. Andrew's . . . . .	189
1109 & 1114.	Wymund Bishop of Man and the Isles consecrated by the Archbishop of York . . . . .	189
1109 & 1114.	Ralph II. Bishop of the Orkneys consecrated by the Archbishop of York . . . . .	190
Before 1115.	Foundation of the Sees of Moray and Dunkeld . . . . .	190
1115.	Foundation of Augustinian Canons at Scone by Alexander I. and Queen Sibilla . . . . .	190
1115.	Alexander I. King of the Scots to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury . . . . .	191
1119.	Pope Calixtus II. to the Scottish Bishops, Suffragans of York . . . . .	192
1119.	Pope Calixtus II. to the Bishops of Durham, the Orkneys, Glasgow, and Scotland, Suffragans of York . . . . .	193
1119.	Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury to Pope Calixtus II. (extracts) . . . . .	193
1119 & 1124.	Pope Calixtus II. to Eistein and Sigurd, Kings of Norway . . . . .	196
1120.	Alexander King of the Scots to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury . . . . .	196
1120.	Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury and the Convent of Canterbury to King Henry I. . . . .	197
1120.	King Henry I. to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury . . . . .	198
1120.	Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury to Alexander King of the Scots . . . . .	198
1120.	Eadmer elected to S. Andrew's	
1121.	„ returns to Canterbury	
	} . . . . .	199
1120.	Henry I. to Ralph of Canterbury, and to Alexander King of the Scots (not preserved) . . . . .	199
1120.	Alexander King of the Scots to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury . . . . .	200
1120.	Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury to Alexander King of the Scots . . . . .	201



A. D.		PAGE
1120.	Nicolas Prior of Worcester to Eadmer, against the primacy of York over Scotland . . . . .	202
1122.	Pope Calixtus II. to Alexander King of the Scots . . . . .	205
1122.	Pope Calixtus II. to the Bishops of Scotland, Suffragans of York . . . . .	205
1122.	Eadmer to Alexander King of the Scots . . . . .	206
1122.	Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury to Alexander King of the Scots . . . . .	208
1123.	Foundation of Augustinians at Inchcolm by Alexander King of the Scots . . . . .	209
1124, January (after 13th).	Election of Robert Prior of Scone to the See of S. Andrew's . . . . .	209
1124.	Foundation of Urquhart by David King of the Scots . . . . .	209
1124 x 1129.	Judgment, under arbitration of the Earl of Fife, in favour of Keledei of Lochleven . . . . .	209
1125.	See of Aberdeen founded by David King of the Scots . . . . .	210
1125.	Legatine Council of Roxburgh: Pope Honorius II. to David King of the Scots . . . . .	211
1125, Dec. 9.	Pope Honorius II. to Sigurd King of Norway . . . . .	212
1125, Christmas.	Thurstin's claim over the Scottish Bishops, prosecuted at the Court of Rome . . . . .	212
1126, Christmas.	Thurstin's claim again renewed, and deferred, at Rome . . . . .	213
1127, July 17.	Charter of Robert Bishop (elect) of S. Andrew's to the Priory of Coldingham . . . . .	213
1128.	Consecration of Robert Bishop of S. Andrew's at York, rights on both sides reserved . . . . .	214
1128.	David King of the Scots on the subject of the same consecration . . . . .	215
1128.	Charter of Thurstin Archbishop of York on the same subject . . . . .	215
1128.	Other authorities on the same subject . . . . .	216
1128 x 1153.	Foundation of the See of Brechin . . . . .	216
1129 x 1153.	Charter of David King of the Scots to the Abbey of Deer . . . . .	216
Before 1130.	Foundation of the Sees of Ross and of Caithness . . . . .	217
1131, Nov. 29.	Pope Innocent II. to the Bishops of Scotland . . . . .	217
1131 or 1132.	Grant to the Abbey of Deer (dioc. Aberdeen), with gift of dues to the Bishop of Dunkeld . . . . .	217
1131 x 1134.	Olave King of the Isles to Thurstin Archbishop of York . . . . .	218
1131 x 1134.	Olave King of the Isles to the Dean and Chapter of York . . . . .	219
1134.	Dedication of Church of S. James at Roxburgh . . . . .	220
1134.	Foundation of Rushin Abbey in the Isle of Man . . . . .	220
1136.	Charter of King David to Nectan Bishop of Aberdeen (questionable) . . . . .	220
1138.	Legatine Council of Carlisle . . . . .	221
1140.	Foundation of Cistercian Abbey of Newbottle . . . . .	221
Before 1147.	Foundation of Augustinians at Cambuskenneth . . . . .	221
1144.	Charter of Robert Bishop of S. Andrew's, establishing Augustinian Canons there . . . . .	221
1144.	Bull of Pope Lucius II., confirming Bishop Robert's establishment of Canons . . . . .	223
c. 1144.	Charter of David King of the Scots, suppressing the Keledei of S. Andrew's . . . . .	224
1147, Aug. 30.	Bull of Eugenius III., transferring the right of electing to the See of S. Andrew's from Keledei to Canons . . . . .	225
1144 x 1150.	Suppression of the Keledei of Lochleven by King David . . . . .	227



# CONTENTS.

xix

PAGE

A. D.

1144—1150.	Gift of the Keledean Monastery of Lochleven by Bishop Robert to the Canons of S. Andrew's . . . . .	227
1150.	Foundation of the Abbey of Kinloss . . . . .	228
1151, 1154.	Consecration of Bishops of Man and the Isles at York . . . . .	228
Before 1153.	David King of the Scots to Ronald Earl of the Orkneys . . . . .	229
1153 × 1165.	Grant of Innerlethan Church to Kelso by Malcolm King of the Scots, with right of Sanctuary . . . . .	229
1154, Nov. 28.	Bull of Anastasius IV., establishing Trondhjem as a Metropolitan See, with Nordreys and Sudreys among others as Suffragans . . . . .	229
—	Other documents on the same subject . . . . .	230
Before 1155.	Bishopric of Dunblane founded . . . . .	231
1154 or 1155.	Foundation of Nunneries of Eccles and Manuel . . . . .	231
1155.	Bull of Adrian IV. to the Bishops of Scotland . . . . .	231
1157, Aug. 10.	Bull of Adrian IV. to Edward Bishop of Aberdeen . . . . .	232
1159, Nov. 27.	Pope Alexander III. to the Chapter of S. Andrew's . . . . .	233
1160, Nov. 13.	Ernaldus consecrated to the See of S. Andrew's, at S. Andrew's, by the Bishop of Moray as Papal Legate . . . . .	234
1164.	Unsuccessful attempt to reunite Hy to the Irish Church . . . . .	235
1164.	Foundation of the Abbey of Cupar . . . . .	236
1164.	Attempted Legatine Scottish Council at Norham Castle under Roger of York . . . . .	236
1165, March 28.	Richard consecrated to the See of S. Andrew's, at S. Andrew's, by the Scottish Bishops . . . . .	236
1165.	Pope Alexander III. to the Abbat of Kelso, granting him a mitre . . . . .	236
1165 × 1172.	Precept of King William I. for recovering fugitive serfs of Abbats of Scone . . . . .	237
1174, Dec. 8.	Treaty of Falaise (as confirmed at York, A.D. 1175, Aug. 17) . . . . .	237
1176, Jan. 25, etc.	Council of Northampton, so far as relates to Scotland . . . . .	241
1176, May 13.	Pope Alexander III. to the Archbishop and Dean and Chapter of York . . . . .	244
1176, July 30.	Pope Alexander III. to the Bishops of Scotland . . . . .	245
1176, July—1177, January.	Cardinal Vivian legate to Scotland, Man, and Ireland . . . . .	246
1177, Aug. 1.	Legatine Council of Edinburgh under Cardinal Vivian . . . . .	247
1178 × 1181.	Pope Alexander III. to the Bishops of Scotland respecting Cardinal Vivian . . . . .	248
1178.	Foundation of the Abbey of Arbroath . . . . .	248
1178.	Legate sent to summon Scottish Bishops to the third Lateran Council . . . . .	249
Before 1179.	Clergy not to be ordained on other than the Ember Days . . . . .	249
1179, March.	A Scottish Bishop at the Lateran Council . . . . .	250
Before 1181.	Grant by Harald Earl of Orkney of Peter-pence from the county of Caithness . . . . .	250
1179 or 1178—1188.	Disputed election to the See of S. Andrew's . . . . .	251—272
1179 or 1178.	I. John elected to S. Andrew's by the Chapter, Hugh by King-William . . . . .	251
1181 (?).	II. Pope Alexander III. to the Bishops, etc. of Scotland, and to the Prior and Canons of S. Andrew's . . . . .	253
1181 (?).	III. Pope Alexander III. to the Prelates of Scotland . . . . .	254
1181 (?).	IV. Roger of York, Papal legate, to excommunicate the King, and interdict the realm, of Scotland . . . . .	254
1181 (?).	V. Pope Alexander III. to William King of the Scots . . . . .	255
1181.	VI. Scotland interdicted, and William excommunicated . . . . .	256

	A. D.		PAGE
1181.		VII. Attempted compromise between King William and Bishop John of S. Andrew's . . . . .	257
1182.		VIII. William absolved by order of Pope Lucius III. . . . .	257
	(March 7.	Velletri. Pope Lucius III. to the Bishops of Scotland) . . . . .	258
1182.		IX. Second attempt and failure to effect a compromise . . . . .	259
1182.		X. Rolland elect of Dol and Selvanus Abbat of Rievaulx to Pope Lucius III. . . . .	259
1183, before June.		XI. Settlement (not accepted) of the dispute by Pope Lucius III. . . . .	261
1186, July.		XII. Renewal of the Controversy before Pope Urban III. . . . .	261
	(July 31.	Verona. Pope Urban III. to William King of the Scots) . . . . .	262
1186, July 31.		XIII. Verona. Pope Urban III. to Jocelin Bishop of Glasgow and to the Abbats of Melrose, Newbottle, and Dumfermlin . . . . .	263
1186.		XIV. Bishop Hugh suspended and excommunicated . . . . .	265
1188.		XV. Pope Clement III. decides in favour of Bishop John . . . . .	265
	(Jan. 16.	Pisa. Pope Clement III. to Jocelin of Glasgow, Matthew of Aberdeen, and others) . . . . .	266
1188, Jan. 16.		XVI. Pisa. Pope Clement III. to William King of the Scots . . . . .	267
1188, Jan. 16.		XVII. Pisa. Pope Clement III. to Henry II. King of the English . . . . .	268
1188, Jan. 16.		XVIII. Pisa. Pope Clement III. to the Clergy of S. Andrew's . . . . .	269
1188, Jan. 16.		XIX. Pisa. Pope Clement III. to Jocelin of Glasgow, Matthew of Aberdeen, Richard of Moray, and others . . . . .	269
1188.		XX. Final settlement of the dispute by Hugh's death. John translated to Dunkeld; Roger made Bishop of S. Andrew's . . . . .	271
1187.		Godred King of Man buried in Hy . . . . .	272
1188.		The Scots refuse to pay the Saladin tithe . . . . .	272
1188, March 13.		Lateran. Clement III. to William King of the Scots, declaring the Scottish Church dependent immediately upon the Pope . . . . .	273
		Appendix A. Visitation of the Sick (fragment) from Book of Deer . . . . .	275
		B. Verses of Simeon of Hy, A. D. 1107 x 1114 . . . . .	276
		C. Dunkeld Keledan Litany . . . . .	278

# ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

## VOLS. I, II.

### VOL. I.

p. 10. Add,—

A.D. 380. *Priscillianist Bishops banished to the Scilly Isles.*

SULP. SEVER., *Hist. Sac.*, II. 51. [c. A.D. 400.]—Instantius quem superius ab Episcopis damnatum diximus, in Sylinam insulam, quæ ultra Britannias sita est, deportatus. Itum deinde in reliquos sequentibus iudiciis, damnatique Asarinus et Aurelius diaconus gladio. Tiberianus adeptis bonis in Sylinam insulam datus. (*Galland.*, VIII. 391.)

p. 12. Add,—

Before A.D. 396. *Victricius Bishop of Rouen visits the Church in Britain at the request of the North Italian Bishops*<sup>a</sup>.

VICTRICIUS ROTOMAGENSIS, *Lib. de Laude Sanctorum*, c. 1. [c. A.D. 396.]—Meæ quidem, sancti venerandique martyres, quantum reor, apud vos veniabilis excusatio tarditatis est. Nam quod ad Britannias profectus sum, quod ibi moratus sum, vestrorum fecit excusatio [? exsecutio] præceptorum. Pacis me faciendæ [adjutorem] consacerdotes mei salutare Antistites evocarunt. Hoc negare non poteram, qui vobis militabam. Non est deesse obsequiis, obedire præceptis. Merito virtutis ubique vos esse novi: nullo enim terrarum spatio cælestis claritudo fraudatur. Ignoscere ergo debetis, quod in quadragesimo tantum lapide poene tardus occurri. Vobis intra Britannias obsequebar; et Oceani circumfluo separatus, vestro tamen detinebar officio. Dilatio ista desiderium meum læsit, non prætermisit obsequium. Ego tamen totum vestræ tribuo majestati, quia vos estis corpus Christi, et Spiritus Divinus est Qui habitat in vobis: vestrum est, quod abfui, vestrum est quod redivi. Superest ergo ut excusationis meæ ratio digeratur. Pacis Domini estis auctores, cuius me sententiæ velut interpretem delegistis. Hoc ego Domini Jesu et vestrum salutare præceptum intra Britannias exercui, si non ut debui, tamen ut potui. Sapientibus amorem pacis infudi, docilibus legi, nescientibus inculcavi, ingessi nolentibus; secundum Apostolum, "instans opportune, importune;" atque in eorum animas doctrina et palpatione perveni. Ubi me tamen locus et fragilitas humana tentavit, vestri spiritus præsidium flagitavi. Feci quod in maxima vi tempestatis faciunt illi qui navigant: non gubernatoris peritiam, sed misericordiam supernæ Majestatis implorant. Fluctus enim consternere, et ventis modum adhibere, Jesus Qui in vobis est valet; ars terrena non novit. (*Galland.*, VIII. 228.)

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<sup>a</sup> Possibly a mission to quell Arianism, as that of Germanus to quell Pelagianism.

p. 39. Add to "2. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS," as follows:—

v. In A.D. 1869 a sarcophagus was found in excavating the Green on the north side of *Westminster Abbey*, with a cross cut upon the entire length of its upper lid, and on the side, in letters of the 3rd or beginning of 4th century,

MEMORIAE · VALER · AMAN  
DINI · VALERI · SVPERVEN  
TOR · ET · MARCELLVS PATRI FECER.

But the nature of the skeleton found within, and the form of the cross, &c., make it most probable, that about the 11th or 12th century the old Roman sarcophagus had been made use of for the burial of some one else, and that the cross belongs to this later date. See *Arch. Journ.*, June 1870, pp. 103–128; and later numbers.

p. 44. Add,—

A.D. 453<sup>a</sup>. ANN. CAMB.—IX. Annus. Pasca commutatur super diem Dominicum cum Papa Leone Episcopo Romæ. [*M. H. B.* 830.]

p. 44, line 1. For "A.D. 450–547," read "A.D. 453–547."

pp. 127 sq. These *Canones Wallici* are also in (the burned and restored MS.) Otho E. XIII. fol. 156a–157b, in part, and in a different order, and with a text agreeing (so far as it goes) with that of MS. Bigot., but mixed up with canons from other sources, as e.g. Adamnan, and entitled (if the title belongs to the whole series) SINODUS ROMANA, INCIPIUNT PAUCA COLUMELLI: which seems to connect them with Ireland. But the MS. is not only injured by burning to a very great extent, but has been completely misarranged in the process of restoration. The bulk of it consists of the *Cod. Can. Hib.* so often referred to, but put together in utter disorder, and with Adamnan's canons and others (besides a tract of a totally different kind) mixed up haphazard with it.

p. 153. 2. BAPTISM.—Dr. Rock (*Arch. Journ.* for 1865) argues from the Stowe Missal, that the real difference between the Roman and the British Baptismal rites was, that the latter added at the end of the Baptism a washing of the feet of the newly baptized; and perhaps also, that they administered the Unction in a slightly different way.

p. 161, note <sup>a</sup>, § 4. S. Indracht is probably intended for Indrecht Abbot of Hy, murdered on his way to Rome by Saxons: see vol. II. pp. 142, 143, A.D. 854.

p. 167. Add at end of page,—“For the Turpilian stone near *Crickhowel*, and its Oghams, see *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., April 1871, pp. 158 sq.: where they are deciphered into NOCAT IMAQ IMAQ IRET (=son of Nocat, son of Iret), and TVRPILI.”

p. 169. Add after no. 4,—

5. Near *Llanboidy* in *Caermarthenshire*, on a pillar, but without any cross—

C · MENVENDANI  
FILII BARCVNI

*Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., April 1871, pp. 140 sq.

p. 204, note <sup>c</sup>. Add,—Possibly Bishop “Ethelwin,” at Winchenhale A.D. 787 to meet the Roman Legates, was Elbod of Gwynedd. Those Legates went north to Mercia and “*Bri-tannia*.” See vol. III. pp. 461, 462.

p. 286. Add, from *Gwentian BRUT Y TYWYSOG*. A.D. 961 (*Arch. Camb.* 3rd Ser., X. p. 28).—Monastery of the Fords (y Rhydan) founded in this year.

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<sup>a</sup> The date should be A.D. 455. See on p. 152, note †.

p. 364. Add.—A.D. 1165. DECRET. GREG., *lib. i. tit. xi. c. 2*, *Rescript of Pope Alexander III. to the Bishop of Hereford*.—Non valet consuetudo quod extra statuta tempora sacri ordines conferantur.—Condemns the custom prevalent in certain Scottish and *Welsh* dioceses, of ordaining clerks on the occasion of consecrating churches or altars, at other times than in the Ember weeks.

p. 384, note <sup>a</sup>. Kerry, but not the remainder of the deanery of Elvacl, was made over to S. Asaph in A.D. 1861.

p. 388. Add,—

A.D. 1188. *Celedi (Culdees) in Wales*<sup>a</sup>.

GIR. CAMB., *Iiin. Camb.*, II. 6.—Jacet autem extra Lhyn insula modica [Bardsey], quam monachi habitant religiosissimi, quos Cœlibes vel Colideos vocant. Hæc autem insula ab aeris salubritate, quam ex Hiberniæ confinio sortitur, vel potius aliquo ex miraculo ex sanctorum meritis, hoc mirandum habet, quod in ea seniores præmoriuntur; quia morbi in ea rarissimi, et raro vel nunquam hic nusquam moritur, nisi longa senectute confectus. [685 *Camden*.]

p. 481. A.D. 1254. *Letters Patent of May 17*: see *Theiner*, p. 57.

p. 484. Archbishop Boniface was exempted by the Pope from the duty of visiting the four Welsh dioceses, “propter guerrarum discrimina [et] penuriam victualium.” (*Vatican MSS.*, vol. viii. *Brit. Mus. Addit.*, no. 15,358.)

p. 494. A.D. 1266. *Tenth, &c.*: see *Theiner*, pp. 98, 99.

p. 496. A.D. 1267. *Richard, etc.*, line 3, insert “peditum” after “devota.”

p. 498. A.D. 1274. After “*Welsh Cistercian Abbats*,” add, “*except the Abbat of Basingwerk*.”

p. 505, note <sup>a</sup>. Add, “near Bodedern in Anglesey.”

p. 508, line 30. *Talybont*. Now a farm-house used as the manor-house of the manor of Peniarth.

p. 529, line 7. Read “refectus firmissima.”

p. 550. A.D. 1233. *Nov. 5. Bere*, note <sup>a</sup>. For “Castell Dolbadarn near Llanberis,” read, “near Peniarth; ruins still existing.”

p. 551, line 1. The district intended is Gorrddwr: the parishes of Buttington and Alberbury (Llanfihangel yng Ghenlyn) were finally assigned to Hereford Nov. 25, A.D. 1288. See Bishop Swinfield’s *Household Roll*, pp. 76–79.

p. 556, line 35. *Baladeuclyn*—at the outlet of the two Nantlle lakes near Caernarvon.

p. 616. A.D. 1295. *May 27, &c.* For “*Oxford*,” read “*Otford*.”

p. 632. At the end of “1. On *Caldy Island*,” add, “See also *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., April 1870, pp. 138 sq.”

## VOL. II.

p. 4, note <sup>e</sup>, lines 2, 3. Dele the words “Galloway is of the Britons . . . (*Ann. Ulton.*)” “Gallinne na mBretann,” in the Ulster Annals, A.D. 822, does not refer to Galloway, as

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<sup>a</sup> This is the sole mention of Culdees in connection with Wales. It seems doubtful whether there were any in Bardsey A.D. 1120 (vol. I. p. 315). And in A.D. 1252, possibly in A.D. 1202, Bardsey was Benedictine (vol. I. pp. 419, 480).

Dr. O'Connor thought, but to a Welsh settlement in Ireland, viz. S. Canoc's monastery at Gallen, King's County. See O'Donovan's note to *IV. Mag.* vol. I. p. 433, from *Ann. Ulton.* a. 822.

- p. 11, note <sup>b</sup>. Add from Palgrave's *Doc. and Records Illustrative of Hist. of Scotl.* (sc. cf. 19, 20 Edw. I. Nov. A.D. 1290—Nov. A.D. 1292), p. 70, the following *extract from Chron., etc. transmitted to Edward by the Prior and Convent of Carlisle*, no. 7.—“A.D. 1069, Cumbria dicebatur, quantum modo est Eġatus Karliolens. et Eġatus Glasguens. et Eġatus Candidecas., et insuper ab Eġatu Karliol. usque ad flumen Dundee, &c. ibi in passu illo.”
- p. 43, last line but one, for “1175” read “1176,” and similarly on p. 44, line 2; and on p. 44, lines 8, 9, dele the words “the treaty of Falaise, and before;” and transfer the whole article after that dated “A.D. 1175. Aug. 17.”
- p. 50, note <sup>a</sup>. For the words, “that in the text,” read, “that of Pope Gregory.”

COUNCILS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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V.  
CHURCH OF CUMBRIA OR STRATHCLYDE,  
A.D. 600-1188.



Period I.—*Until the Kingdom of Strathclyde was united to that of Scotland.*

A.D. 600–908.

De Glesguensi [Episcopo] breviter intimandum, quod est antiquorum Britonum Episcopus; ... cujus Ecclesiæ Episcopus, sicut a majoribus natu illorum traditur, usque ad hæc Normannorum tempora vel ab Episcopo Scottorum vel Gualensium Britonum consecrari solebat.—RADULPH., ARCHIEP. CANT., *Epist. ad Calixtum Papam* [Twysd. 1742, 1743.—A.D. 1119.]

Period II.—*Until the Church of Cumbria was united, partly to that of Scotland, partly to that of England.* A.D. 908–1188.

Successit in Ecclesia Glasguensi [A.D. 1258]. ... Johannes de Cheham, vir ... Angliæ nimis infestus. Nam in ultimis diebus, crescente cupiditate, obtendebat jus antiquum in partes Westmorlandiæ in præjudicium Karliolensis Ecclesiæ, dicens usque ad Rer Cros in Staynmor ad diœcesim suam pertinere; ob quod animo efferatus, ad curiam Papæ festinavit, sed in eundo vita defecit.—CHRON. DE LANERCOST, *in ann.* 1258. [p. 65.]

# CHURCH OF CUMBRIA OR STRATHCLYDE.

A.D. 600-1188.

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## PERIOD THE FIRST.

UNTIL THE KINGDOM OF STRATHCLYDE\* WAS UNITED TO THAT OF  
SCOTLAND, A.D. 600-908.

[A.D. 600-685. English Cumbria gradually severed from British dominion by Northumbrian conquest<sup>b</sup>; and Scottish Cumbria shut in west of the water-shed from Peel Fell to the Pentlands, and for some years prior to A.D. 685 subject altogether to Northumbria<sup>c</sup>.

A.D. 685-779. Scottish Cumbria again for a time independent, but further dismembered by Northumbrian conquest on the side of Galloway and Ayr, limited to the valley of the Clyde, and at length subdued again by Angles and Picts<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 704. Cumbrians probably adopt the Roman Easter.

A.D. 803-870. Anglian rule ceases over Galloway, and perhaps, for a while, as far south as Carlisle. The Strathclyde princes possibly reclaim the district; but it was probably in a state of anarchy, and gradually occupied by colonists from north Ireland<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 870-908. Strathclyde still an independent principality, but wasted by Northmen<sup>f</sup>, and finally, by the election of King Donald to its throne, united to Scotland.]

<sup>a</sup> Cumbri, Cumbra-land, Combirland, Cumberland; Ystrat Clut, Strat Clut, Stræ-Clæd, Stratha-Cluaidh, etc. — But "Strathclwyd Wealas," and the kindred names, as applied to the entire district from Clyde to "Loidis," only from about A.D. 871 (*A. S. C., in an.*).

<sup>b</sup> Battle of Caerleon (Chester), A.D. 613: conquest of Elmet by Eadwin, A.D. 616: Loidis Northumbrian before A.D. 655 (*B., III. 24*): lands on the Ribble granted to Wilfrid, A.D. 666 x 669 (*Edd. XVI.*): Carlisle Northumbrian A.D. 684 (*B., IV. 26*), and given with Creke, Cartmel, "et omnes Britanni cum eo," to S. Cuthbert, A.D. 685 (*Sim. Dun. 5, 69*): Derwentwater Northumbrian A.D. 687 (*B., IV. 29*).

<sup>c</sup> The Catrail or Pictswork ditch from Peel Fell to Galashiels, apparently the British boundary (*Robertson, E. Scot., I. 16*): Bernicia reaches to the Forth and Eadwinsburgh by A.D. 633 (*B., I. 34, II. 9*): Melrose in Bernicia founded shortly after A.D. 635 (*B., in V. S. Cutbb.*): Oswy's dominion reaches to Manann, A.D. 655 (*Skene, Chron. cxvii.*): and to the Picts, A.D. 658 (*B., III. 24, IV. 3*): and Ecgrith's, A.D. 670-685, also to the Britons of Strathclyde (*Edd., XIX-XXI.; B., IV. 12, 26*). On the Dalriad side, however, Donald Brec, King of Dalriada, defeated A.D. 638, and slain by the Britons at Strathcarron A.D. 642 (*Ann. Tig.*).

<sup>d</sup> "Pars Britonum nonnulla" (evidently of

## [FOUNDATION OF SEE OF GLASGOW.]

Strathclyde) freed through battle of Nectansmere, A.D. 685 (*B., IV.* 26): but Cuningham Northumbrian, A.D. 696 (*B., V.* 12): and Whitherne with coast from Solway round to Ayrshire, before A.D. 731 (Anglian see of Whitherne, *B., V.* 25, and Anglian names along the coast): and Kyle, A.D. 750 (*Auct. in fin. B.*): and although the Picts are defeated A.D. 750 (*Ann. Tig., Welsh Chron.*), yet Alclwyd capitulates to Picts and Angles A.D. 756 (*Sim. Dun. in M. H. B.* 662, *Welsh Chron., etc.*), and is burned A.D. 779 (*Ann. Ulton.*). Saxon crosses at Thornhill on the Nith (mutilated), and at Ruthwell, both in Dumfriesshire (*Stuart, Sculpt. Stones of Scotl. Pref., ix., and Arch. Scot., IV. ii.* 312). Dalriad Scots also defeat the Britons, A.D. 711 and 717 (*Ann. Tig.*). In English Cumbria, Saxon abbey on the Dacre, A.D. 728 (*B., IV.* 29, 32), and S. Bega said to have founded S. Bees before A.D. 700 (*Leland, III.* 39). But for S. Bega, see Tomlinson's ed. of her *Life*, Carlisle, 1842, and *Actt. SS.*, Sept. 6, *II.* 694). Whalley on the Calder Northumbrian, A.D. 798 (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*).

<sup>e</sup> Anglian see of Whitherne ends after A.D. 803: Galloway is of the Britons ("Galinne na mbretann"), A.D. 822 (*Ann. Ulton.*): Britons sack Dumblane after A.D. 843 (*Chron. in Skene* 8): Cu of Strathclyde son-in-law to Kenneth of Scotland, A.D. 843 × 859 (*Robertson, E. S., I.* 41): Carlisle, however, claimed in A.D. 854 as Northumbrian since A.D. 685, and

certainly so A.D. 875 and probably also A.D. 883 (*Sim. Dun.* 13, 14; and *M. H. B.* 683): yet the permanence of its British name, and the existence of stone crosses, with interlaced Irish (?) ornamentation, at Muncaster, Gosforth, Beckermest S. Bridget's, Dearham, Rockcliffe, and Lanercost (*Lysons, Cumb. CII.*), i. e. on the west and north of the Cumberland mountains, indicate a probable Celtic connection still at this period. See for these, and for inscribed monuments, below, in Appendix A.

<sup>f</sup> Olave and Ivor sack Alclwyd, A.D. 870 (*Ann. Ult. and Camb., Chron. in Skene* 405): Healfden from the Tyne wastes the Cumbri or Wealas of Strathclyde, A.D. 875 (*A. S. C., Ethelw., Asser, Flor. Wig., Sim. Dun.*): and those of them that "could not live with the Saxons" (i. e. probably Danes, possibly Scots), found the Welsh Strathclyde, A.D. 890 (*Brut Guent.*): Danes destroy Carlisle (which lies waste 200 years) about A.D. 892 (*Sim. Dun.* 217, *Flor. Wig. in an.* 1092). But up to the Derwent Northumbrian in A.D. 915 (*Sim. Dun.* 74). Eocha of Strathclyde joint King of Scotland A.D. 878-889: and Donald, brother of Constantine King of Scotland, elected King of Strathclyde, A.D. 908.

Immigration probably of Irish Cruithne at this time into Galloway (*Robertson, E. S., I.* 21, *II.* 382), where is certainly a mixed race and in great part Irish thenceforth. And a few Northmen settlements along the coast from the Solway (*Id. ib., II.* 437) into Wigtonshire.

*Shortly before A.D. 600. Foundation of the See of Glasgow by  
S. Kentegern<sup>a</sup>.*

ANN. CAMB.—CLXVIII. Annus [A.D. 612], Conthigerni obitus.  
[*M. H. B.* 831.]

<sup>a</sup> For the 12th century Lives of S. Kentegern, see vol. I. p. 157. His date is fixed by his connection with Rydderch King of Strathclyde ("Roderchus filius Tothail, qui in Petra Cluaithe regnavit," *Adamn. in V. S. Columbae*), who is fixed by the genealogies to A.D. 573-601 (*Skene, Chron. Pref. xcvi.*). And this agrees with the legendary connection between him and S. David, and again between him and S. Columba (with whom he exchanged staves, according to Jocelyn); and with the date above given for his death. His diocese must have been coextensive with Rydderch's kingdom, i. e. from Clyde to Mersey, and from the sea to the hills that form the watershed; and was therefore in the south continuous with the diocese of S. Asaph (which during his temporary expulsion from Strathclyde he is said to have founded), and in the north included all that was

afterwards the diocese of Glasgow, and very possibly indeed extended from sea to sea (*Jocel. V. S. Kenteg.*). Accordingly he fixed his see at one time for eight years at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire; and churches are dedicated in his name in Cumberland, as at Crosthwaite; and at Borthwick, Penicuik, Crichton, and Currie, in Mid-Lothian (at the first of which last list of places he is also said to have set up a cross of sea sand, *Jocel. ib.*); as well as at Glasgow (where was a stone cross). Borthwick however (then called Locherworth or Locherwart) was one of the earliest gifts to the revived see in the time of David (*Reg. Glasg.* no. 11), but Midlothian was not included within its then boundaries. Such a diocese would not be larger than the Saxon one which was as it were its counterpart a century after, and for which Wilfrid fought so tenaciously.

[ENCROACHMENTS UPON IT BY WILFRID AND THE NORTHUMBRIANS.]

Of course it was speedily encroached upon by Northumbrian conquest, beginning almost within a year or two of S. Kentegern's death. The cathedral was, as usual, near, but not at, the civil capital, Alclwyd or Dumbarton, viz. at "Glasghu" or "Deschu," formerly called "Cathures" (*Jocelyn*). If S. Monenna (ob. A.D. 517, according to Reeves, *Adamn.* 177) really built a church, among other places in Scotland, at "Chil-ne-case, in Galuveic" (Life in Ussher, *Antiq. Brit. Ecc., Works*, VI. 249); whether this was (as is probable) Whithorn itself, or Kilcaiss (now Kincaise) in the parish of Prestwick in Kyle, co. Ayr (*Chalm. Caled.*, III. 496, see also above in vol. I. pp. 120, 121); S. Kentegern may well have sought to restore S. Ninian's decayed but scarcely extinct church

(so *Jocelyn*), only transferring the centre of his preaching to the neighbourhood of the new capital. Later boundaries (as those implied in the "*Inquisitio Davidis*," about A.D. 1120, or in the claims of the Bishops of Glasgow at that period, or assumed in *Jocelyn's* Life belonging to the same period, or alleged in the tracts on the English claims upon the Scotch side in Skene, one of which confounds Glasgow with Galwidia, *Skene* 255, as does also *Fordun*, XI. 52) belong really to the revived 10th century principality of Strathclyde or Cumbria. Kentegern's staff, as said to have been given to him by Columba, was exhibited in Ripon Minster in the end of the 14th century (*Fordun*, III. 30; *Reeves's Adamnan*, 324).

### A.D. 666 × 669. *Lands granted to Wilfrid in Lancashire.*

EDDIUS, *V. W.*, XVII.—Erat quippe Deo placabile donum, quod religiosi Reges tam multas terras Deo ad serviendum pontifici nostro conscripserunt. Et hæc sunt nomina regionum, juxta Rip-pela, et in Gaedyne, et in regione Dunitinga, et in Caetlevum, in cæterisque locis. [*ed. Gale*, p. 60.]

\* "i. e. Hæmundernes" (*Life of W.* in *Leland, Collect.*, III. 169), which was the district of Lancashire between the Ribble and the

Cocker. See also above in vol. I. pp. 124, 125.

A.D. 680. *Council of Rome. Wilfrid claims to answer for the Catholic faith of the Britons, Scots, and Picts, as well as Angles, dwelling in "the northern part of Britain and of Hibernia and in the Islands."* [See below, vol. III. p. 140, under the Anglo-Saxon Church.]

\* The words of Wilfrid's subscription to the Council scarcely mean that he claimed to be Bishop of those for whose faith he pledged himself. Yet for some years after A.D. 670, and up to A.D. 685, the Britons of Strathclyde and some of the Picts beyond the Forth certainly, and on one interpretation of an ambiguous sentence in Bede (*IV.* 26) the Dalriad Scots also, were subject to the Northumbrian King (see above, p. 3, note<sup>c</sup>). And Wilfrid would be certain to claim a diocese coextensive with the Northumbrian kingdom, even to its most recent or temporary conquests; as he did, e. g., on the south of the Humber in the case of Lindsey. The statement therefore of Richard of Hexham (see below under A.D. 685, note<sup>a</sup>) may have a foundation of truth in it. That he really as Bishop exercised actual authority over Britons or

Scots or Picts, is improbable; especially considering that none of the three, nor yet the northern Irish, had adopted the Roman customs in A.D. 680. Trumwine, however, at Abercorn, for the few years he was there, probably had something more than the mere name of Bishop over the Picts within his jurisdiction. The conquest of Cuningham by the Northumbrians in A.D. 696 implies also that Anglian conquest had been creeping round Galloway for some time before; having certainly included Carlisle before A.D. 685, although no doubt checked in that year for the moment by Ecgrifh's defeat and death. And both northern and southern Cumbria were still probably Briton in the bulk of their population. So that here again Wilfrid certainly had Britons within his diocese.

[ENGLISH CUMBRIA SEVERED FROM GLASGOW.]

A.D. 685. *English Cumbria taken from Glasgow and united (in part) to the See of Lindisfarne*<sup>a</sup>.

SIM. DUN. *Hist. S. Cuthb.*—Rex Ecgfridus et Theodorus Archiepiscopus dederunt S. Cuthberto ..... villam quæ vocatur Creca; ..... et quia videbatur parva terra, adjecit civitatem quæ vocatur Luel [i. e. Carlisle], quæ habet in circuitu quindecim milliaria, et in eadem civitate posuit congregationem sanctimonialium, et abbatis ordinavit, et scholas constituit. Postquam vero S. Cuthbertus suscitavit puerum a mortuis in villa quæ vocatur Exanforda, dedit ei Rex Ecgfridus terram quæ vocatur Cartmel et omnes Britanni cum ea, et villam illam quæ vocatur Suth-Gedluyt<sup>b</sup>, etc. [*Twysd.* 69: see also *ib.* 5.]

<sup>a</sup> Ecgfrith completed what his predecessors had been gradually doing (see above, p. 3, note<sup>b</sup>). But Wilfrid in A.D. 666 x 669 would seem to have obtained the southern part of English Cumbria, i. e. the lands on the Ribble, etc., for Ripon, i. e. for York (*Edd. XVII.*). And although Lindisfarne did not then exist except as the substitute for York, viz. not until A.D. 678, yet what was afterwards Lancashire would appear to have continued permanently as part of the more limited diocese of York, even after that year. For like encroachments further north, and on Scottish Cumbria, during this period, see p. 3, note<sup>c</sup>. These would have been reckoned to Lindisfarne or York, as the only Saxon see north of Humber during that time, until A.D. 678: and either to Lindisfarne, as separate from York, from A.D. 678 [except so far as the short-lived see of Trumwine at Abercorn (A.D. 681-685) may have included part of the Lothians and the northern part of Bernicia as well as his more proper Pictish flock; and, further, from the Forth only so far southward as to the Alne, the latter river separating Lindisfarne from the newly-formed

see of Hexham (*Ricb. Hagust. c. V.*)] ; or again, from the Alne to the Tees, to Hexham, which last diocese reached west into modern Cumberland as far as to Wetherall on the Eden (*Ricb. Hagust., ib.*), but (as appears from *Sim. Dun.*, above) no further. Hexham see came to an end in A.D. 821. The (possible) see of Ripon with its one (possible) Bishop, Eadhæd, from A.D. 681, would apparently have claimed, if it ever existed, some part of the more southern British spoils. *Ricb. Hagust., c. VI.* (as is said above), includes the "Britones," i. e. some at least of those of Strathclyde, in Wilfrid's original and undivided diocese of York; and also the "Scots of Lindisfarne" and the "Picts" (whom he of course supposed to have lived in Galloway at that time) of Candida Casa. But in the first, as certainly in the last case, he probably wrote after the belief, and the disputes, of his own time. See above, under A.D. 680.

<sup>b</sup> "Suth-Gedling," in *App. II.* p. 231, to Hinde's ed. of *Sim. Dun.*

A.D. 697. ANN. TIG.—Molingus Luachraensis monasterii abbas obiit, i. e. inter Britones<sup>a</sup>. [*O'Conor, II.* 219.]

<sup>a</sup> i. e. either in Iona or in Strathclyde.

A.D. 704. *The Strathclyde Britons apparently adopt the Roman Easter*<sup>a</sup>.

BÆD. *H. E.*, V. 15.—Quo tempore plurima pars Scottorum in



[ANGLIAN SEE OF WHITHERNE.]

Hibernia, et nonnulla etiam de Brittonibus in Brittania, rationabile et ecclesiasticum Paschalis observantiæ tempus Domino donante suscepit. [*M. H. B.* 265.]

<sup>a</sup> The death of Adamnan, with whose efforts to bring Iona to adopt the Roman Easter the above statement is connected, brings the date to A.D. 704 (see *Lappenberg, Anglo-Sax., I. Pref. xxxvi. n.*). And this excludes all other Britons except those of Strath-

clyde, who are also naturally connected with their neighbour Adamnan. The Britons of Damnonia are mentioned separately by Bede (*V.* 18). And Aldhelm's letter, by which these were (partially) converted, appears to be dated in A.D. 705. See also below, under A.D. 721.

A.D. 721. *A Bishop of Strathclyde (?) at a Roman Council*<sup>a</sup>.

CONC. ROM. SUB GREGORIO II. (*subscriptt.*).—Sedulius, Episcopus Britanniae de genere Scottorum, huic constituto a nobis promulgato subscripsi. [*Labb., VI.* 1458.]

<sup>a</sup> An Irishman by name and nation might well be Bishop of Glasgow or Strathclyde in A.D. 721. And the nationality and the locality of Sedulius' companion, and therefore probably neighbour—"Fergusus Episcopus Scotiae Pictus"—certainly suggest Strathclyde as the "Britannia" which was his see. His presence at Rome also proves the schism ended,

as regards the "Britannia" which he represented. And he was therefore neither Cornish nor Welsh, i. e. he was Cumbrian or of Strathclyde. There is no reliable evidence of dioceseless Bishops among the Britons: see above, in vol. I. p. 143: although in A.D. 721, Fergusus, a Pictish Bishop among the Scots, probably was in that condition.

A.D. 730-803. *Anglian See of Whitherne or Candida Casa*<sup>a</sup>.

BÆD. H. E., *V.* 23.—Pecthelm in ea [Ecclesia], quæ Candida Casa vocatur, [præsulatum tenet]; quæ nuper, multiplicatis fidelium plebibus, in sedem pontificatus addita, ipsum primum habet antistitem. [*M. H. B.* 284.]

<sup>a</sup> Bede writes this in A.D. 731; but the conquest of Cuningham in A.D. 696, and the probabilities of the case, show that Northumbrians had penetrated along the western side of Strathclyde some forty years before. They had now become numerous enough to require a separate Bishop; having no doubt belonged to Lindisfarne previously, and *perhaps* to Wilfrid when at York (see above, p. 5, note <sup>a</sup>). But Wilfrid's Picts were of course those of whom Trumwine had charge, not any imaginary Picts of Galloway at this period. That Trumwine's see was Abercorn and *not* Candida Casa, and that he ruled over Picts north of the Forth, and not over Galloway, is plain by Bede, in spite of the list at the end of some MSS. of *Flor. Wig.* There is a tradition in *Rich. Hagust., c. XV.*, that Acca Bishop of Hexham, upon quitting that see in

A.D. 732-733, "Episcopalem sedem in Candida Casa inceperit et præparaverit." Pecthelm (see *S. Bonif. Epist.* 39, Würdtw., below in vol. III. p. 310) died A.D. 735, and was succeeded in the same year by Frithwald (*Flor. Wig.*); and Acca's successor at Hexham was consecrated in A.D. 734, although he himself survived until A.D. 740: so that the story must remain unexplained, if it is to be accepted at all. The Anglian succession at Candida Casa lasted until Badulf or Baldwulf or Bealdwlf, the last Bishop (*W. Malm. G. P. A., III.*), who certainly lived until A.D. 803 (*Sim. Dun.*). Heathored, who follows him in the so-called Florence's list, is obviously a confusion with a Bishop of Lindisfarne in A.D. 821, of the same name, who is omitted by that list in his right place. How far attempts were made to perpetuate the succession after Badulf does

## [LETTER OF ALCUIN.]

not appear. Very possibly Heathored of Lindisfarne may have tried to join or rejoin the see to his own. Eardulf of Lindisfarne took refuge at Candida Casa when wandering with S. Cuthbert's relics in A.D. 875-883. But Northmen ravages and Pictish immigration, and possibly British reconquest, must have ended any Anglian Episcopate there, and probably any Episcopate at all. That recourse was had between Badulf and Gilla-Aldan to Norwegian Bishops or Bishops of Man or of the Isles, is only conjecture, although not improbable. There is nothing to identify certain suffragans of York, named without their sees in A.D. 929-934, and belonging to no known succession, e. g. Earnulf, Columban,

Ælfric, Æscbert, Eadwald, Sexhelm (*K., C. D.*), with any then still existing Anglian see of Candida Casa. That see of course was enlarged or diminished according to the progress of Northumbrian conquest; and at its largest must have included far more than the revived see of the 12th century. The latter was coextensive probably with the lordship of Galloway, and certainly with Kirkcudbright (= Church of S. Cuthbert) west of the river Urr, and Wigtonshire. The former included also Ayrshire (see above, p. 4, note <sup>d</sup>) and most probably Dumfriesshire (so it would seem by the crosses mentioned in the same note, and by the probabilities of the case).

A.D. 782 × 804<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Alcuin to the Monks of Whitherne.*

ALCUINUS, *ad Fratres S. Niniani Candidæ Casæ.*—*Venerandæ dilectionis fratribus in loco Deo servientibus qui dicitur Candida Casa,* ALCUINUS DIACONUS, salutem. Deprecor vestræ pietatis unanimitem, ut nostri nominis habeatis memoriam, et intercedere pro mea parvitate dignemini in ecclesia sanctissimi patris nostri Nynia Episcopi, qui multis claruit virtutibus, sicut mihi nuper delatum est per carmina metricæ artis, quæ nobis per fideles nostros discipulos Eboracensis Ecclesiæ scholasticos directa sunt; in quibus et facientis agnovi eruditionem, et ejus perficientis miracula sanctitatem, per ea quæ ibi legebam. Quapropter obnixius deprecor, ut sanctis orationibus vestris illius me precibus commendare studeatis, quatenus per ejusdem patris vestri piissimas preces et vestræ karitatis assiduas intercessionem peccatorum meorum veniam, Deo Christo miserante, accipere merear; et ad sanctorum pervenire consortia, qui sæculi labores fortiter vicerunt, et ad coronam perpetuæ laudis pervenerunt. Direxi ad sancti patris nostri Nyniga corpus suum<sup>b</sup> olosericum ob memoriam nostri nominis, ut illius atque vestram piam merear intercessionem habere semper.

Protegat atque regat Christi vos dextera fratres. [*Cott. MSS. Vesp. A. 14, fol. 160; and, partly, Opp. I. 297, Froben.*]

<sup>a</sup> Alcuin went to France A.D. 782, and died A.D. 804.

<sup>b</sup> ? velum.

A.D. 854. *Eardulf of Lindisfarne still claims Carlisle as within his Diocese.*

SIM. DUN. *Hist. Dun. Eccl.*, II. 5.—Eardulfus, ..... cathedræ pontificalis [Lindisfarne] gubernacula suscepit, nec minorem quam



[CUMBERLAND AND GALLOWAY STILL REGARDED AS ANGL'AN.]

proximis Lindisfarnensium quibusque longe positis Episcopatus sui locis pastoralis curæ sollicitudinem impendebat; quorum Luel, quod nunc Carleol appellatur, non solum proprii juris Sancti Cuthberti fuerat, sed etiam ad sui Episcopatus regimen ab Egfridi Regis temporibus semper adjacebat. [*Twysd.* 13.]

A.D. 875 × 883. *Cumberland and possibly Whitherne still seemingly regarded as Anglian.*

SIM. DUN. *Hist. Dun. Eccl.*, II. 11, 12.—Ergo ad hostium fluminis quod Dyrwenta vocatur, omnes simul<sup>a</sup>, Episcopus et abbas et populus, conveniunt.—And again—Per id quippe temporis, in locum, qui Candida Casa vulgo autem Witerna vocatur, devenerant. [*Twysd.* 18, 19, 20.<sup>b</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> Eardulf Bishop of Lindisfame and Eadred abbat of Carlisle, after wandering with S. Cuthbert's relics through "tota pene provincia," resolved to embark at the mouth of the Derwent, and transport them to Ireland,—were driven back by a storm, losing overboard S. Cuthbert's gilt and gemmed MS. of the Gos-

pels,—and after a time came to Whitherne, where the MS. is found unhurt on the shore.

<sup>b</sup> The next mention of S. Ninian's is the legendary statement, that Kenneth II. of Scotland, who began to reign A.D. 970, made a pilgrimage thither. He certainly conquered the district (*Cbron.* in *Skene*, p. 10).

## PERIOD THE SECOND.

UNTIL THE CHURCH OF CUMBRIA WAS UNITED, PARTLY TO THAT OF ENGLAND, PARTLY TO THAT OF SCOTLAND, A.D. 908-1188.

[A.D. 908-1034. Strathclyde, under a separate line of Scottish princes, commonly owning Saxon lordship<sup>a</sup>, extends probably to the eastern and southern boundaries of the subsequent sees of Glasgow and Carlisle<sup>b</sup>, but with a distinct lordship of Galloway before or about A.D. 1000<sup>c</sup>.

A.D. 1034. It is merged in the Scottish crown and kingdom<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 1053-1114. Bishops of Glasgow consecrated at York. But—

A.D. 1070-1091. Scottish Kings rule over Cumberland and Westmoreland as well as Scottish Cumbria<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 1092. William Rufus, and A.D. 1122 Henry I., occupy and fortify Carlisle.

A.D. 1107-1124. David Earl of (Scottish) Cumbria-land<sup>f</sup> restores the see of Glasgow, and as a Scottish see.

A.D. 1126-1133. Sees of Galloway and Carlisle founded respectively by David or Fergus, and by Henry I., but as subject to York.

A.D. 1136. David regains English Cumberland<sup>g</sup>.

A.D. 1138. Synod of Carlisle, under David and the Papal legate, allows the new (English) see of Carlisle.

A.D. 1147. Cumberland (English) with Northumberland and Durham ceded to Scotland by the Treaty of Carlisle.

A.D. 1157. English Cumbria and the other northern counties surrendered by Malcolm IV. to Henry II.<sup>h</sup>

A.D. 1174. The see of Glasgow declared by Pope Alexander III. to depend directly upon the Pope.

A.D. 1177. Bishop of Galloway summoned to the Synod of Edinburgh as a Scottish Bishop, but refuses to appear.

A.D. 1188. Bull of Clement III. declaring the independence of the Scottish Church, includes Glasgow in the list of Scottish sees, but omits Galloway<sup>i</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> Donald, brother of Constantine King of Scotland, elected King of Strathclyde, A.D. 908: "Strætglædwali," and their King, submit to Eadward the Elder, A.D. 921 (*A. S. C. 924, Flor. Wig. 921*): and "Eugenius Rex Cumbroorum" to Athelstan at Dacre, A.D. 926 (*W. Malm. G. R. A., II. 134*): are plundered by Northmen, A.D. 921 (*Cbron. in Skene 407*): on the Scottish side at Brunanburh, A.D. 937 (*G. Gaimar, M. H. B. 808 a*): "Combirland" given by Eadmund to Doegenaldus (*V. S. Cadrões*) or Donald (*Cbron. in Skene 204*) before A.D. 945: and on Donald's defeat and death at Dunmailraise (*Rog.*

*Wend., Ann. Camb., Brut y Tyw.*) to Malcolm of Scotland, A.D. 945 (*A. S. C., Flor. Wig., etc.*): a separate Strathclyde Prince again before A.D. 971, when Kenneth of Scotland ravaged "Saxonia" as far as Stanemoor, "Cluia," and Dearham (*Cbron. in Skene 10*): "Malcolm Rex Cumbroorum" (son of Donald or Domnaill ob. A.D. 945), homager in A.D. 973 (with, among others, Dufnall or Domnaill of the *Welsb* Strathclyde, ob. A.D. 975) to Eadgar (*A. S. C., Flor. Wig., Rog. Wend.*), and dies A.D. 997 (*Ann. Tig. and Ulton.*): Ethelred ravages Cumberland, now the "maxima mansio Dacorum," A.D. 1000 (*H. Hunt.,*

[BISHOPS OF GLASGOW CONSECRATED BY KINSI OF YORK.]

*M. H. B.* 750): Eogan of Strathclyde, "Rex [C]lutinensium," on the Scottish side at Carham, A.D. 1018 (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 594 n.): Donchad or Duncan, "Rex Cumbroꝛum," probably by election (*Flor. Wig.* a. 1054, *W. Malm. G. R. A.*, II. 196), becomes King also of Scotland, A.D. 1034.

<sup>b</sup> About A.D. 945, to the Rerecross on Stanemoor (*Cbron.* in *Skene* 204): and about same time, "usque Loidam civitatem" (the province or district of Leeds) "quæ est confinium Normannorum" (Northumbrian Danes) "et Cumbroꝛum" (*V. S. Cadrões*, in *Colg.* 497): in A.D. 971, "ad Stanmoir et ad Cluiam et ad Stangna Dera'm" (*Cbron.* in *Skene* 10): in A.D. 1091, to the "provincia Loidis" (*Sim. Dun.* 216) or "Lothene on Engla-land" (*A. S. C.*). This would take the district only as far south as about Workington and the Derwent on the coast side, and would include about two-thirds only of Westmoreland on the east; although probably including also the district east of Wetherall in Cumberland up to the present county boundaries of Northumberland and Durham. Further north, the revived earldom of Cumbria A.D. 1107, and see of Glasgow, beginning with the Lennox in Stirlingshire, included eastwards the counties of Lanark, Peebles, Selkirk, and Roxburgh or Teviotdale south of the Tweed, although the last was only taken from Durham diocese ecclesiastically about A.D. 1100. Stirling is described even by Fordun (*VIII.* 79) as a "locus marchialis, Scotiam et Britanniam intermedians sive connectens," and again (*XII.* 20) as "ad fines Britannię constitutus," and the bridge over the Forth at Stirling as "inter Britanniam et Scotiam, utriusque marginem apprehendens" (quoted by Joseph Robertson, *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*). And even the Lothians (*Loida* in Scotland, as e.g. in *Sim. Dun.*) are called "Britannia Septentrionalis" in the *V. S. Kentegern* in the Glasgow Chartulary (written A.D. 1147 x 1164). "West-

moringaland" (*A. S. C.*) or "Westmereland" (*G. Gaimar*) seems first mentioned in A.D. 966, when Northmen plundered it. *Rog. Wend.* has a "Jukil Westmeriæ Rex" in A.D. 973.

<sup>c</sup> Suibne King of the Gallgaedhel died A.D. 1034 (*Ann. Tig. and Ulton.*); and *Rog. Wend.* has a "Jacobus Rex Galwalliæ" in A.D. 973. Fergus, the earliest known lord of Galloway, was David's contemporary c. 1100 onwards.

<sup>d</sup> See end of note <sup>a</sup>. A.D. 1037, Eadulf, Earl of Northumbria, devastated the "Britones, id est, Walas" (*Sim. Dun.* in *Hoveden*, I. 58).

<sup>e</sup> Malcolm Ceanmore holds Cumberland and Westmoreland by force, A.D. 1070 (*Sim. Dun.* 200); and goes out of Scotland into "Loidis" or "Lothene," A.D. 1091 (*A. S. C.*, *Flor. Wig.*); but did homage to William the Conqueror, A.D. 1072 (*Cbron. de Mailros*, *A. S. C.*); William Rufus rebuilds and fortifies Carlisle, A.D. 1092 (*Sim. Dun.* 217, *A. S. C.*); and Henry I., A.D. 1122 (*Sim. Dun.* 246).

<sup>f</sup> The land of the "Bretti" or "Cumbra-land," but only part of it, i.e. the Scottish part (*Inquis. Davidis*, about A.D. 1120). David became King of Scotland A.D. 1124.

<sup>g</sup> *Cbron. de Mailros*, in an. His son Henry holds it as an English fief from the end of Feb. 1136 (*Jo. Hagust.* p. 114, ed. *de Raine*).

<sup>h</sup> *Gervas.* 1377, 1378; *W. Neubrig.*, II. 1-4; *Hoveden*, I. 216. The final and absolute surrender was made by Alexander II. to Henry III., A.D. 1237 (*Treaty in Rymer*, I. 233).

<sup>i</sup> Galloway remained ecclesiastically subject to York (although civilly part of Scotland) until about the middle of the 14th century, and nominally until S. Andrew's became a metropolitan see in A.D. 1472. See below in Append. B. The last claim of Glasgow to Carlisle was in A.D. 1258; see above on p. 2. The customs of "Scot and Bret" were abolished finally by Edward I., Sept. 15, A.D. 1305 (*Parliamentary Writs*, I. 162). And see also *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, I. 299.

A.D. 1053 x 1060. *Bishops of Glasgow consecrated by Kinsi Archbishop of York*<sup>a</sup>.

STUBBS, *Act. Pont. Ebor.*—Kinsius ..... Magsuem ad Ecclesiam Glescuensem ordinavit Episcopum: similiter et successorem illius Magsuem, Johannem, eidem Ecclesiæ subrogatum consecravit, et ab eis cartam professionis accepit, quæ in conflagratione Eboracensis ecclesiæ a Normannis facta cum....cæteris cartis combustæ sunt. [*Twysd.* 1700; from *Reg. Magn. Alb. Ebor.*, as quoted below, p. 14.]

<sup>a</sup> The facts are probable, the authority suspicious. The only other witnesses on the

subject, both of them adverse, are 1. Ralph of Canterbury, in his letter to Pope Calixtus in

## [COMPACT ABOUT SCOTLAND AT THE COUNCIL OF WINDSOR.]

A.D. 1119 (see below under Scottish Church), who affirms, that prior to the Archiepiscopate of Thomas II. of York (A.D. 1109 × 1114) Glasgow had had no Bishop "pene præter memoriam," and that York had never had Glasgow as a suffragan see "excepto hoc Normannorum tempore," while all older Glasgow Bishops, when there were any, down to Norman times, were Britons, who sought consecration either in Wales or Ireland: 2. the *Inquisitio Davidis*, which asserts that Kentegern had had "plures successores," but implies that this line of Bishops had died out with the Church itself of the land, and that Earl David (A.D. 1107-1124) was the first to restore it. Yet neither of these is absolutely inconsistent with the supposition of one or more suffragans of York, fifty years earlier, living mainly in York diocese, and probably not recognized in Glasgow. Compare also the like recourse at the same period by the Welsh Church

of Llandaff to Archbishop Kinsi: see above, vol. I. pp. 292, 293. The claim of York over Glasgow, as distinct from the general claim of the English Church over the Scottish, rested upon no other grounds than the insufficient ones of the actual and long-continued subjection to York, 1. of all English Cumbria (either as part of Lindisfarne or Durham until about A.D. 1100 or 1101, or, after that date, as part of York itself), 2. of the Anglian see of Galloway. For the general claim, either of the English Church, or of Canterbury as against York or *vice versa*, over all Scotland, see below, under the Scottish Church. The history of Bishop Michael, A.D. 1109 × 1114 (see below), which seems to rest on stronger evidence, carries with it a presumption in favour of the earlier suffragans also. And Archbishop Ralph is a witness who has to make out a case of his own.

A.D. 1072. *Council of Windsor. Compact between Lanfranc of Canterbury and Thomas I. of York*, [giving to the latter the jurisdiction over the whole region from the boundaries of Lichfield diocese and the river Humber northwards, "usque ad extremos Scotiæ fines" (*W.*, I. 324, 325), and to which Bishop Foderoch of S. Andrew's is said to have consented on the part of Malcolm and Margaret of Scotland. See below, under the Scottish Church.]

A.D. 1089. *Nunnery founded at Armethwaite in Cumberland, by William Rufus*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Charter in *Dugd. Mon.*, III. 271.

A.D. 1100 × 1107. *English Cumbria (together with Hexhamshire) and Teviotdale taken from the Diocese of Durham, the former assigned to York, the latter falling to Glasgow*<sup>a</sup>.

MONACH. DUN. *De Episc. Dun.*—[Ranulphus Episcopus Dunelmensis] suæ dioceseos appenditia, sc. Carleol et Teviettedale, revocare nequibat; quæ, illo exulante, cum Ecclesia non haberet defensorem, ad suas [dioceses] quidam Episcoporum applicaverant. [ap. *Wharton*, *A. S.*, I. 708; and *Tm̃ysd.* 61.]

BREVIAR. CHRON. HEXHAM.—Orta dissentione inter Henricum Regem Angliæ Primum et Ranulphum Dunelmensem Episcopum, dictus Rex dictum Episcopum Ecclesia Haugustaldensi cum regione

[ENGLISH CUMBERLAND ASSIGNED TO YORK, TEVIOTDALE TO GLASGOW.]

pertinenti privavit et contulit Episcopatu Eboracensi. [ap. *Raine, Mem. of Hexham*, vol. I. p. 220.]

<sup>a</sup> "Anno 1113 Henricus Rex. Ranulpho Dunelmensi Episcopo infensus, villam et Ecclesiam Hagustaldensem ab Ecclesia Dunelmensi abripuit, et Thomæ Archiepiscopo Eboracensi contulit, una cum jurisdictione integri Cumbriæ comitatus, qui ad sedem Hagustaldensem olim pertinuit. Pars tamen diocesis Hagustaldensis, h. e. quæ intra Northumbriæ comitatum sita erat, penes Dunelmensem remansit et adhuc remanet. Reliqua partim Archiepiscopo Ebor. partim Episcopo Glascuensi ab anno 1113 ad 1135 subdita, Episcopatu Carleolensi anno 1135 fundato assignata est" (*Hist. Episc. Dun.* in *Wharton, A. S.*, I. 699). This statement requires a few slight corrections. All Cumbria was never within the see of Hexham, only that part of what is now Cumberland which lies east from Wetherall, on the Eden above Carlisle, up to the boundaries of Northumberland. And the Hexhamshire which was within the present county of Northumberland was given over to York, but certainly not all Hexham diocese.

A.D. 1135 should be 1132 or 1133. Lastly, what really happened, plainly was, that Hexhamshire (and indeed the whole northern district) being absolutely devastated by William the Conqueror, Thomas I. of York (A.D. 1070-1100) took possession of it, and no doubt of Cumbria also, as a sort of waif and stray; and that Henry I. confirmed that possession to Thomas II. (A.D. 1109-1113). See *Raine, Mem. of Hexham*, vol. I. p. 220, *App.* p. viii., and *Pref.* pp. xlvii. lvi. Glasgow is found in possession of Teviotdale, and indeed of all Roxburghshire south of the Tweed, at the revival of that see by David A.D. 1107-1124, thus bringing down Durham to nearly its later northern boundary. And Glasgow of course also claimed Cumbria. Jedburgh was still subject to Durham A.D. 1093 (*Sim. Dun., Hist. Eccl. Dun.*, IV. 8, and *De Gest. Reg. Angl., Twysd.* 204). Flambard was in exile A.D. 1100-1107. Wharton must have taken his date of A.D. 1113 from that of the end of Thomas's Episcopate.

A.D. 1101. *Pope Paschal II. to the Suffragans of York, enjoining obedience to Gerard Archbishop of that See.*

[See below, under the Scottish Church.]

A.D. 1101 x 1112. *Benedictine cell (to S. Mary's of York) founded at Wetherall<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> On the Eden in Cumberland, by Ranulph de Meschines (*Dugd. Mon.*, III. 581).

A.D. 1102. *A British Bishop, apparently of Strathclyde, gives refuge to S. Magnus<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> See above, in vol. I. p. 303. The story goes to prove the existence of British Bishops in Strathclyde (which the context proves to be meant by "Britannia"), between Magsuern and John (above mentioned), and Michael, in

A.D. 1109 x 1114; possibly genuine British Bishops, who had nothing at all to do with York. The *Inquisitio Davidis* can hardly be relied upon as conclusively negating such a supposition.

A.D. 1102. *Augustinian Canons established at Carlisle by Henry I.<sup>a</sup>*

FORDUN, *Scotickron.*, V. 39.—Henricus [I.] persuasione et consilio ipsius Reginæ [Matildis] anno MCII. constituit Canonicos Regulares in Kaerleil.



[BISHOP OF GLASGOW CONSECRATED AT YORK.]

<sup>a</sup> A grant by Henry I. to the Canons of S. Mary of Carlisle is in Dugdale, *Mon.*, VI. i. 144, witnessed by (among others) William Bishop of Winchester and Bernard Bishop of S. David's, and dated therefore A.D. 1116 x 1128.

A.D. 1109 x 1114. *A Bishop of Glasgow consecrated by Archbishop Thomas II. of York*<sup>a</sup>.

STUBBS, *Act. Pontif. Ebor.*—Iste Thomas sanctum virum Michaellem, quem David Comes, postea Rex Scotiæ, Glasguensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum statuit et ipsi Thomæ ordinandum transmisit, eidem Ecclesiæ Episcopum consecravit; qui Eboracensi Ecclesiæ et Archiepiscopo Thomæ suisque successoribus canonicam obedientiam profitendo scriptam tradidit, quæ sic incipit, Ego Michael Glesguensis Ecclesiæ, etc. Hic aliquamdiu cum Archiepiscopo conversatus, in diocesi nostra [sc. Ebor.] jussu Archiepiscopi ecclesias dedicavit et in ecclesia de Morlond ordines fecit. In qua felici fine ad Deum migrans sepultus requiescit. [*Twysd.* 1713.]

REG. MAGN. ALB. Ebor.—T[homas] iste Michaellem hominem sanctum Glesguensi ecclesiæ ordinavit Episcopum, qui Eboracensi Ecclesiæ et T. Archiepiscopo et successoribus suis canonicam obedientiam profitendo scriptam tradidit. Hic aliquamdiu cum Archiepiscopo conversatus jussu illius in diocesi nostra ecclesias dedicavit, et ordines fecit in ecclesia de Morlund, in qua felici fine ad Deum migrans sepultus requiescit. Hujus antecessores Magsuem et Johannem Kinsinus Ebor. Archiepiscopus Episcopos consecravit, sicut a viris veracibus accepimus, qui se hoc vidisse testabantur; sed propter hostilem impugnationem et desolationem et barbariem terræ diu Ecclesia sine pastore fuit, donec David Comes, postea Rex Scotiæ, prædictum Michaellem Episcopum constituit, [et] T. Archiepiscopo consecrandum transmisit.

<sup>a</sup> In A.D. 1109 Alexander of Scotland consented to the consecration of Turgot of S. Andrew's by the same Archbishop Thomas, rights of both Churches being reserved. There is nothing improbable, therefore, in David (Earl of Cumbria A.D. 1107-1124) seeking consecration for a Glasgow Bishop from Thomas at that same time; although probably neither he nor Alexander would have allowed such a step after Turgot's death in A.D. 1115. And the *Inquisitio Davidis*, which speaks of no earlier nomination by David than that of John (see below), is not conclusive evidence against a York Bishop

whom in all likelihood the change of circumstances, and possibly or probably an early death, precluded from coming to Glasgow as Bishop at all. That John and Michael were not the same person, seems proved by the facts, 1. that John was consecrated by *Pope Paschal* with the consent of *Thurstin* of York, Michael by Archbishop *Thomas of York*: 2. that John lived in Glasgow diocese when he was not running away (he was at York however in A.D. 1128), Michael always in diocese of York: 3. that John died in A.D. 1147 and was buried at Jedburgh, while Michael died and was buried in some year unknown at Mor-

[GLASGOW STILL CLAIMED BY YORK, AND TEVIOTDALE BY DURHAM.]

land in Westmoreland (*Stubbs*, etc. as above). Ralph of Canterbury also testifies, that Thomas "quemdam Britonem Glasguensi Ecclesiæ ordinavit Episcopum" (*Ad Calixt. Papam*: see below in its place). The parallel efforts of York to keep up York lines of Bishops in the Orkneys and at Whithorne, lend probability both to each other and to the like efforts in the

case of Glasgow. No doubt Michael merely acted as suffragan to York in English Cumbria, after the parallel fashion of York Orkney Bishops. English Cumbria was in Norman hands more or less from A.D. 1092 to 1136, and belonged to York (instead of Durham) from at least A.D. 1107.

A.D. 1109 × 1114. *Claim of York over Glasgow and of Durham to Teviotdale still maintained.*

CARTUL. III. PRIOR. ET CONV. DUNELM.<sup>a</sup>—*Prohibitio T. Archiepiscopi Ebor. clericis de Tevydall quæ est de Diocesi Dunelmensi.*—HENRICUS DEI GRATIA EBORACENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS *Algaro clerico* salutem. Ipse tibi ore ad os prohibui, cum per te crisma et oleum ad Glasguensem Ecclesiam misi, ne crisma vel oleum illud dares in parrochiam Dunelmensis Episcopi; tu vero illud contra defensionem meam in Tevegedale dedisti, de qua Ecclesiam Dunelmensem saisitam inveni. Mando igitur tibi et Episcopali auctoritate prohibeo, et omnibus presbyteris de Tevegedale, ne de crismate et oleo aliquod ministerium amodo faciatis, nisi per octo dies tantum postquam breve istud videritis, ut interim requirere possitis crisma a Dunelmensi Ecclesia, quæ vobis illud dare solita est. Quodsi post illos octo dies de crismate quod misi aliquam Christianitatem facere præsumpseritis, a Divino officio vos suspendo [do] nec diratiocinatum sit ad quam Ecclesiam pertineat. Valete. [p. 248 a.]

<sup>a</sup> Henry Murdac was Archbishop of York from Dec. 7, A.D. 1147, to Oct. 14, A.D. 1153; but the above is from a 15th century copy, and the initial T. in the rubric is almost certainly correct; and stands probably for Thomas II., A.D. 1109 × 1114: inasmuch as 1. Glasgow cer-

tainly did not submit to York A.D. 1148-1153; and 2. Teviotdale had been lost by Durham and occupied by Glasgow since A.D. 1101 × 1107, the Durham claim being no doubt maintained for a few years later, but not more.

A.D. 1113. Benedictine Abbey (order of Tyron) founded at Selkirk by Prince David<sup>a</sup> (*Cart. de Kalchou*, pp. 3, 4; *Sim. Dun.* 236) in Glasgow diocese; but transferred A.D. 1128 to Kelso or Calchou opposite Roxburgh, and at that time in S. Andrew's diocese, the Tweed being then and there the boundary between the two (*Sim. Dun. ib.*; *Chron. de Mailros*).

<sup>a</sup> Pope Innocent II. confirmed its privileges by a bull A.D. 1130 × 1143 (*Cart. de Kalcbou*). Robert, Bishop of S. Andrew's A.D. 1128 × 1158, permitted it, although in his own

diocese, to seek ordination and chrism from any Bishop the monks pleased, whether in Scotland or in "Cumbria" (*ib.*) See Morton, *Monastic Ann. of Teviotdale*, pp. 77, 78.



[CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW BY THE POPE.]

A.D. 1117 (probably). *Consecration of John to the See of Glasgow by Pope Paschal II.*<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See the *Inquisitio Davidis*, below; by which it appears that John was consecrated by Paschal, and therefore before January A.D. 1118. John died in A.D. 1147, and (if Fordun can be trusted) in the 28th year of his Episcopate: which (if it were exact) would bring his consecration down to A.D. 1119. He was also consecrated with Archbishop Thurstin's consent (see below, under A.D. 1125), who was elected to York August 25, A.D. 1114 (*Hoveden*, I. 169), although not consecrated to that see until October, A.D. 1119. And Stubbs, who is the authority for the statement about Thurstin, here quotes from the contemporary authority of Hugh the Chanter. Further, Turgot of S. Andrew's died in August, A.D. 1115. And it seems probable, that this see also was vacant when John was sent to the Pope for consecration. All this would seem to place John's consecration in (probably) A.D. 1117, which is the latest possible year for it. The *Inquisitio Davidis* (Earl of Cumbria A.D. 1107-1124) must have been taken sufficiently long after John's election to allow of his journey to Rome, his attempted journey to Jerusalem, his return to Glasgow, and his being fairly at work in that diocese. And inasmuch as it

evidently speaks of him as still at work there, it must have preceded by some little time John's first flight, and Calixtus' first efforts to force him to return to Glasgow. This limits the date of the *Inquisitio* to A.D. 1118 x 1122; and makes the most likely date for it to be A.D. 1120 or 1121. The *record* of that *Inquisitio* appears from its terms to have been drawn up some time later than the enquiry itself; possibly when Glasgow cathedral was consecrated, and its Register formally commenced. These dates leave room for Michael (see above, p. 13): and allow John to have been at work two or three years in Glasgow as Bishop prior to the *Inquisitio* being made. Whether Michael died before David nominated John, or whether he was simply put on one side, there is no evidence to show. But the former was probably the case, inasmuch as the York Archbishops never alleged as an objection to John, that the see was full already. There are proofs of a double line of Bishops, a native line and a York line simultaneously, in the other similar cases, viz. in the Orkneys and at Candida Casa, at a later period. But those who recognized the one of these, did not also recognize the other.

A.D. 1118. *The Augustinian Monastery of Jedburgh founded by Prince David*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The date is from *Wyntoun's Chron.*, lib. VII. c. 5. Daniel, the first recorded prior, signs a charter of King David to Coldingham August 16, A.D. 1139. And the priory must have grown into importance and become an

abbey by A.D. 1147, in which year Fordun (*I.* 301) dates its foundation (*Morton, Monastic Hist. of Teviotdale*, p. 4; *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, I. 368).

A.D. 1118. *Pope Gelasius II. to John Bishop of Glasgow*: [not preserved: see below, under A.D. 1125].

A.D. 1119. *Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury to Pope Calixtus II.*: [incidentally discussing the claims of York over the Scottish Church and over Glasgow: see below, under the Scottish Church].

A.D. 1110. Nov. 20. *Beauvais*. Pope Calixtus II. to the Scottish Bishops: [two letters, one including "J. Glasguensis" by name, enjoining submission to York: see both of them below, under the Scottish Church.]

A.D. 1120 or 1121. *Inquisition into the lands belonging to the See of Glasgow, made by the Elders and Wise Men of Cumbria by command of David Earl of Cumbria*<sup>a</sup>.

REG. GLASG. NO. I.—*Inquisitio per David principem Cumbrensem de terris Ecclesie Glasguensi pertinentibus facta.*

Igitur, quandoquidem predecessorum instituta mortalium litterarum ostentatione et scribarum deliberatione ad memoriam reuocantur, nos Cumbrensiū quedam gesta nobilium presentibus apicibus memorie commendauimus. In Cumbria itaque, regione quadam inter Angliam et Scotiam sita, fide catholica in illis climatibus prius exuberante ac propagante, domestici fidei<sup>b</sup> ac proceres regni, cum Rege prouincie cooperante, in honorem Dei et Sancte Marie pie genitricis, Ecclesiam Glasguensem, sedem scilicet pontificalem Cumbrensis regionis, fundauerunt, et dignis sanctionibus pro pristina sanctorum religione patrum solidauerunt. Hec uero pulchris initiatibus, et ecclesiasticis institutionibus, sancte quoque fidei rudimentis, inoleuit; et dispositione Divina Sanctum Kentegernum in Episcopum admisit, qui celestis affluentiam doctrine sitientibus propinaret, et cibum spiritualem ut fidelis dispensator esurientibus ministraret. Verumenimvero fraudulentus exterminator supradictam Ecclesiam diu inuiolabiliter constare ingemiscens, consuetis versutiis suis, post multa temporum curricula, scandala intollerabilia Crumbrensiū Ecclesie machinauit. Dicto namque Kentegerno pluribusque successoribus suis pie religionis perseverantia ad Deum transmigratis, diuerse seditiones circumquaque insurgentes, non solum Ecclesiam et eius possessiones destruxerunt, uerum etiam totam regionem vastantes, eius habitatores exilio tradiderunt. Sic ergo omnibus bonis exterminatis, magnis temporum interuallis transactis, diuerse tribus diuersarum nationum ex diuersis partibus affluentes, desertam regionem prefatam habitauerunt: sed dispari genere et dissimili lingua et vario more viuentes, haut facile [inter] sese consentientes, gentilitatem potius quam fidei cultum tenuere. Quos infelices dampnate

## [INQUISITIO DAVIDIS.]

habitationis habitatores, more pecudum irrationabiliter degentes, dignatus est Dominus, Qui neminem vult perire, propitiacione Sua visitare : tempore enim Henrici Regis Anglie Alexandro Scotorum Rege in Scotia regnante, misit eis Deus Daud, predicti Regis Scotie germanum, in principem et ducem ; qui eorum impudica et scelerosa contagia corrigeret, et animi nobilitate et inflexibili seueritate contumeliosam eorum contumaciam refrenaret. Hic nempe, bene viuendi studio feruidus, profane multitudin[is] miserie condolens, ut pastoralis sollicitudine, qua diutius caruerant, eorum obprobria deleret, Divino instigatus hortamine, Johannem quendam, religiosum virum, qui eum educauerat vitamque eius Deo non imbecilliter devotam uoverat, [peritorum]<sup>e</sup> consilio clericorumque suorum auxilio in Episcopum elegit. Sed cum Episcopus, cognita infelicis populi feritate et abhominabili vitiorum multiplicitate, utpote perterritus, Jerusalem proficisci disposuisset, ab Apostolico Paschali licet inuitus consecratus, officium susceptę sollicitudinis nullatenus differre voluit ; sed cum gaudio sub plebis alacritate a principe et a proceribus regni receptus, verbum predicationis, Spiritu Sancto largissime operante, per Cumbrensem parrochiam diffudit. Daud uero, Cumbrensis regionis princeps, amore precipue Dei, partim quoque [ob] religiosi dilectionem et ammonitionem, terras Ecclesie Glasguensi pertinentes, singulis Cumbrie prouinciis, que sub dominio et potestate eius erant (non enim toti Cumbrensi regioni dominabatur), inquirere fecit ; ut auidus ipsius Ecclesie restorationis, possessionum earum, quas antiquitus tenuerat, posteris et sequacibus suis certitudinem relinqueret. Has uero auxilio et inuestigatione seniorum hominum et sapientiorum totius Cumbrie pro posse suo inuestigauit, que inferius subscribuntur : Carlcuien, Camcar, Camcathetheyn, Leugartheyn, Pathelanerhe, Cunclut, Chefcaruenuat, Carnetheyn, Caruil, Quendal, Abercarf, Mecheyn, Planmichel, Stoboc, Penteiacob, Alne-cumba, Treueronum, Lillescliua, Aschechyrce, Hodelme, Edýngaheým, Abermelc, Driuesdal, Colehtaun, Treuertrold, Aschelý, Brumescheýd, Treuergýlt, in Pobles una carucata terre et ecclesia, in Treucqyrd unum [c]arucata et ecclesia, in Mereboda una carucata et ecclesia<sup>d</sup>. Has terras iurauerunt fore pertinentes Ecclesie Glasgu, rogatu et imperio supradicti principis, Uchtred filius Waldef, Giff. filius Boed, Leýsyng et Oggo, Cumbrenses iudices, Halden filius Eadulf. Huius rei testes sunt, ut audientes et videntes, Matildis comitissa, que ex parte sua concessit, Willelmus nepos ipsius prin-

cipis, Cospatric frater Dalfin, Waldef frater suus, Cospatric filius Uctred, Cospatric filius Alden, Osolf filius Eaduie, Maccus filius Undweyn, Uchtred filius Scot, Ulchel filius Alstan, Hugo de Moruilla, Paganus de Brausa, Osbert de Ardena, Geruasius Ridel, Guido de Caynes, Berengarius Engaine, Robertus Corbet, Walterus de Lindeseya, Robertus de Burneuilla, Reinaldus de Muscans, Walterus filius Winemari, Willelmus Venator, Alanus de Perci, Walterus de Broÿ. [pp. 3-7, *ed. Innes*: also in *W.*, I. 392, 393, from *Sir J. Dalrymple*.]

<sup>a</sup> For this date, see above, p. 16, first note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> So in the original Register. Read "fili."

<sup>c</sup> A blank in the Register. "Uoverat," also, should have been "noverat."

<sup>d</sup> The places specified in Bulls of various Popes of later dates, as declared by them to belong to the see of Glasgow, are as follows:—

1. A.D. 1170, April 5. *Verulæ. Bull of Alexander III. (Reg. Glasg. XXVI., mentioned, but not printed in extenso, below).—*Ecclesiam de Veteri Rochesburc, ecclesiam de Merebotla, ecclesiam de Hastensdeñ, ecclesiam de Wilthona, ecclesiam de Traueqf, ecclesiam de Pebles, ecclesiam de Orda, ecclesiam de Chadiho, et ecclesias villarum que proprie ad mensam tuam [sc. of Engelram, then Bishop] spectant, Glasgu, Guuan, Villa filie Sadin, Conclud, Chaders, Badermanoch, Casteltarres, Stubho, Gillemorestuin, Lillesclue, Eschechirca, Alnecrumbe, Trauerenni, Hodelme, Casthelmilc, Driuesdale, Eschebi.

2. A.D. 1173 (1172 O. S.), March 25. *Signia. Same Pope (Reg. Glasg. XXVIII., mentioned below, but not printed in extenso).* Parochiam de Glasgw, etc. et cum incremento carrucate terre iuxta Rinfriu, etc., ecclesiam de Guuan cum toto Perdehic, ecclesiam de Renfri cum decimis, etc., unam carrucatam terre in Glasgu cum ecclesia de Cadiho et eius pertinentiis, etc., Barlannark cum Budlornac, etc.—The same Bull establishes the Bishop's and Chapter's exclusive jurisdiction "infra territoria de Glasgu, de Guuan, de Perdehic, de villa Mineschadin."

3. A.D. 1174 (which should be 1175), April 30. *Ferentinum. Same Pope (Reg. Glasg. XXXII., printed below at length).*

4. A.D. 1179, April 19. *Lateran. Same Pope (Reg. Glasg. LI., mentioned below, but not here printed in extenso).* Glasgu, etc., Guuan, Perthec, Villam filie Sedin, Kader, Badermonoc, Ballain, Conclud, Tor, Casteltarres, Stobhow, Gillemorestun, Aschechircha, Lillesclue, Trauerennj, Alnecrumbe, cum omnibus earumdem terrarum ecclesiis, capellis,

et ceteris pertinentiis; capellam Castelli de Rochesburc, ecclesiam de Veteri Rochesburc, ecclesiam de Merebotla, ecclesiam de Hastansedena, ecclesiam de Wiltona, ecclesiam de Trauequeir, ecclesiam de Pebbles, ecclesiam de Orda, ecclesiam de Karnewid, ecclesiam de Kermichel, ecclesiam de Killebride, ecclesiam de Kadihou, ecclesiam de Reinfri, ecclesiam de Moffet, ecclesiam de Kirkepatric, ecclesiam de Driuesdale, ecclesiam de Hodelme, ecclesiam de Lohcwhoreuerd, ecclesiam de Kirkecolemanele, cum omnibus, etc.; partes etiam parochie tue [of Bishop Jocelin], scil. Theuidale, Tuedale, Cludesdale, Eschedale, Ewiche-dale, Lidelesdale, Driuesdale, Annäsdedale, Leuenaches, Stratgrif, Meornes, Largas, Kunig-ham, Kiil, Karrich, Glenkarr, Stratnud, Desnes, et quicquid iuris tui est in Galweia.

5. A.D. 1182 (1181 O. S.), March 17. *Velletri, Bull of Lucius III. (Reg. Glasg. LVII., mentioned below, but not printed in extenso).* [Identical with the foregoing, minute differences of spelling excepted, and excepting also that Lucius adds "ecclesiam de Castelmilc" after "e. de Driuesdale."]

6. A.D. 1186, June 12. *Verona. Bull of Urban III. (Reg. Glasg. LXII., mentioned below, but not printed in extenso).* Glasgu, Neutun, Garuah, Dalmornoc, Carnedin Crag, Guuan, Perthec, Schedinestun, Buthlornoc, Barlannarc, Cader, Badermonoc, Ballain [etc. etc. as in Bull of 1179, down to] Lillesclif, Hirdmanestun, Trauerannj [etc. as in Bull of 1179, down to] pertinentiis, preter hec autem ecclesiam de Cadihou cum capella de Meiham, ecclesiam de Reinfri, ecclesiam de Karnewid, capellam castelli de Rocheburh, ecclesiam de Veteri Rokeburh cum capella de Farnidun, ecclesiam de Merbotle cum capella de Clifun et capella de Witthun, ecclesiam de Hastanedenene, ecclesiam de Wiltun, ecclesiam de Traquir, ecclesiam de Pebles cum capella de Mainere, ecclesiam de Horda, capellam de Munmaban, ecclesiam de Kermichel, ecclesiam de Kelbride, ecclesiam de Moffet, ecclesiam de



[SEE OF GLASGOW TO BE SUBJECT TO THAT OF YORK.]

Kirkepatric, ecclesiam de Driuesdale, capellam de Hotun, ecclesiam de Castelmilc, ecclesiam de Hodelma, ecclesiam de Kerkecolein. [etc. etc. as in Bull of 1179, down to] Galweia [except that Urban omits Kunigham].

The places here named include:—1. In the valley of the Clyde, Wandal or Hartside (Quendale), Carnwith, Castle Tarres or Carstairs, and Carmichael (Planmichel?) near Lanark, Asseby, Hamilton (Cadihou), with the Chapel of Machan or Dalsarf (Mecheyn); Glasgow itself; north and south of Glasgow, Munkland (Badermanoch) and Cadder, Kilbride and Meorns; and round it, Shettleston (Villa Filie Sedin, Mineschadin, etc.), Kincleith (Conclud), Barlannarc and Buthlornoc (Pathe-lanerhe, near Provan), Ballayn, Gorrals; and below it, north of the river, Newton, Parthick, Kilpatrick; south of it, Govan, Renfrew, Strathgryfe, and Largs. 2. In the valley of the Tweed, Kirkurd (Orda), Stobo, Eddleston (= Penteiacob = Gillemorestun), Peebles, Traquair. 3. In the valley of the Teviot, Wilton next to Hawick, Ashkirk, Hassendean, Lillesclif, Ancrum, Hirdmanston, Roxburgh with

Fairnington, Morebattle with Whitton and Clifton. 4. In the valley of the Annan, Moffat, Kirkpatrick, Hutton, S. Mungo (Abermelc or Castlemilc), Drysdale, Hoddam (Hodelme). 5. In the valley of the Nith, Glencairn. 6. In Ayr, Colmonell (Kirkcoleman). 7. In Midlothian and not in the diocese of Glasgow, Borthwick (Lohcwhoreurd). And 8, also the several dales and districts themselves that are enumerated. This would cover the extent of the later diocese of Glasgow, viz. the rural deaneries of Lennox (Leuenaches), Rutherglen, Kyle and Cuninghame, Carrick, Lanark, Peebles, Nithsdale, Annandale, and Teviotdale, i. e. nearly the shires of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Lanark, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh south of Tweed, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright east of the Urr, Ayr, and part of Stirling; but in Galloway, i. e. Wigton and part of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, divided into the rural deaneries of Desnes, Farnes, and Rhynnis, it includes by name only Desnes; which certainly was, finally, in Galloway diocese. Several of the names in the *Inquisitio* cannot be identified.

After A.D. 1120. *Priory of St. Bees refounded as a cell to St. Mary's at York, by Will. de Meschines* <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Charter in *Dugd., Mon. III.* 577, no. 3.

A.D. 1122. *January 15<sup>a</sup>. Tarentum. Pope Calixtus II. to John Bishop of Glasgow.*

CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili*  
Submit to the  
Archbishop of *fratri Johanni Glesguensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam  
York. benedictionem. Eborac. Ecclesie postulatione a domino  
predecessore nostro sancte memorie Paschale Papa in Episcopum consecratus es: quam profecto benignitatem cum humiliter recognovisse debueris, in tantam (uti accipimus) superbiam elevatus es, ut metropolitano tuo Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, nec pro nostro etiam precepto, professionem volueris exhibere. Contemtus huius pertinaciam nos diutius pati non posse pro certo cognoveris. Propter quod repetita tibi preceptione precipimus, ut Eboracensem Ecclesiam, in cuius capitulo tanquam eius suffraganeus electus es, non ut ingratus filius, recognoscas matrem tuam; et venerabili fratri nostro T. metropolitano tuo professionem exhibeas. Alioquin sententiam quam ipse in te canonica equitate protulerit, nos, auctore Deo, ratam habemus.

[SEE OF GLASGOW TO BE SUBJECT TO THAT OF YORK.]

Data Tarenti XVIII, calend. Februarii. [*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. I. fol. 51: and in *Dugd.*, VI. iii. 1188, no. 60.]

\* For two letters of the same date, respectively to Alexander King of Scotland and to the Scottish Bishops in general, enjoining

the former to compel, and the latter to pay, obedience to York, see below, under the Scottish Church.

A.D. 1122, 1123. *John Bishop of Glasgow, suspended by Thurstin Archbishop of York, endeavours to fly from his diocese, but is compelled by the Pope to return, although he still refuses to submit to York.*

SIM. DUN. *H. R. A.*, an. 1122.—Turstinus Archiepiscopus exigens a Johanne Glasguensi Episcopo professionem et subjectionem, cum hoc ille facere nollet, eum suspendit ab officio Episcopali. Mox ille Romam proficiscitur, ubi cum sese in causa sua non videret procedere, Jerosolymam profectus, per aliquot ibidem menses benigno patriarchæ hospitio demoratur, ejusque sæpius vices in pontificali ministerio exequitur. [*Twysd.* 245.]—An. 1123.—Interea Johannes Glasguensis Episcopus, ab Apostolico revocatus ab Jerosolymis Romam, præcipitur redire ad suum Episcopatum. [*ib.* 248.]

CHRON. DE MAILLOS, in an. 1122.—Johannes Episcopus Glascuensis Romam et Ierosolimam proficiscitur. *Ib.*, in an. 1123.—Johannes Episcopus Glascuensis a Kalixto Papa compellitur redire ad Episcopatum.

A.D. 1122. May 16. *Lateran. Pope Calixtus II. to Thurstin Archbishop of York.*

The Pope has vainly ordered John of Glasgow to submit to York. He has fled to Jerusalem a second time.

CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri T. Ebor. Archiepiscopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Confrater noster, Johannes Glesguensis Episcopus, de quo scripsisti, ad nos veniens, multa precum instantia et nonnullis modis aliis laboravit ut eum ab exhibitione professionis illius quam de ipso exigis solveremus. Nos vero et suam servari Ebor. ecclesiæ dignitatem cupientes, et dilectionem tuam ad memoriam revocantes, ejusdem fratris precibus neque verbis neque pollicitationibus assensum præbuimus: iccirco ipse Ierosolimam, prout nobis ab aliis relatum est, proficiscens de Urbe ab nostra licentia conscientiaque discessit. Quid facturus sit ignoramus. Tu itaque, frater karissime, ita matrem tuam Romanam ecclesiam diligere, atque tuis studeas nuntiis visitare, et ita etiam dilectionis



[GRANT OF KING DAVID TO THE SEE OF GLASGOW.]

nostræ memor existas, ut semper Apostolicæ benignitatis gratia dignior semper habearis. Data Laterani XVII. kalend. Junii. [Reg. Magn. Alb. Ebor., P. I. fol. 51 b.]

A.D. 1122. Aug. 26. Lateran. Calixtus II. to John Bishop of Glasgow.

Obey Thurstin within thirty days. CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Johanni Glesguensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Multis dilecti filii nostri Alexandri Regis Scottorum precibus inclinati, tibi aliquanti temporis inducias dedimus, quatinus infra prefixi diei terminum ad obedientiam venerabilis fratris nostri T. Ebor. Archiepiscopi debita humilitate redires. Sicut autem directa litterarum suarum notatione percepimus, te ab ejus obedientia et subjectione subtrahere presumpsisti. Unde tibi mandamus, quatinus infra triginta dies post harum acceptionem litterarum ad prefati Archiepiscopi subiectionem et obedientiam redeas. Alioquin sententiam que ab eo in te promulgata est, confirmamus. Data Laterani VII. calend. Septembris. [Cott. MSS. Claud. B. III. fol. 131 a; Reg. Alb. Ebor., P. I. fol. 51, and P. III. fol. 57: and in Dugd., VI. 1187 (bis), nos. 48 and 51.]

After A.D. 1124. *Grant of the tithe of his chan<sup>a</sup> by King David to Glasgow Bishopric.*

REG. GLASG. no. 9.—*De decima domini Regis de suo chan, Episcopo Glasg. pertinente.*—DAVID DEI GRATIA REX SCOTTORUM, *Baronibus, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis totius regni tam Gawensibus quam Anglicis et Scotis<sup>b</sup>*, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Domino et Ecclesie Sancti Kentegerni de Glasgu in perpetuam eleemosynam totam decimam meam de meo chan in animalibus et porcis, de Stratgriua, et Cunegan, et de Chul, et de Karric<sup>c</sup>, unoquoque anno; nisi tunc quando ego ipse illuc uenero perendinens et ibidem meum chan comedens. Testibus Willelmo Cumin Cancellario, Hugone de Moreuilla, Fergus de Galweia, Hugone Britone, Waltero filio Alani, Alwino Mac Archil, Radulfo filio Dunegal, Duuenald fratre suo: apud Cadihou<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Duties paid in cattle and swine, etc. to the lord on his progress = "kain" (*Innes*; and *Bk. of Deer*, p. lxxxvii. ed. Stuart; and *Charter of Priory of Isle of May*, pp. 7, 11, ed. Stuart, etc. etc.).

<sup>b</sup> No. 10 of the Glasg. Register is a grant by

the same King, and with nearly the same witnesses, of the 8th penny "de omnibus placitis meis per totam Cumbriam," directed "baronibus et omnibus ministris suis totius Cumbrie:" both nos. 9 and 10 being subsequently confirmed by King Malcolm (*ib.* 14). And the

## [COUNCIL OF ROXBURGH.]

latter King also confirms tithes to the see of Glasgow (*ib.* 13), addressing the grant, "Francis, et Anglicis, Scottis, Walensibus, Gauelensibus, et omnibus Ecclesie Sancti Kentegerni de Glasgu et eiusdem Episcopi parochianis." Pope Alexander III. confirms the grant twice

(*ib.* 17, 18), and that also of the tithe of the chan, adding also Largs to the list of places (*ib.* 24).

<sup>c</sup> sc. Strathgryfe, Cuningham, Kyle, and Carrick.

<sup>d</sup> sc. Cadyow = Hamilton.

A.D. 1125. May × August. Council of Roxburgh under the Legate  
*John of Crema*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> To determine the question between Thurstin and the Scottish Bishops. The decision, which took no effect, is unrecorded. See below, under the Scottish Church.

A.D. 1125. December (?). *Thurstin's claim against John Bishop of Glasgow renewed at Rome before Pope Honorius.*

STUBBS, *Act. Pontif. Ebor.*<sup>a</sup>—Quia vero Johannes Glesguensis Episcopus ibi in curia præsens erat, Thurstinus Archiepiscopus clamavit se de eo coram Apostolico, eo quod ipse Johannes in Eboracensi Ecclesia sicut suffraganeus ejus electus, et per literas suas a Papa Paschali consecratus, postea nec propter literas ejusdem Papæ Paschalis, neque Kalixti, quas ibi recitari fecit, quicquid obedientiæ vel reverentiæ ei voluit exhibere: similiter et de Episcopis Scotiæ conquestus est. Persuasum fuerat Papæ Scotiam non esse de regno Angliæ, quia volebant pallium requirere Episcopo Sancti Andreæ et ita Archiepiscopum ibi creari. Sed Archiepiscopus Turstinus et secreto et palam in curia ostendit Scotiam de regno Angliæ esse, et Regem Scotorum ligium hominem Regis Angliæ esse. Glesguensis autem Episcopus querelæ Archiepiscopi ita respondit, se non venisse vocatum, et in legatione domini sui Regis Scotiæ ibi esse. Decretumque est diem illi statuere, et Episcopos Scotiæ et absentes per literas domini Papæ summonere. Statuitque Papa Turstino Archiepiscopo et Johanni diem a proxima Quadragesima in alteram, sic dicens Johanni Episcopo: Frater, in quibus bonæ memoriæ Papa Gelasius te ligavit, nos<sup>b</sup> te absolvimus. Episcopos Scotiæ ad diem designatum per literas vocare disposuit. [*Twysd.* 1719.]

<sup>a</sup> The original authority for this story appears to be Hugh the Chanter (see *Raine, Fasti Ebor.* 197 n.). The dates are not quite certain. The Archbishops, with Alexander Bishop of Lincoln (*Stubbs* 1718), accompanied the legate John on his return to Rome after the London Council (*Sim. Dun.*) of Sept. 9, A.D. 1125 (placed by *Sim. Dun.* in A.D. 1126, but wrongly: see above, in vol. I. p. 318). And the *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*

tells us, in harmony with this, that "shortly after Michaelmas," in A.D. 1125, "J. the Bishop of Lothene" (i. e. evidently John of Glasgow), with "G. Abbat of S. Alban's," accompanied the above-named three prelates to Rome. The same year, 1125, is given also by the *Cont. Flor. Wig.*, by the *Ann. Waverl.*, and by *Stubbs*. They returned to England the next year, 1126, William being now legate; but this is put one year later (1127) by *Sim.*

[SEE OF CANDIDA CASA.]

*Dun.* in consequence of his original error. And the date of William of Canterbury's legatine appointment must be Jan. A.D. 1126, not Jan. A.D. 1127. The *Cbron. de Mailros*, however, makes the date of their journey to Rome to be A.D. 1126, in accordance with what certainly seems to be Simeon's error in the matter. If the letter of Honorius about

Gilla-Aldan, given below, is rightly dated on Dec. 9, it marks the probable month of the parallel Glasgow dispute in the text. But in any case the Archbishops were in Rome all the winter.

<sup>b</sup> For "nos," it looks as if we ought to read "non." See *Raine, ib.*

A.D. 1125 or 1126<sup>a</sup>. Dec. 9. *Lateran. Pope Honorius II. to Gilla-Aldan Bishop Elect of Candida Casa (i. e. Gallovidiæ<sup>b</sup>).*

Go to Thurstin  
for consecration. HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilecto filio electo de Candida Casa*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cui alii a Domino preesse conceditur, nulla suis digne subesse prelati superbia convincatur. Ideoque per presentia scripta tibi mandamus, ut ad karissimum fratrem nostrum T[urstinum]<sup>c</sup> Ebor. Archiepiscopum tanquam ad proprium metropolitanum tuum consecrandus accedas; et ab ipsius manu presente Sancti Spiritus gratia cum humilitatis devotione consecrationem accipias. Data Laterani quinto idus Decembris. [*Cott. MSS. Claud. B. III.*, fol. 131 b; *Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. I. fol. 52, and P. III. fol. 57 b: and in *Dugd.*, VI. 1187, no. 49.]

<sup>a</sup> Honorius was enthroned Dec. 21, A.D. 1124, and John of Glasgow was in England acting with Thurstin, in July A.D. 1127. This letter therefore is determined by that which follows it, to either A.D. 1125 or A.D. 1126. Thurstin was himself at Rome in the winter of A.D. 1125-1126 (see above, p. 23, last note <sup>a</sup>), and sent messengers there in that of A.D. 1126-1127 (see below, p. 26, first note <sup>a</sup>); in both cases, in relation to his parallel Glasgow controversy. Either A.D. 1125 therefore, or more probably A.D. 1126, must be the date of these letters.

<sup>b</sup> Nothing is recorded of the see of Gallo-way from the alleged visit to Whithorn of

Kenneth II., until this appointment of Bishop Gilla-Aldan; except Boethius' assertion (*IX.*) that Malcolm III. re-established it, c. A.D. 1070. It possibly merged in that of Glasgow when Anglian prelates of Lindisfarne or Chester-le-Street became excluded from it. Possibly British Bishops still existed in the district (see above, p. 13). Gilla-Aldan was obviously a native, and his case so far differed from that of Carlisle. But whether David, or Fergus of Galloway, revived the see in his person, does not appear.

<sup>c</sup> "Thomam" in Dugdale, by mistake. It is only "T." in the Register.

A.D. 1125 or 1126<sup>a</sup>. Dec. 9. *Lateran. Pope Honorius II. to John Bishop of Glasgow.*

Obey Thurstin  
of York. HONORIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri J. Glesguensi episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Sæpe per Apostolica scripta fraternitati tuæ mandatum est ut venerabili fratri nostro Turstini Ebor. Archiepiscopo obedientiam tanquam proprio metropolitanis deferres: verum tu nondum mandatis Apostolicis obedisti. Ea propter per præsentia tibi scripta præcipientes mandamus quatenus eidem fratri nostro T.

[SEE OF CANDIDA CASA.]

Ebor. Archiepiscopo, sicut metropolitano tuo, obedientiam et reverentiam deferas. Data Laterani V. idus Decembris. [Reg. Mag. Alb. Ebor., P. I. fol. 51 b.]

<sup>a</sup> For the date, see the preceding letter.

A.D. 1125 (or earlier) × 1160. *Premonstratensian abbeys of Soulseat Holywood or Dercongal, Whitherne, and Tunland, and the Augustinians of S. Mary's Isle, near Kirkcudbright,—“Prioratus Sanctæ Mariæ de Trayll”—founded by Fergus of Galloway*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See *Pref. to Cbartul. of Dryburgh*, pp. vi. vii.; Spottiswood's *Relig. Houses*, c. V., etc. Fergus became a monk of Holyrood in A.D. 1160. Soulseat, which was the mother of the Premonstratensian abbeys here men-

tioned, must therefore have been founded earlier than the new Whitherne; which itself again must have been refounded not later than the refoundation of the see of Whitherne, i. e. probably not later than A.D. 1125.

A.D. 1126 × 1140<sup>a</sup>. *Revival of the See of Candida Casa as a Suffragan See to York.*

STUBBS, *Act. Pont. Ebor.*—Ordinavit [Thurstinus] tres Episcopos diversis temporibus, scil. Gaufridum Lindefarnensi, Adelwoldum Karreliolensi, Gilaldanum Candidæ Casæ, hoc est, Herwicernensis Ecclesiæ. [Twysd. 1720.]

*Profession of Gilla-Aldan, Bishop of Candida Casa elect, to Thurstin Archbishop of York* [“subiectio Episcopi Candidæ Casæ.”]

*Domino et patri suo reverendo Thurstino Dei gratia Eboracensis provincie metropolitano*, GILLA-ALDAN HUMILIS ELECTUS CANDIDE CASE, salutem et obedientiam. Cognovi, tam scriptis patrum autenticis quam verediciis antiquorum virorum testimoniis, quod Episcopus Candide Case ab antiquo debeat ad matrem suam Eboracensem metropolim respicere, et ei in hiis que ad Deum pertinent obtemperare. Quapropter ego Gilla-Aldan Candide Case electus sancte Eborac. Ecclesie, et tibi, Turstine, et successoribus tuis canonice instituendis, debitam subiectionem a sanctis patribus institutam et canonicam obedientiam me amodo servaturum promitto. [Cott. MSS. Claud. B. III. fol. 22 a; Reg. Alb. Ebor., P. III. fol. 17; and in Dugd., VI. iii. 1188, 1189, no. 64.]

<sup>a</sup> This is usually dated A.D. 1133. But the only chronicler who mentions it, specifies the three consecrations of which he speaks to have happened “diversis temporibus;” and the other two certainly did take place in A.D. 1133. Possibly Stubbs may only mean in

different months. Of course it must have followed Honorius's letter, and have preceded Thurstin's death. Its most probable date would be A.D. 1126 or 1127, according to the date to be assigned to that letter, which probably it followed at no long interval.

[SEE OF GLASGOW STILL NOT SUBJECT TO YORK.]

A.D. 1126. *Christmas. London*<sup>a</sup>. *Cause between the Scottish Bishops and Thurstin deferred until yet another Lent.*

<sup>a</sup> Thurstin, by agreement with King David and the Scottish Bishops, obtained this concession from the Pope by messengers, instead of going to Rome in person, as he was preparing to do, in conformity with the Pope's order given to himself and Bishop John of Glasgow in the previous winter (*Twysd.* 1719, 1720, and see below, under the Scottish

Church). The cause was evidently put off again, but no further record remains. John acted with Thurstin subsequently. He was at Roxburgh July 17, A.D. 1127, with Thurstin and King David and others (*Lib. Vitæ Eccl. Dun.* p. 67); and again at York in A.D. 1128, assisting Thurstin to consecrate Robert Bishop of S. Andrews.

A.D. 1131. *Nov. 29. Auxerre. Pope Innocent II. to John Bishop of Glasgow*<sup>a</sup>.

Obey Thurstin. INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Johanni Glesguensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Predecessor noster felicitis memorie Papa Paschalis, salvo siquidem Eboracensis Ecclesie iure, tibi manum consecrationis imposuit. Postmodum vero successores eius sancte recordationis Calixtus et Honorius, Romani pontifices, tibi per scripta Apostolica mandaverunt, quatinus venerabili fratri nostro T[urstino] Archiepiscopo Eborac. tanquam proprio metropolitano obedientiam et reverentiam exhiberes. Quamvis autem, prout ipse asserit, ei obedire promiseris, nondum tamen id effectu prosequente complesti. Quocirca per presentia tibi scripta precipimus, ut, omni dilatione seu tergeruisatione remota, predicto fratri nostro T. Archiepiscopo humiliter pareas. Alioquin ei in sua deesse iusticia non poterimus. Data Altissiodori tertio cal. Decembris. [*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. I. fol. 52 a: and in *Dugd.*, VI. 1187, no. 50.]

<sup>a</sup> A letter to the same effect was sent the same day (Nov. 22 in *Wilkins*, I. 480, by

mistake) to the Scottish Bishops in general: see below, under the Scottish Church.

A.D. 1133. *August 6. First Bishop of Carlisle*<sup>a</sup>, *and in subjection to York*<sup>b</sup>.

JO. HAGUST. *an.* 1133.—Anno MCXXXIII., mense Augusto, ante Assumptionem Sanctæ Mariæ, apud Eboracum, a Turstino Archiepiscopo, consecrati sunt Episcopi Galfridus Cancellarius Regis Henrici ad Episcopatum Dunelmensem, Aldulfus Prior de Nostla ad urbem Karleol, quam Rex Henricus initiavit ad sedem Episcopalem, datis sibi Ecclesiis de Cumberland et Westmariland, quæ adiacue-



[SEE OF CARLISLE.]

runt archidiaconatui Eboracensi. [*ed. Raine*, pp. 109, 110; and *Twysd.* 257.]

ANN. WAVERL. *in an.* 1133.—Fecit Rex Henricus novum Episcopatum apud Karduil in finibus Angliæ et Scotiæ, et posuit ibi Episcopum Adulfum, Priorem canonicorum regularium Sancti Oswaldi, cui solitus erat confiteri peccata sua: hic autem canonicos regulares posuit in ecclesia sedis suæ. [*Gale*, II. 151.]

FORDUN, *Scotickron.* VIII. 3.—Hic Henricus ..... videns Johannem Episcopum Glasguensem per Cumberlandiam ecclesias dedicare, et cetera officia pontificalia secundum morem juris antiqui perficere, cum nec sibi nec Archiepiscopo Eboracensi vellet inde ut domino et prælato obsecundare; incitante Turstino Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, constituit per vim et violentiam Eadwaldum Episcopum in Cumberlandia, ad titulum Carleolensem, contra eum, quia non erat qui ei resistere audebat. Quod cum vidisset Episcopus Johannes Episcopatum suum Glasguensem taliter dimembrari, et neque per legem neque per Regem defendi, transfretavit, et in monasterio Tironensi sese in monachum obtulit. Quem Rex Malcolmus auctoritate domini Papæ de monacho ad præsulatum Glasguensem, ipso multum renitente, restitui fecit. Et vicesimo octavo anno Episcopatus sui moritur, et in monasterio de Jedwod sanctus sepelitur. [*vol. I.* p. 449; see XI. 52<sup>c</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> The Pipe Roll of 31 Hen. I., A.D. 1130 (*ed. Hunter*, pp. 140-142), contains grants to the Canons of Carlisle, and among other purposes, for the building of their church.

<sup>b</sup> So also the *Cbron. de Mailros*, *in an.* 1133 ("Adulfus"), and the later chroniclers, Brompton ("Arnulphus," *Twysd.* 1019), Stubbs ("Adelwoldus," *ib.* 1720), Rudborne ("Athelwulfus," *Hist. Maj. Winton.*), R. de Monte ("Ælulfus"), etc. Richard of Hexham calls him "Adthelwlfus." The earlier chronicles fix the year, 1133; and John of Hexham, among them, the month also, August. The latter likewise so far fixes the day as to imply

that it was shortly before Aug. 15, and Geoffrey of Durham is known to have been consecrated upon Aug. 6. Rudborne gives the year as 1132, and adds that it was 33 Hen. I. (Aug. 6, 1132—Aug. 6, 1133), and Hen. Hunt. has also the 33 H. I., but retains the correct year 1133. Aldulph was not put into any real possession of his diocese until A.D. 1138 (see below). And as Cumberland belonged to the Scots from A.D. 1136 until A.D. 1157, he could scarcely have had much to do with it at any time. See also *Rog. Wend.*, II. 212.

<sup>c</sup> Confusing however, in both places, Henry I. with Henry II.

A.D. 1134. *Cistercian Abbey of Calder founded by Ranulph de Meschines, second Earl of Chester and Cumberland*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *Dugd. Mon.*, V. 339. See also above, p. 13.



## [DEDICATION OF GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.]

A.D. 1134 or 1135. May 2<sup>a</sup>. Pisa. Pope Innocent II. to Thurstin Archbishop of York.

The Pope will help Thurstin. INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, venerabili fratri T[hurstino] Ebor. Archiepiscopo, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Probabilem tuæ fidei firmitatem et religionis laudabilem et catholica unitate constantiam sedes Apostolica certis jamdudum indiciis comprobavit. Inde est quod sanctæ matris tuæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ tantam geris sollicitudinem, et tanquam benignus filius ipsius nullatenus es oblitus. Propterea personam tuam sincera in Domino caritate diligimus, et ad ea quæ fraternitati tuæ et Ecclesiæ tuo regimini commissæ profutura esse cognoscimus, libenti animo operam damus: Cæterum super oppressionibus atque molestiis tibi et Ebor. Ecclesiæ, prout accepimus, a Rege Scotiæ et Johanne Glesguensi Episcopo irrogatis affectione paterna compatimur; atque cum facultas nobis a Deo fuerit attributa, Sedes Apostolica tibi et eidem Ecclesiæ suam justitiam conservabit. Porro quia de statu nostro tua sollicitudo certum diem habere desiderat, esse nostrum tibi breviter duximus intimandum. Relicto itaque in Urbe vicario, atque his quæ fidelibus nostris necessaria erant dispositis, ut fratres nostri ad nos veniendi faciliorem haberent aditum, Pisas sani, Deo gratias, incolumesque pervenimus; ibique cum nostris fratribus commorantes, pro his quæ ad honorem et servitium sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ pertinent, studiosius laboramus. Tua igitur interest, karissime frater in Domino, aures Divini consilii assiduis precibus propulsare, quatenus Ecclesia Catholica, quæ diutinis est laboribus fatigata, tuis etiam orationibus adjuncta, ad quietis portum auxiliante Deo valeat pervenire. Data Pisis VI. nonas Maii. [Reg. Alb. Ebor., P. I. fol. 52.]

\* Innocent was living at Pisa in both these years. But the letter seems to have been written no long time after his arrival there

(in Nov., A.D. 1133). And A.D. 1134 is therefore the more likely date.

A.D. 1136. March 23. Refoundation of Melrose Abbey by King David<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. de Mailr. in an.; Orig. Paroch. Scot., I. 280.

A.D. 1136. July 7. Dedication of Glasgow Cathedral<sup>a</sup>.

\* So Chron. de Mailros, in an. 1136, and Chron. S. Crucis. In Reg. Glasg., no. 3, is a grant by King David to S. Kentegern's church of some land at "Perdeyc" (Parthick), which is referred to in a later grant (ib., no. 7) as

having been made "in dotem Ecclesiæ de Glasgu in eiusdem consecratione." The witnesses to no. 3 are Herbert abbat of Roxburgh, William the Chancellor, etc. etc.; but do not include John Bishop of Glasgow him-

## [CULDEES AT GLASGOW.]

self, who had fled to Tyron after A.D. 1133. The older constitution of Glasgow was of a body of clergy (supposed to have been instituted by S. Kentegern), living according to

rule, but "in singulis casulis," etc., "unde singulares clerici a vulgo Calledei nuncupabantur" (*Jocel. in V. S. Kenteg.*, as quoted by Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 27).

A.D. 1136. April 22. Pisa<sup>a</sup>. Pope Innocent II. to William Archbishop of Canterbury, Legate for England and Scotland<sup>b</sup>.

Compel John of Glasgow to obey Archbishop Thurstin.

INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, venerabili fratri G[uillelmo] Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Apostolice Sedis legato. Ita rebelles et ingrati districtis debent animadversionibus coherceri. Quia ergo Johannes Glesguensis Episcopus contra matrem suam sanctam Romanam et Eboracensem Ecclesiam calcaneum suum erexit, et quoscunque potuit in errorem schismatis inducere minime formidavit, sollicitudini tue mandamus, ut sicut in partibus illis vices vestras exequeris, eundem Johannem districte convenias, quatinus a suis erroribus respiscat, et ad debitam obedientiam atque subiectionem Eboracensis Ecclesie redeat. Si vero infra trium mensium spacium, postquam a te commonitus fuerit, hoc implere contempserit, ex tunc, quousque satisfecerit, eum excommunicationi cum tuis suffraganeis subiicias. Id ipsum T[hurstino] Eborac. Archiep. metropolitano suo facere iniunximus. Vale. Data Parisi<sup>c</sup> X. kalend. Maii. [*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. I. fol. 52: and in *Dugd.*, VI. 1188, no. 57.]

<sup>a</sup> For the date, see note to the following letter.

<sup>b</sup> Made so Jan. 25, A.D. 1126.

<sup>c</sup> Read "Pisis."

A.D. 1136. April 22. Pisa<sup>a</sup>. Pope Innocent II. to Thurstin Archbishop of York.

Respecting John of Glasgow, and other matters.

INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, venerabili fratri T[hurstino] Ebor. Archiepiscopo, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Literas et nuntium tuum debita benignitate suscepimus, et super exenniis nobis transmissis devotioni tuæ multimodas gratias exhibemus, Divinam clementiam implorantes ut tam devotum beati Petri filium in tempora longiora conservet incolumem, et pro temporalibus beneficiis præmia æterna recipias. De cætero noverit tua fraternitas, quam, si abbas ille de quo nobis significasti ad nostram præsentiam venerit, quod ad honorem Dei et tuum pertinet superna cooperante clementia sollicite providere curabimus. Iterum autem monasterio Saloberiæ more boni pastoris, Deo propitio, consulas; et qualiter

[SEE OF CARLISLE.]

idonea persona ibidem in abbatem eligatur, nihilominus studeas. Sententiam sane, quam in abbatem de Riesvalle tua discretio promulgaverit, nos auctore Domino ratam habebimus. Et ut in Johannem Glesguensem pseudo-episcopum anathematis sententiam proferat, venerabili fratri nostro G. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo Apostolicæ Sedis legato per scripta nostra mandavimus; quousque a suis erroribus resipiscat, et ad tuam subjectionem et jus metropoliticum redeat. Studii quoque tui sit in eundem Johannem, nisi infra tres menses ad matrem suam sanctam Romanam et Eboracensem ecclesiam remeaverit, anathematis sententiam promulgare. Data Parisi<sup>b</sup> X. kalendas Maii. [*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. I., fol. 52 b.]

<sup>a</sup> The date of this letter is fixed by the reference, not only to Rievaulx, founded A.D. 1132, but more definitely by that to Selby, viz. to the vacancy caused there by the resignation of Abbat Durannus in the "last year of Henry I.," viz. A.D. 1135 (*Hist. Mon. Seleb. in Labb. Bibl. Nov.*, I. 610). Innocent was

at Pisa in April, A.D. 1136. And the York scribe must have written "Parisi" by mistake, both in this and in the preceding letter, which obviously was written at the same time and place. Archbishop William died Nov. 21, A.D. 1136.

<sup>b</sup> Read "Pisis."

A.D. 1136. April 22. Pisa. Pope Innocent II. to Stephen King of England<sup>a</sup>, respecting the Cathedral of Carlisle.

REG. ALB. EBOR.—*Litera ad Dominum S. Regem Angliæ super ecclesia Carleon. de tanto pro Cathedrali habenda.*—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, karissimo in Christo filio Stephano, illustri Anglorum Regi, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Serenitatem tuam nolumus ignorare nos jamdudum ex dispensatione Apostolica statuisse, ut videlicet locus Karliolii de cætero Episcopalis dignitatis culmine decoretur, et perpetuis futuris temporibus ejusdem honoris prærogativa illustratus existat. Ad quod nimirum efficiendum prædecessor tuus gloriosæ memoriæ Henricus multo desiderio æstuavit, si quam morte intercedente quod exinde proposuerat nequivit efficere. Nobilitatem tuam Apostolicis literis commonemus, ut quod ab ipso super eadem re minus factum est, suplere non desinas, quatinus et in eodem loco omnipotenti Domino honorifice serviatur, et tua devotio cum peccatorum remissione a remuneratione ovium digna præmia consequi mereatur. Data Pisis X. kalendas Maii. [*Raine's Mem. of Hexham*, I. App. VIII. pp. xii. xiii.]

<sup>a</sup> Bishop Aldulph was not in possession at all of his see of Carlisle until A.D. 1138. And Henry the son of King David held Cumberland, although as a fief of England, from A.D. 1136. Innocent's letter would suit best

to the earlier period. And as he certainly was at Pisa April 22, A.D. 1136, and apparently not in that month of any later year, A.D. 1136 is almost certainly the date.

A.D. 1138. Sept. 26-29. *Provincial Council of Scottish Bishops at Carlisle under the Legate Alberic.*

Alberic sent as legatē. RICHARD. HAGUST. *Gesta Stephani*, anno 1138.—Circa

idem tempus quidam Albericus Hostiensis Episcopus in illas partes venit, quem Innocentius Romanæ sedis Apostolicus, ut legationis officio in Anglia et Scottia fungeretur, miserat. . . . . Fere per totam Angliam visitando pertransivit. . . . . Tandem vero usque ad Dunelmum pervenit. . . . . Habens secum duos Episcopos Rodbertum Herefordensem et Adthelwlfum Carlelensem, etc., ad Haugustaldense cœnobium pervenit. . . . . Deinde per Northymbriam et Cumbarland quarto die ante festum Sancti Michaelis ad Carlel pervenit, ibique Regem Scottiæ cum Episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, baronibus suæ terræ reperit. Illi vero, diu a Cisalpina, imo fere ab

The Scottish Church accepts Innocent II. as Pope. universa Ecclesia discordantes, exosæ memoriæ Petro Leoni[s] et apostasiæ ejus nimium favisse videbantur. Tunc vero, Divina gratia inspirati, mandata Innocentii Papæ et legatum ejus omnes unanimiter cum magna

veneratione susceperunt. Igitur triduo cum eis de suæ legationis negotiis diligenter tractavit. Et quoniam cognovit quod

John of Glasgow ordered to quit Tyron and return to his sec. Johannes Glesguensis Episcopus curam animarum quam habuerat nulli commiserat, et sine licentia ac clanculo Episcopatum suum reliquerat, et, nulla evidente neces-

sitate cogente, apud Tironam monachus effectus est, de illo definivit, ut regius nuntius cum ipsius et Regis pariter litteris pro eo mitteretur; et si redire nollet, sententia super illum daretur<sup>a</sup> Et ita factum est.

Efforts of the legate to make peace and to prevent barbarities. Convenit quoque Regem de reformanda pace inter eum et Regem Angliæ, et hujus rei gratia ad ejus pedes cecidit, scilicet ut sanctæ Ecclesiæ et sui ipsius et suorum miseretur, quibus tot et tanta mala fecerat. Sed

vix inducias impetravit, quod nullum exercitum et nullum malum, excepta obsidione quæ circa Carrum erat, ante festum Sancti Martini in terram Regis Angliæ induceret. Hoc etiam apud Pictos impetravit, quod omnes puellas ac mulieres captivas, quas habere possent, ante eundem terminum ad Carlel reducerent, et eas ibi libertati redderent. Ipsi quoque et omnes alii firmissime ei promiserunt, quod nullo modo ecclesias amplius violarent, et quod

[COUNCIL OF CARLISLE.]

parvulis et foemineo sexui et ex infirmitate et ætate debilibus parcerent, et omnino neminem nisi sibi resistentem amplius occiderent. Rex quoque, cum Priore de Hestaldasham, qui illuc cum legato venerat, antequam illum interpellaret de dampno ipsius et fratrum suorum locutus, illud multum planxit, et promisit quod totum restitui faceret; et insuper de injuria quæ illis et eorum ecclesiæ facta fuerat, et de interfectione hominum suorum, eis rectum facere suos cogeret. Quod et ex magna parte fecit. Nam et eorum et hominum suorum pecunia fere tota reddita est.

His ita factis, legatus, ipso die festivitatis Sancti Michaelis inde discedens, per Hestaldasham et Dunelmum in Suth-Angliam rediit, narravitque Stephano Regi Angliæ suisque, quod apud David Regem Scottiæ et suos profecerat. [*Raine, Mem. of Hexham, I. 96-100*: also in *Twysd. 325, 326*; and *W., I. 413, 414*.]

JO. HAGUST. *in an. 1138*.—[gives an identical account of this synod, but adds, that] Aldulfum Episcopum in gratiam ejusdem Regis [David] et in sedem suam de Karlel [legatus] recipi impetravit. [*Raine, ib. 121*; *Twysd. 264*; *W., I. 418*.]

CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an. 1138*.—Alberius legatus Hostiensis Episcopus venit Carleil ad Regem David.

\* A grant by king David to Wetherall Priory, witnessed by "Episcopo Johanne," etc., at Carlisle (*Dugd. Mon. III. 595*, from Wetherall

Register), appears to belong to this date or shortly after.

A.D. 1140. *Benedictine (of Tyron) Abbey of Kilwinning in Cuningham founded from Kelso by Hugh Moreville Constable of Scotland (Chalmers, Caled. III. 484); and not later than A.D. 1140, the Hospital or Maison Dieu of Roxburgh, on the right bank of the Teviot, by King David (Lib. de Calchou, p. 279); and A.D. 1144, that of Lismahago in Clydesdale, also Benedictines of Tyron, from Kelso, and dedicated to S. Machutus, founded by King David (Orig. Paroch. Scot., I. 110).*

A.D. 1142. CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.*—Fundata est abbatia de Dundraynan in Galwaya<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Dundrennan was a Cistercian abbey, founded by Fergus of Galloway from Rievaulx.



[BISHOP OF GLASGOW CONSECRATED BY THE POPE.]

A.D. 1147. *August 24. Bishop of Glasgow consecrated by Pope Eugenius III. at Auxerre.*

JO. HAGUST. *in an.* 1147.—Defunctus est eodem anno Johannes Episcopus Glesguensis, propter excellentiam virtutis David Regis Scotiæ familiarissimus; sepultusque est in ecclesia de Gedderwird<sup>a</sup>, in qua conventum regularium clericorum ipse disposuit. Electus pro eo Herbertus abbas de Calceio, vir et ipse strenuus; consecratus est a Papa Eugenio apud Autisiodorum. [*Raine*, 156; and *Twysd.* 276.]

CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.* 1147.—Obiit Johannes Glascuensis Episcopus, et Herebertus abbas de Kelhou successit ei, consecratus a Papa Eugenio Antisiodoro die Sancti Bartholomei.

<sup>a</sup> See also Fordun, as above, p. 28. The see of York was vacant, by Archbishop William's deposition. John was at Coldingham

with King David May 3, A.D. 1147 (*Raine's North Durham, Append.* no. 21).

A.D. 1147 × 1164. *Constitutions of Bishop Herbert for Glasgow Cathedral after the model of Sarum*<sup>a</sup>. [Not preserved. A Bull of Pope Alexander III. of March 25, A.D. 1173, confirms, among other things,] rationabiles consuetudines et libertates, quas bone memorie Herbertus quondam Episcopus uester secundum morem Sarisberiensis Ecclesie in Ecclesia uestra induxit et scripto proprio confirmauit. [*Reg. Glasg.* no. 28.]

<sup>a</sup> See Thomas Innes, in *Pref. to Arbutnot Missal*, lxii-lxv.

A.D. 1150. HOVEDEN, *in an.*—Anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>.C<sup>o</sup>.L<sup>o</sup>. facta est abbatia de Holcultram<sup>a</sup>. ..... Eodem anno ordo Premonstratensis venit ad Dryburc<sup>b</sup> ad festum Sancti Martini. [*I.* 211, *ed. Stubbs.*]—So also CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.*

<sup>a</sup> *Dugd. Mon.*, V. 593.

<sup>b</sup> *Chartul. of Dryburgh.*

A.D. 1154. *Dec. 19. Christian Bishop of Whitherne consecrated at Bermondsey by the Archbishop of Rouen acting for the Archbishop of York*<sup>a</sup>.

CHRON. S. CRUCIS, *in an.*—Christianus in Episcopum Galwalie, eodem die quo et Rex Anglie Henricus, ab Archiepiscopo Rotomagensi apud Bermundeseiam consecratus est.

BENEDICT ABBAS, *in an.* 1177.—Dicebat enim [Christianus] Episcopatum suum pertinere ad legatiam Rogeri Eboracensis Archiepiscopi,



[SEE OF WHITHERNE SUBJECT TO YORK.]

qui eum in Episcopum consecraverat, secundum consuetudinem antiquam prædecessorum utriusque. [I. 167. See below, under A.D. 1177, Aug. 1<sup>b</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> "Christianus Witenensis Episc." witnesses a grant of Malcolm IV. to the church of Dunfermline made in full Scottish Parliament, A.D. 1154 (*Acts of Parl. of Scoll.*, vol. I. p. 52\*).

<sup>b</sup> In Reginald. Dun., *Lib. de B. Cuthb. Virtutibus*, c. 85, is an account of a visit of Ailred

of Rievaulx to Kirkcudbright, A.D. 1164, which states incidentally that the "clerici qui in illa Ecclesia commorantur, . . . Pictorum lingua Scolloftbes cognominantur" (p. 179, ed. Surtees Soc.).

A.D. 1155. Feb. 27. Rome. Bull of Adrian IV. to the Scottish Bishops, and first of all to H. Glasguensis and Christian Candidæ Casæ; [enjoining obedience to Roger Archbishop of York. See below, under the Scottish Church.]

A.D. 1156. See of Carlisle vacant until (in effect) A.D. 1219<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See below, under A.D. 1186. Aldulfus died A.D. 1156 (*Ann. Waverl., R. de Monte*), on the morrow of Ascension Day (*Bened. Abbas*, I. 349). And the see remained vacant "twenty-nine or thirty" years from his death, until a

vain attempt by the King, Henry II., to persuade one Paulinus to accept it, in A.D. 1186 (*Bened. Abbas*, in an. 1186). Carlisle and Cumberland were ceded by Malcolm to Henry in A.D. 1157.

A.D. 1160. The Cluniac Abbey of Paisley founded by Walter Fitz-Alan<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *Regist. de Passelet*, and *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, I. 68.

A.D. 1164. March × September. Attempted Legatine Scottish Council under Roger of York at Norham.

CHRON. DE MAILROS, in an.—Archiepiscopus Eboracensis venit Norham ut legatione fungeretur per Scotiam; sed nuncii Regis Scotorum restiterunt ei, et contradixerunt eius legationi; et inde rediit confusus.

FORDUN, *Scotichron.* VIII. 15.—Hic vir Rogerus totis viribus conatus est primatum habere super Ecclesiam Scoticanam. In tantam enim elationem ob coronationem juvenis Henrici Anglorum, quam in contemptum primatis sui Thomæ Cantuariensis exercuit<sup>a</sup>, ut pro nihilo se prævalere putaverat, nisi et etiam præset Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ. Nam et antequam coronatus fuit idem Henricus, patre consentiente, anno scil. Domini 1164, Ingelramus Archidiaconus Glasguensis, Regis Malcolmi olim Cancellarius, mortuo Herberto, electus est in Glasguensem antistitem. Quo in tempore vacaverunt Sancti An-

[ATTEMPTED LEGATINE COUNCIL AT NORHAM.]

dreæ, Glasguensis, et Moraviensis Episcopatus. Ingelramus igitur in die Dominica electus, in Sabbato sequenti sacerdos ordinatus, et in quadragesimo die electionis suæ a Romano Pontifice Alexandro tertio in Episcopum consecratus<sup>b</sup>. Quod Rogerus Eboracensis satis moleste tulit, ut sequentia declarabunt. Henrici junioris Regis Angliæ fretus auxilio, inhiabat sibi usurpare ordinationis dignitatem, non solum Glasguensis Ecclesiæ, sed et Sancti Andreæ, atque totius cleri Scotiæ legationem. Habens ad hoc legationis privilegium ab Apostolico clanculo et falsis suggestionibus impetratum<sup>c</sup>, venit pompose ad Castrum de Norham Twedæ fluvio vicinum; inde mox bajulis ad clerum Scotiæ delegatis, quatenus illum cum honore velut suum susciperent legatum a Summo Pontifice destinatum, aut sibi cognoscerent Divinum officium sequestrandum. Quod cum audisset Ingelramus, nondum adhuc electus sed duntaxat Archidiaconus Glasguensis et Regis Cancellarius, indigne valde ferebat; et de consensu cleri ad hoc electus, et procurator effectus, adjunctis sibi notabilibus clericis, cum quodam satellite nobili et manu forti, hunc delphinum Eboracensem Rogerum inconsternate aggreditur: dicens, Unde tibi, pater, præsumptio ista elata, nostri honoris clandestinum te voluisses privilegium usurpare? Disputatum est hinc inde acriter, Salomone Decano Glasguensi et Waltero Priore de Kalco sibi assistantibus ac multum eleganter perorantibus; donec ad curiam Romanam a Scotis appellatum est; ubi, astantibus pomposis clericis et procuratoribus Eboracensibus, consecratus est Ingelramus ab Alexandro Papa, ad confusionem maximam Anglicorum et ad Scotorum gloriam spectabilem. [I. 461, 462.]

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<sup>a</sup> The young Henry was not crowned until June 14, A.D. 1170.

<sup>b</sup> These dates do not harmonize with the day assigned by the *Chron. de Mailros* for Ingelram's consecration, viz. Oct. 28: which day is confirmed by the date of Pope Alexander's letter on the subject, viz. Nov. 1. In

A.D. 1164 Oct. 28 fell on a Wednesday. And the fortieth day prior to it, Sept. 18, was consequently a Friday, not a Sunday. Fordun is no doubt inaccurate.

<sup>c</sup> Roger was made Legate Feb. 27, A.D. 1164.

A.D. 1164. Oct. 28. *Sens. Ingelram consecrated to the See of Glasgow by Pope Alexander III.*

CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.*—Herebertus Episcopus Glascuensis obiit, cui successit Ingelramus Regis Cancellarius, consecratus a Papa Alexandro apud Senonensem civitatem die Apostolorum Simonis et Jude, licet nuncii Eboracensis Archiepiscopi plurimum

[BISHOP OF GLASGOW CONSECRATED BY THE POPE.]

restiterint. [So also *Bened. Abbas* and *Hoveden*, but omitting the date. And see *Fordun*, as quoted above.]

De promociōe Eng[elrami] Episcopi Glasguensis. REG. GLASG. NO. 19.—Nov. 1. *Sens. Pope Alexander III. to the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow.*—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis salutem<sup>a</sup>, Decano et Canonicis Glasguensibus et uniuerso clero ac populo per Glasguensem Episcopatum constitutis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Eng[elramum] olim electum nunc uero Episcopum uestrum, cum karissimi in Christo filii nostri M[alcolmi] illustris Scotorum Regis et uestris aliorumque litteris ad nos uenientem, debita benignitate suscepimus; et sicut uos et ipsum decuit, curauimus honorare. Licet autem nuntii uenerabilis fratris nostri Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, qui presentes exstiterant, repugnarent, et apud nos precibus multis insisterent, ne in hoc facto procederemus; nos tamen, attendentes illam necessitatem que Glasguensi Ecclesie pro defectu pastoris spiritualiter et temporaliter iminebat, non propterea dimisimus, quin eidem Regi tanquam Christianissimo principi uolentes deferre, et eidem Ecclesie uestre utiliter prouidere, de communi fratrum nostrorum consilio, eum sicut debuimus in Episcopum consecremus. Ipsum itaque de nostri tanquam de beati Petri manibus consecratum, cum plenitudine gratie et benedictione Apostolice sedis ad uos tanquam ad spirituales filios remittentes, eum uniuersitati uestre attentius commendamus, per Apostolica scripta rogantes, monentes, atque mandantes, quatinus pro reuerentia beati Petri ac nostra ipsum uelud Episcopum et pastorem uestrum benigne recipiatis, et ei sicut spirituali patri et rectori animarum uestrarum debitam in omnibus obedientiam ac reuerentiam impendatis. Siquis autem uestrum huic mandato nostro contumaciter duxerit resistendum, nos sententiam quam idem Episcopus in eum propter hoc canonice tulerit, auctore Domino, ratam et firmam habebimus. Dat. Senon. kal. Nouembr. [I. 18, 19.]

<sup>a</sup> So miswritten in the original.

A.D. 1164. *The Benedictine nunnery of Lincluden in Galloway founded by Uchtred father of Roland Lord of Galloway. And A.D. 1165, Mauchlyn in Kyle granted to Melrose by Walter son of Alan Lord High Steward of Scotland, where in course of time a Cistercian abbey was founded by the abbey of Melrose. And before A.D. 1165, the priory of Canoby founded by Turgot de Rossedal<sup>a</sup>.*

## [BULLS RELATING TO GLASGOW.]

<sup>a</sup> *Chalmers, Caled.*, III. 151, 489, 518. King David also, "de præclara militia Templi Hierosolymitani optimos fratres secum retinens," etc. (*Bk. of Coupar*), gave the Templars, among

other houses, one at Inchynan in the shire of Renfrew (*Id.*, *ib.* XIII.). He also founded Benedictine nunneries at Newcastle and at Carlisle.

A.D. 1165. *June 2. Ferentinum. Pope Alexander III. to the Canons of Glasgow* <sup>a</sup>.

Bulla Alexandri III. pro obedientia impendenda. REG. GLASG. no. 22.—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis canonicis Glasguensis Ecclesie*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Honor est et gloria subditorum magistris et prelatis suis obedientiam et reuerentiam exhibere; cum nichil sit quod magis subditorum uitam et mores adornet quam si magistris suis obnoxii fuerint sicut conuenit et deuoti. Inde est quod quantumcumque uos credamus sicut obedientie filios uirtutem obedientie imitari, uolentes uos semper ad ea nostris exhortationibus commonere que uestre fame expediant et saluti, discretioni uestre per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus uenerabili fratri nostro Episcopo uestro debitam obedientiam et reuerentiam impendatis, et eius monitis et mandatis prompta curetis deuocione parere. Nos autem eidem Episcopo dedimus in mandatis, ut uos paterne caritatis affectu diligat et honoret; et in ea que decet mansuetudine et benignitate pertractet; et ecclesiastica negocia cum uestro consilio, et eorum maxime qui maioris dignitatis sunt et scientie, gerat; et dignitatem et iura uestra integra et illesa conseruet. Dat. Ferentini IIII. non. Jun. [I. 20.]

<sup>a</sup> Possibly Ingelram remained with the Pope from Nov. A.D. 1164 to July A.D. 1165,

and brought back this letter with him on his return to Glasgow.

A.D. 1169. *The Augustinian Abbey of Lanercost founded by Robert de Vallibus Lord of Gillesland* <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *Dugd. Mon.*, VI. 236. Christian of Candida Casa attests the foundation charter, and is the only Bishop that does so.

A.D. 1170. *April 5. Signia. Bull of Alexander III. declaring Glasgow an independent See.*

REG. GLASG. no. 26. [Similar in terms with the Bull of April 30, A.D. 1175, which see below at length.]

A.D. 1170 (?). *April 26. Lateran. Pope Alexander III. to the Abbats, Priors, and other patrons of benefices in the diocese of Glasgow* <sup>a</sup>.

Quod presentari debent curati Episcopo ad ecclesias vacantes. REG. GLASG. no. 27.—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis Abbatibus, Prioribus, et aliis in Glasguensi Episcopatu presentationes ecclesiarum habentibus*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. In eo sumus loco et officio, Diuina donante gratia, constituti, ut pro ecclesiarum statu satagere debeamus, et que de auaritie radice procedunt, ab ecclesiis penitus extirpare. Inde est, quod uniuersitatem uestram monemus, mandamus, atque precipimus, quatinus in ecclesiis, quas in prescripto Episcopatu habetis, venerabili fratri nostro Episcopo uestro, ut ab eo curam suscipiant animarum, si nondum presentastis personas ydoneas, presentare curetis: et census in eisdem ecclesiis institutos secundum eiusdem Episcopi prouidentiam ad tantam saltem moderacionem reducere studeatis, quod seruientes ibidem necessaria possint decenter secundum ecclesie facultatem percipere, et episcopalia honora supportare, et hospitalitatis officia exercere. Alioquin non erit nobis molestum sed gratum, si ad que precepimus, Episcopus uos pontificali auctoritate duxerit compellendos. Dat. Lat. VI. kal. Maij. [I. 25.]

<sup>a</sup> Inserted between Bulls dated April 5, A.D. 1170 and March 25, 1172. A series of subsequent Bulls condemns the same abuse: sc. *Reg. Glasg.* no. 60, Lateran, March 9, and *ib.* no. 61, March 10, A.D. 1182 x 1185,

both of Pope Lucius III.; *ib.* no. 64, Verona, July 10, and no. 65, Verona, July 11, and no. 68, Verona, June 9, A.D. 1186 x 1187, all of Pope Urban III.

A.D. 1173. *March 25. Signia. Privilege of Pope Alexander III. for the See of Glasgow.*

REG. GLASG. no. 28. [Similar in terms to that of April 30, A.D. 1175, which see below at length.]

A.D. 1174. *May 23. Perth. Bishop Jocelyn elected to the See of Glasgow.*

CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.*—Jocelinus, abbas monasterii de Melros, numero quartus, a clero, a populo exigente, et Rege ipso assenciente, ad Ecclesiam Glascuensem presul eligitur X. kal. Junii, apud Pert in Scotia; vir mitis et morigeratus, vir mansuetus et moderatus.



[CONSECRATION OF BISHOP OF GLASGOW BY THE PAPAL LEGATE AT CLAIRVAUX.]

A.D. 1174. *December. Falaise.* [Church of Scotland, including Glasgow, declared by treaty to be subject to that of England, so far as it "ought to be or had been" so: see below, under the Scottish Church.]

A.D. 1174, 1175. *Consecration of Jocelyn to the See of Glasgow by the Pope's Legate at Clairvaux*<sup>a</sup>.

1. CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.* 1175.—Jocelinus, Ecclesie Glasguensis electus, ex mandato domini Papæ Alexandri III. in Episcopum consecratus est a domino Eskilo Lundensi Archiepiscopo, sedis Apostolice legato, et totius Dacie primate, in Claraualle.

<sup>a</sup> Jocelyn's immediate successor, Hugh de Roxburgh, in A.D. 1199, died before consecration. William, who succeeded, was consecrated in France by the Archbishop of Lyons in A.D. 1200 (*Chron. de Mailr.*, and see Letter of John ex-Archbishop of Lyons to the Bishop of Glasgow in *Mabillon's Analecta*, pp. 478, 479, second edition). Florence, the next, was Bishop elect five years (A.D. 1202-1207), but then gave up the see unconsecrated. And Walter, who followed, was thus

the first Bishop of the see consecrated by Scottish Bishops at Glasgow itself, but by Papal licence, Nov. 2, A.D. 1208 (*Innes, Pref. to Reg. Glasg.*, etc.). Jocelyn however acted as a Scottish Bishop throughout, and was commissioned as such by the Pope in the disputes about the see of S. Andrew's A.D. 1183-1188. He was also sent to Rome in a like capacity in A.D. 1181. See below, under the Scottish Church.

2. A.D. 1174. Dec. 16. *Ferentinum. Confirmation of Jocelyn's Election by Pope Alexander III.*

Confirmacio [ocelini] Malrosensis Abbatis in Episcopum Glasg. Electi. REG. GLASG. no. 35.—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis Abbati de Jodgwerd et aliis Abbatibus in patrimonio beati Kentegerni constitutis, ad Ecclesiam Glasguensem spectantibus*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex litteris karissimi in Christo filii nostri W. illustris Scotorum Regis, et quorundam Episcoporum regni sui, necnon etiam decani et capituli Glasguensis Ecclesie, auribus nostris innotuit quod decanus et canonici, defuncto Glasguensi Episcopo, dilectum filium nostrum J. Malrosensem abbatem in Episcopum suum unanimiter elegerunt. Cuius quidem electionem multorum religiosorum uirorum testimonio cognoscentes fuisse canonice celebratam, eam auctoritate Apostolica confirmauimus; mandantes eidem electo consecrationis munus impendi, si intollerabile sibi uisum fuerit ad presentiam nostram uenire. Ideoque uniuersitati uestre per Apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus, quatinus predicto electo, cum



[PAPAL BULLS FOR THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW.]

ad uos Domino largiente redierit consecratus, illam obedientiam et reuerentiam quam J. antecessori suo exhibuistis, occasione et appellatione cessante exhibeatis; ita quod de obedientie uirtute possitis apud Deum et homines commendabiles apparere. Alioquin sententiam quam ipse propter hoc rationabiliter in uos promulgauerit, auctore Domino ratam et firmam habebimus. Dat. Ferentini XVII. kal. Januarij. [I. 33.]

3. A.D. 1175. *March. Privilege of Pope Alexander III. to Bishop Jocelyn of Glasgow.*

REG. GLASG. no. 37.—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Jocelino Glasguensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Affectum deuotionis et fidei uniuscuiusque diligenti studio attendere, et pensare nos conuenit merita singulorum, et omnibus prout necesse est de habundanti Apostolice sedis clementia prouidere. Considerantes itaque sincerissimam fidem et deuotionem quam tu, et ordo Cisterciensis de quo assumptus es, circa sacrosanctam Romanam Ecclesiam et circa nos ipsos constantissime agitis, et cupientes tibi prerogatiuam exhibere dilectionis et gratie, ac speciali te decorare priuilegio libertatis, presenti scripto statuimus, et arctius auctoritate Apostolica prohibemus, ne cui liceat [nisi] Romano Pontifici, uel legato ab eius latere destinato, in te, uel in Ecclesiam Glasguensem tempore uite tue, interdicti, suspensionis, uel excommunicationis sententiam promulgare. Decernimus ergo, ut nulli fas sit hanc paginam nostre constitutionis infringere, uel ei aliquatenus contraire; siquis autem hoc ausu temerario presumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius se nouerit incursum. Datum Ferentinum XVIIJ. kal. April.<sup>a</sup> [I. 34, 35.]

<sup>a</sup> Repeated verbatim by Lucius III. "6 non. Martii" (A.D. 1182-5), in *Reg. Glasg.* no. 59. The day is miswritten.

4. A.D. 1175. *April 10. Ferentinum. Bull of Alexander III. enjoining obedience to Bishop Jocelyn, now consecrated.*

De confirmatione eiusdem et sinodalibus ei-  
IB. no. 36.—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis Abbati de Gerdguerct et aliis religiosis et*

[PAPAL BULLS FOR THE SEE OF GLASGOW.]

dem impenden- *ecclesiasticis personis in Glasguensi Episcopatu constitutis,*  
dis. *salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.* Intellecto ex  
litteris karissimi in Christo filii nostri W. illustris Scotie Regis, et  
quorundam Episcoporum regni sui, necnon et decani et capituli  
Glasguensis Ecclesie, quod venerabilis frater noster J., nunc Episco-  
pus uester olim autem Malrosensis abbas, canonice fuerit et concor-  
diter in Episcopum uestrum et pastorem electus, electionem ipsam  
ratam curauimus et firmam nostre et auctoritate Apostolica confirmare.  
Quia ergo eundem Episcopum, cui munus consecracionis impendi pre-  
cepimus, iam ad uos red[i]isse accepimus; uniuersitati uestre per  
Apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus, quatinus eidem Episcopo  
debitam in omnibus obedientiam et reuerentiam sicut Episcopo  
uestro et animarum uestrarum rectori humiliter impendatis; et sino-  
dalia et ceteras ecclesiasticas consuetudines, quas bone memorie  
Johanni Episcopo antecessori suo exhibuistis, omni occasione et  
appellatione cessante exhibeatis; ita quod de obedientie uirtute pos-  
sit apud Deum et homines commendabiles apparere. Alioquin  
sustentiam quam idem Episcopus in uos propter hoc rationabiliter  
promulgauerit, ratam et firmam habebimus. Dat. Ferentini IIIJ.  
Idus Aprilis. [I. 33.]

A.D. 1175. April 30. Ferentinum. *Privilege of Pope Alexander III. for  
the See of Glasgow<sup>a</sup>, declaring it to be under the immediate protection of  
the Pope.*

De Terris de REG. GLASG. no. 32.—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS  
Gouan, Perteyk, SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Jocelino Glasguensi Epi-*  
Iniunchedin, Roder, et aliis; et *scopo eiusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpe-*  
de Ecclesia de *tuum.* Cum ex iniuncto nobis Apostolatus officio, quo  
Merbotel, de cunctis Christi fidelibus ex superni dispositione arbitrij  
veteri Rokeburgo, Northeuic, prominemus, singulorum paci et tranquillitati debeamus  
Atstanesden., intendere, presertim pro illorum quiete oportet nos esse  
Wiltona, et de sollicitos, qui pastoralis dignitate sunt prediti et ad offi-  
Lachoruar. cium pontificale promoti. Eapropter, uenerabilis in Christo frater,  
tuis iustis postulationibus clementer annuentes, specialem filiam  
nostram nullo mediante Glasguensem Ecclesiam, cui auctore Do-  
mino preesse dinosceris, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione  
suscipimus, et presentis scripti priuilegio communimus: statuantes,

[PAPAL BULLS FOR THE SEE OF GLASGOW.]

ut quascumque possessiones, quecumque bona, eadem Ecclesia in presentiarum iuste et canonice possidet, aut in futurum, concessione Pontificum, largicione Regum uel principum, oblatione fidelium, seu aliis iustis modis prestante Domino poterit adipisci, firme tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. In quibus hec propriis duximus exprimenda uocabulis, Glasgu, Guuan, Pertheic, Inienchedin, Roder<sup>a</sup>, Casteltarras, Stubbeho, Dalmurinech, Conclud, Trauereni, Hirdemaneſtun, Lillesclif, Alnecrumbe, Gillemoreſtun, Axekirche, cum omnibus earundem terrarum ecclesiis, capellis, et ceteris pertinentiis: ecclesiam de Mærebotde, ecclesiam de ueteri Rochesburc, ecclesiam de Traueruer, ecclesiam de Pebbles, ecclesiam de Karnewic, ecclesiam de Mortheuic, ecclesiam de Atstanesdene, ecclesiam de Wiltona, ecclesiam de Aschachirche, ecclesiam de Lachoruar; et quicquid iuris tui est in Theuidale, Tuedale, et Cludesdale, et Auandesdale, et Driesdale, et Leuenaichs, et in Cuil et en Karreich, et in Galweith, et Laodonia; cum omnibus predictarum ecclesiarum capellis et aliis pertinentiis, et cum aliis terris et pertinentiis, ecclesiis, et capellis, sicut in priuilegiis nostris et Romanorum Pontificum continetur, et cartis Regum Scotie et ceterorum donatorum confirmatur. Paci quoque et tranquillitati tue paterna sollicitudine prouidentes, sancimus et auctoritate Apostolica prohibemus, ne aliqua ecclesiastica secularisue persona terminos parochie tue diminueret uel perturbare audeat; nec infra eosdem terminos ius episcopale uel parochiale exercere presumat. Preterea donationes prebendarum Ecclesie tue, sicut J. antecessor tuus habuit, et tu nunc habere dinosceris, tibi auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus; prohibentes, ne aliqua persona secularis prebendas personis in Ecclesia tua canonice concessas inuadere uel illicite detinere audeat, neque decedentibus personis ius sibi successionis aliquod uendicet. Nichilominus etiam canonice disponendi de rebus ad Ecclesiam tuam pertinentibus liberam et plenam, sicut conuenit, habeas facultatem. Libertates quoque et immunitates a Regibus Scotorum Ecclesie tue indultas et rationabiles consuetudines, redditus etiam et seruitia, siue alia ad Ecclesiam tuam pertinentia, tibi auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus. Decernimus ergo [etc. ut in aliis priuilegiis continetur]. Si qua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisue persona hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere uenire temptauerit, secundo tercioue commonita; nisi reatum suum digna satisfactione correxerit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat; reamque se Diuino iudicio

existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat; et a sacratissimo Corpore ac Sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi aliena fiat; atque in extremo examine districtæ ultioni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco sua iura seruantibus sit pax Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quatinus et hic fructum bonæ actionis percipiant, et apud districtum Iudicem præmia eterne pacis inueniant. Amen.

Ego Alexander Catholice Ecclesiæ Episcopus. §

Ego Uubaldus Hostiensis Episcopus. §

Ego Bernardus Portuensis et Sæ Ruffinæ Episcopus. §

Ego Gualterius Albanensis Episcopus. §

Ego Iohēs presbiter Cardinalis Sçorum Iohannis et Pauli titulo Pamachii. §

Ego Guillelmus titulo Sçi Petri ad Uincula presbiter Cardinalis. §

Ego Boso presbiter Cardinalis Sçe Pudenticianæ titulo Pastoris. §

Ego Manfredus presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sçe Cecilie. §

Ego Petrus presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sçe Susanne. §

Ego Arditio diaconus Cardinalis Sancti Theodori. §

Ego Cinthius diaconus Cardinalis Sancti Adriani. §

Ego Vitellius diaconus Cardinalis Sanctorum Sergii et Bachi. §

Ego Hugo Sancti Angeli diaconus Cardinalis. §

Ego Laborans diaconus Cardinalis Sçe Marie in Porticu. §

Dat. Ferentini per manum Gratianj Sçe Romane Ecclesiæ subdiaconi et notarij, II. kal. Maij, Indictione VJ<sup>b</sup>, Incarnationis Domini anno M<sup>o</sup>.C<sup>o</sup>.LXXIIIJ<sup>o</sup>. Pontificatus domini Alexandri P.P. IJ. anno XVJ<sup>o</sup>. [I. 30-32.]

<sup>a</sup> Read "Kader"?

<sup>b</sup> This privilege adds to those of A.D. 1170 and 1172 the peculiar phrase of "specialem filiam nostram nullo mediante." It was repeated with like formality by Alexander III. himself once more, April 19, A.D. 1179 (*Reg. Glasg.* no. 51): by Lucius III., March 17, A.D. 1182 (*ib.* no. 57): by Urban III., June 12, A.D. 1186 (*ib.* no. 62): by Innocent III., probably in A.D. 1208, and by Innocent IV., Sept. 6, A.D. 1245 (*ib.* nos. 89, 190): by Gregory IX. in a different form, April 2, A.D. 1231, and yet again varied, April 3 of the same year (*ib.* nos. 158, 161). The Indic-

tion in the date of the Bull here given is wrong, and belongs to A.D. 1173; while April 30, in the 16th year of Alexander, would fall in A.D. 1175. The material phrase in the Bull was quoted, according to Hoveden, by Bishop Jocelyn at the Council of Northampton in A.D. 1176; the exact words in Hoveden, however, coming from the later Bull just mentioned of April 19, A.D. 1179: see *Stubbs' Pref. to Hoveden*, vol. I. pp. lvi. lvii. Alexander however was at Ferentinum April 30, A.D. 1175, but at Anagnia in April A.D. 1174 and 1173. And the date plainly should be A.D. 1175.

A.D. 1175. May 13. *Anagnia*. Bull of Alexander III. to the Scottish Bishops, enclosing a letter of William King of Scotland which

[CONFERENCE AT YORK AND COUNCIL OF NORTHAMPTON.]

expressly accepts and maintains the York claims (*W.*, I. 481, 482): and A.D. 1175. *July 30. Anagnia. Bull of Alexander III.* expressly releasing the Scottish Bishops from subjection to the Archbishop of York as their metropolitan (*Reg. Glasg.* no. 38): will be found below under the Scottish Church. The former can only be genuine on the supposition that the Pope merely enclosed William's letter. It certainly does not express any opinion of his own, except so far as that very letter itself implies one. Both Bulls were after the treaty of Falaise, and before the Council of Northampton.

A.D. 1175. *Aug. 17.* Conference at York, and A.D. 1176. *January 25.* Council of Northampton, [discuss, but do not determine, the meaning of the treaty of Falaise as respects the subjection of the Scottish to the English Church; and in particular the claim of York to jurisdiction over Glasgow and Galloway. See below, under the Scottish Church.]

A.D. 1177. *Aug. 1.* *The Bishop of Whitherne refuses to attend the Legate Vivian's Council at Edinburgh, as being a Suffragan of York, and is suspended by him<sup>a</sup>.*

BENEDICT ABBAS, *in an.* 1177.—Ibidem autem prædictus Vivianus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, ad curiam Regis Angliæ venit; et in crastino Ascensionis Domini [June 3] impetravit a domino Rege litteras protectionis suæ et conductus, [et] in Scotiam ad perficiendum legationem suam reversus est. Et instante festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula, præfatus Vivianus venit usque Castellum Puellarum, cum Episcopis et viris ecclesiasticis de regno Scotiæ, ad celebrandum ibidem concilium de statutis Ecclesiæ. In quo concilio suspendit ab officio Episcopali Christianum Episcopum Candidæ Casæ, quia ipse ad concilium illud venire noluit. Dicebat enim Episcopatum suum pertinere ad legatiam Rogeri Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, qui eum in Episcopum consecraverat, secundum consuetudinem antiquam prædecessorum utriusque. Et ipse Rogerus, Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, constitutus erat legatus suæ provinciæ ab Alexandro summo pontifice, et jure suo vendicabat subjectionem Episcopatus Candidæ



[LEGATINE COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH.]

Casæ, qui etiam nominatus est Episcopatus Witeriæ de Galweia b.  
[I. 166, 167; and repeated by *Brompton, Twysd.* 1111.]

<sup>a</sup> See *Cbron. de Mailros*, and below under the Scottish Church, for the Council itself.

<sup>b</sup> Among the witnesses to the arbitration of Henry II. between the Kings of Castile and Navarre, A.D. 1177, is "Christianus Episcopus Candidæ Casæ de Galweia" (*Rym.*, I. 34). Christian died at Holmcultram Oct. 7, A.D. 1186 (*Cbron. de Mailros*). His successor John was consecrated at Pipewell by the Archbishops of Dublin and Treves and the

Bishop of Enachdune, Sept. 17, A.D. 1189 (*Hoveden*; and *Brompt. Twysd.* 1162), the see of York being at the time vacant. For him and his successors, Bishops of Galloway, who were suffragans of York (so far as a vague claim goes) until S. Andrew's became a metropolitan see in A.D. 1472, but really until the latter part of the previous century, see below, in Appendix B.

A.D. 1179. *April 19. Rome. Bull of Alexander III. repeating that of April 30, A.D. 1175.*

REG. GLASG. no. 51. [The two Bulls are identical in terms, except that for "specialem nullo mediante *nostram* filiam," the present Bull has "specialem nullo mediante Romane Ecclesie filiam," and that in the list of possessions the latter has, after Glasgu, as follows]—cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et burgum de Glasgu cum omnibus libertatibus suis quas Rex Willelmus Scotorum eidem concessit et carta sua confirmavit, Guuan, Pertheic, villam filie Sedin, Kader, Badermonoc, Ballain, Conclud, Tor, Casteltarres, Stobhow, Gillemorestun, Aschechircha, Lillesclieue, Trauerennj, Alnecrumbe, cum omnibus earundem terrarum ecclesiis, capellis, et ceteris pertinentiis; capellam Castelli de Rochesburc, ecclesiam de ueteri Rochesburc, ecclesiam de Merebotla, ecclesiam de Hatstanesda, ecclesiam de Wiltona, ecclesiam de Trauequeir, ecclesiam de Pebbles, ecclesiam de Orda, ecclesiam de Karnewid, ecclesiam de Kermichel, ecclesiam de Killebride, ecclesiam de Kadihou, ecclesiam de Reinfriu, ecclesiam de Moffet, ecclesiam de Kirkepatric, ecclesiam de Driuesdale, ecclesiam de Hodelme, ecclesiam de Lohcwhoreuerd, ecclesiam de Kirkecolemane, cum omnibus earundem ecclesiarum capellis et aliis pertinentiis; partes etiam parochie tue, scilicet Theuidale, Tuedale, Cludesdale, Eschedale, Ewichedale, Lidelesdale, Driuesdale, Annansdesdale, Leuenaches, Stratgrif, Meornes, Largas, Kunigham, Kiil, Karrich, Glenkarn, Stratnud, Desnes, et quicquid tui iuris est in Galweia; decimam etiam de cañ Regis de Kil et Karrich, et octavam partem de omnibus placitis Regis que placitantur in Episcopatu tuo in auro et argento et in animalibus: similiter toftos et terras in burgis Regis ad Ecclesiam tuam rationabiliter pertinentes. [The re-



[PAPAL BULL FOR THE SEE OF GLASGOW.]

mainder of the Bull, with one transposition, is identical with its predecessor, except that the copyist has entered at length the clause which in the copy of the former is summed up under an etc., sc.—*Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat eandem Ecclesiam temere perturbare uel eius possessiones auferre uel ablatas retinere, minuere, seu quibuslibet uexacionibus fatigare, sed illesa omnia et integra conseruentur, eorum pro quorum gubernacione ac sustentacione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis profutura, salua sedis Apostolice auctoritate. Si qua etc.*—And the signatures are as follows—]

Ego Alexander Catholice Ecclesie Episcopus. §

Ego Hubaldus Hostiensis Episcopus. §

Ego Johannes presbiter Cardinalis Sanctorum Johannis et Pauli titulo Pamachij. §

Ego Johannes presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sancte Anastasie. §

Ego Johannes presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sancti Marci. §

Ego Theodinus presbiter Cardinalis Sancti Vitalis titulo Vestine. §

Ego Petrus presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sancte Susanne. §

Ego Petrus presbiter Cardinalis titulo Grisogoni. §

Ego Viuianus presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sancte Stephani in Celio Monte. §

Ego Cinthius presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sancte Cecilie. §

Ego Arcluinus presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sancte Crucis [in] Ierusalem. §

Ego Mathias presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sancti Marcelli. §

Ego Jacobus diaconus Cardinalis Sancte Marie in Cosmidyn. §

Ego Arditio Sancti Theodori diaconus Cardinalis. §

Ego Laborans diaconus Cardinalis Sancte Marie in porticu. §

Ego Rainerius diaconus Cardinalis Sancti Georgii ad uelum aureum. §

Ego Gratianus diaconus Cardinalis Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani. §

Ego Johannes diaconus Cardinalis Sancti Angeli. §

Ego Matheus Sancte Marie Noue diaconus Cardinalis. §

Datum Laterani per manum Alberti Sancte Romane Ecclesie presbiteri Cardinalis et Cancellarij: XIII. kal. Maij, Indictione XII., Incarnacionis Dominice anno M<sup>o</sup>.C<sup>o</sup>.LXXVIII<sup>o</sup>°, Pontificatus uero domini Alexandri P.P. IIJ. anno eius XX<sup>o</sup>. [I. 42-45.]

[SEE OF CARLISLE.]

A.D. 1181. CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.*—[Jocelinus Episcopus Glasguensis] Sancti Kentegerni ecclesiam gloriose magnificavit <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The crypt of the cathedral was dedicated July 6, A.D. 1197.

A.D. 1182. *March 17. Velletri. Bull of Lucius III., repeating previous Papal Privileges for the See of Glasgow.* [Reg. Glasg., no. 57<sup>a</sup>: identical with its predecessors.]

<sup>a</sup> Dated A.D. 1181, i.e. O. S. Lucius became Pope Sept. A.D. 1181. And both the Indiction given (15) and the first year of Lucius' Pontificate tally with A.D. 1182.

A.D. 1182 × 1185. *March 11. Lateran. Bull of Lucius III. respecting Patronage.*

REG. GLASG. no. 58.—LUCIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Jocelino Glasguensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Si quando postulatur a nobis quod iuri conueniat et consonet equitati, petentium desideriis facilem debemus impertiri consensum, et uota illorum effectui mancipare. Eapropter, venerabilis frater, tuis iustis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu, consuetudinem antiquam et rationabilem in Ecclesia tua usque ad moderna tempora obseruatam, uidelicet ut de patronatu inter se aliqui contententes litem contestentur in presentia Episcopi sui litem contestentur, et ipsius iudicio lis terminetur. Quod de patronatu inter se aliqui contententes litem contestentur in presentia tua, et tuo iudicio [lis] terminetur, auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus: statuentes, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre confirmationis infringere, uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius se nouerit incursurum. Dat. Lateran. V. Id. Mart. [I. 52<sup>a</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> Repeated by Urban III. at Verona May 31 (A.D. 1186 or 1187), *ib.* no. 63, I. 57, 58.

A.D. 1186. *Attempt to renew the See of Carlisle after thirty years' vacancy* <sup>a</sup>.

HOVEDEN, *in an.* 1186.—Rex vero ibidem fecit Paulinum de Ledes eligi ad Episcopatum Carleoli; quem idem Paulinus refutavit. Et ut Paulinus Episcopatum illum recipere vellet, obtulit ei Rex quod Episcopatum illum ditaret de trecentis marcarum redditibus, uidelicet de ecclesia de Bamburg, et ecclesia de Scartheburg, et capellaria de Tikehil, et duobus maneriis Regis prope Carleolum. [II. 309.]

[PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO THE SEE OF GLASGOW.]

BENED. ABBAS, *in an.* 1186, [states in addition, that] vacaverat sedes illa Carleonensis Ecclesiæ a decessu Adelwaldi ejusdem civitatis primi Episcopi [scil. 1156] ..... jam fere viginti novem annis. [I. 349.]

<sup>a</sup> "G. Epus Carleol. A.D. 1174," in the Index to Rymer (old edit. I. 37), is a mistake of the Index-maker, there being nothing in the text to answer to the reference.

After Paulinus' refusal, there was no Bishop of Carlisle properly so called until A.D. 1219. The temporalities of the see were given by King John to Alexander de Lucy June 8, A.D. 1203, and the Archdeaconry of Carlisle by the same to the same Nov. 18, A.D. 1203 (*Rot. Pat. Job.* pp. 30, 35). And in consequence of a letter of Pope Innocent III. May 15, A.D. 1203, the same temporalities were again granted by John to Bernard Archbishop of Ragusa (for whom see *Farleti's Illyricum*) January 10, A.D. 1204 (*ib.* p. 37; and *Rymer, I.* 90). "Rex concessit Archiep. Sclavoniæ Episc. Carl. ad se sustentandum donec dominus Rex ei in ampliori beneficio providerit" (*Rot. Cart.* p. 96). And Aimeric Thebertus has the Archdeaconry of Carlisle A.D. 1196 (*Hoveden, IV.* 14), and again Feb. 10, A.D. 1204 (*Rot. Cart.* p. 119). There is a grant to "B. Episc. Carleol." by King John March 23, A.D. 1206 (*Rot. Claus.* p. 68 b), and another Oct. 15, A.D. 1207 (*Rot.*

*Pat.* p. 76). Bernard was certainly in England, but there is no proof that he visited the diocese of Carlisle. He was certainly not at Lanercost in A.D. 1169 (*Dugd. Mon., VI.* 237). May 26, A.D. 1214, and again May 31, A.D. 1215, the custody of the see is given to the Prior of Carlisle (*Rot. Pat.* 138, 142). And on April 26, A.D. 1216, Henry III. informs Pope Honorius III., that Carlisle has revolted to the Scotch, and that the Canons of Carlisle, "in præjudicium juris nostri et Ecclesiæ Eboracensis, ad instantiam Regis Scotiæ inimici nostri, quemdam clericum suum interdictum et excommunicatum elegerunt sibi in Episcopum et pastorem;" and requests the Pope to provide to the see (*Pat. 1 Hen. III. m. 3 dorso*, in *Prynne III.* 39). Accordingly, in A.D. 1218 occurs a grant to "the elect of Carlisle" (*Rot. Claus.* vol. I. p. 369); and Feb. 24, A.D. 1219, Hugh, appointed by the legate Gualo, is consecrated by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Waterford coming "ad partes boreales" to assist therein (*Rot. Claus.* 3 Hen. III. A.D. 1219, vol. I. p. 392). Thenceforth the succession is fairly regular.

A.D. 1186 or 1187. June 2. Verona. Privilege of Urban III. to the Bishops of Glasgow.

Bulla Urbani P. III. qua dat facultatem Episcopo Glasguensi excommunicandi invadentes ecclesias suas non obstante appellatione.

REG. GLASG. no. 54.—URBANUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, venerabili fratri Glasguensi Episcopo, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quanto plenius de tua honestate confidimus, tanto facilius tibi concedimus, que salva possumus conscientia indulgere. Inde est quod precibus tuis inducti auctoritate Apostolica tibi concedimus, ut si quisquam ecclesiam vel beneficium ecclesiasticum infra parochiam tuam forte invaserit vel alio quocunque modo propria temeritate ingressus fuerit, et ut in detentatione impune perduret, vocem appellationis emiseric; fas tibi sit talem nullius appellatione obstante vinculo excommunicationis astringere, eumque ab ecclesia aut beneficio quod invaserit alienum reddere. Preterea si aliqui clericorum aut parrochianorum tuorum a tuo examine vel judicio appellaverint et tempus diffusum prefixerint, liceat tibi appellantium

facultate pensata competentis appellationis terminum coartare, infra quem si prosequi appellationem omiserint, ex tunc in negotio servato juris ordine appellatione remota procedas. Ad hec, cum persone ecclesiastice Judeis vel feneratoribus aliis ecclesias suas vel beneficia ecclesiastica pro pecunia quam mutuo accipiunt obligare presumunt, ne hoc ulterius fiat publice interdicis. Si qui autem prohibitionis tue fuerint contemptores, liceat tibi eos ecclesiis et supradictis beneficiis spoliare, nisi infra duorum mensium spatium emendaverint. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre constitutionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat. Verone, IIII. Noñ. Junii. [I. 47.]

A.D. 1186, 1187. *June 12. Verona. Bull of Urban III. on behalf of the Church of Glasgow* [repeats the Bulls of 1170, 1173, 1175 etc.; in *Reg. Glasg.* no. 62. I. 54-57.]

A.D. 1186 or 1187. *June 27. Verona. Privilege of Urban III. to the Bishops of Glasgow<sup>a</sup>.*

Quod Episcopus Glasguensis eiusve clerici ad nullius unquam iudicium uel examen extra Regnum Scocie quarundam litterarum obtentu trahantur in curiam, nisi ad sedem Apostolicam.

REG. GLASG. no. 69.—URBANUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Glasguensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum Ecclesia tua sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie sit nullo mediante filia specialis, et te sicut uirum honestum et prouidum sincere charitatis brachiis amplexemur, fraternitati tue gratanter concedimus, quod aliquibus salua consciencia possumus indulgere. Eapropter tibi et clericis tuis specialiter duximus concedendum, ut ad nullius umquam

iudicium uel examen extra regnum Scotie, quarumlibet litterarum obtentu, nisi ad sedem Apostolicam pro hiis dumtaxat negotiis que in regno commode terminari non possunt, traharis in curiam: excepto si legatus a latere Romani Pontificis destinatus in contigua prouincia moraretur. Quicquid etiam libertatis uel immunitatis aut specialis indulgentie tibi uel Ecclesie tue a predecessoribus nostris est indultum firmitatem perpetuam habere decernimus, et eidem Ecclesie auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus: ita etiam quod si quid in libertatum tuarum uel Ecclesie

[SEE OF GLASGOW FINALLY UNITED TO THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.]

tue seu priuilegiorum tuorum preiudicium a sede Apostolica apparuerit, nisi ex certa scientia impetratum, nullam habeat firmitatem. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre concessionis et confirmationis infringere, uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Eius nouerit se incursurum. Dat. Ver. V. kal. Julij<sup>a</sup>. [I. 62.]

<sup>a</sup> A like Bull, in purport, of Gregory IX., Perugia, May 25, A.D. 1235 (9th of Gregory's pontificate), is in Theiner, no. 79, p. 32 a. And one for the Scottish Bishops in general

preceded that in the text: see under the Scottish Church, and below, p. 58, under A.D. 1279.

A.D. 1188. *March 13. Lateran. Bull of Pope Clement III.* [declares the independence of the Scottish Church, and *nominatim* of the see of Glasgow, but omits Galloway in the list of Scottish sees. See under the Scottish Church.]



## APPENDIX A.

SEPULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIBED STONES, AND OTHER MONUMENTS,  
IN SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH CUMBRIA, A.D. 450-900.

### I. BRITISH PERIOD, A.D. 450-700.

i. (5th century.) At *Kirkmadrine*, west side of the Bay of Luce, co. Wigton: three stones in the old churchyard:—

a. On one, beneath the monogram (ⱥ enclosed in a circle (which is also on the other face of the stone),

HIC JACENT SCI ET PRECIPUI SACERDOTES ID EST  
VIVENTIUS ET MAVORIUS.

And above the monogram, A ET Ω.

β. On the second (which has a like monogram within a circle), partly obliterated,

\* \* \* S ET FLORENTIUS.

γ. The third has tracery, but no inscription.

The character of the letters and ornaments carries these inscriptions back to a still Romanized time, and also bears a resemblance to Gaulish monuments of the kind. They are probably of the 5th century, and belong to priests connected with S. Ninian himself, and through him with north-west Gaul. The Roman character of the names also tallies with this. See *Stuart, Sculpt. Stones of Scotland, II.* pp. 35, 36.

ii. (? 6th century; probably, however, later.) At *Kirkcinner*, east side of the Bay of Luce, co. Wigton: two broken crosses, with tracery, in the churchyard; of the same peculiar character with that of the monuments of Whitherne, Kirkmaiden, and the neighbourhood. (*Stuart, ib.*, p. 67.)

iii. iv. (? 6th century.) At *Monreith House*, near *Kirkmaiden*, east side of Bay of Luce, co. Wigton; and in the burying-ground surrounding the ruined church of *Kirkmaiden*: two broken crosses with interlaced work,



[CHRISTIAN INSCRIBED OR OTHER STONES IN SCOTTISH AND BRITISH CUMBRIA.]

and crosses formed by circular holes, of like character with the foregoing. (*Stuart, ib.*, pp. 50, 51, 67.)

v. vi. (? 6th century.) At *Whitherne*, two similar fragments. (*Stuart, ib.*, pp. 51, 68.)

vii. (? 6th century.) At *Wigton*, in the churchyard, a like fragment. (*Stuart, ib.*, I. plate cxxii.)

viii. (? 6th century.) At *Kirkmaiden*, among the rocks of the sea-coast of the Bay of Luce, an oratory or stone chapel of S. Medan (an Irish virgin and disciple of S. Ninian) in a cave, like those in Cornwall and like one in Brittany. (*Stuart, ib.*, II. p. 50, n.)

ix. At *Kirkcclaugh*, near *Anwoth*, co. Kirkcudbright, a sculptured cross. (*Stuart, ib.*, I. plate cxxiii.)

x. (? 7th century.) At *Inchinnan*, on the Clyde, seven miles below Glasgow, co. Renfrew: slabs, in the churchyard, with crosses, animals, and interlaced work; of Hiberno-Briton character. (*Stuart, ib.*, II. p. 38.)

xi-xxi. (? 7th century.) At *Govan*, on the Clyde, immediately below Glasgow: a stone with tracery, a sarcophagus, and nine sepulchral slabs, found in the old churchyard, where are also many others: covered with either interlaced work, or crosses, or representations of animals: of a like character with the foregoing. (*Stuart, ib.*, I. plates ci, cxxxiv-cxxxvii.)

xxii. (? 7th century.) At <i>Hamilton</i> , on the Clyde, a cross near Hamilton Palace, much defaced. ( <i>Stuart, ib.</i> , plate cxviii.)	} Both with interlaced work and figures.
xxiii. At <i>Barrochan</i> , parish of <i>Kilallan</i> (now in Houston), co. Renfrew, a cross. ( <i>Stuart, ib.</i> , plates cxv, cxvi.)	

xxiv. xxv. At *Stanlie Green*, near Paisley, co. Renfrew, and at *Mountblow House*, *Kilpatrick*, co. Dunbarton, slabs with like work. (*Stuart, ib.*, plates cxvii, cxx.)

It will be observed, that these remains cluster round two centres, *Whitherne* (and westwards of *Whitherne*), Glasgow (and on the Clyde above and below Glasgow).

## II. SAXON PERIOD, A.D. 700-800.

i. At *Ruthwell*, on the Solway Firth, near Dumfries and the mouth of the Nith: an elaborate cross, in two parts, the lower 12 feet 6 inches, the whole 17 feet 6 inches, in height. On its two faces, tapering from 2 feet to 15 inches in breadth, are carved panels containing figures or groups of figures, some of them nimbed, with inscriptions in Roman letters

[CHRISTIAN INSCRIBED OR OTHER STONES IN SCOTTISH AND BRITISH CUMBRIA.]

surrounding them: viz., on one side at the top, 1. a human figure with a bird, with VERBUM IN PRIN<sup>a</sup> (supposed to mean *Verbum in principio*), now however effaced, and some nearly effaced Runes round it; 2. an archer with bow and arrow; 3. two figures embracing, with a nearly illegible inscription, of which . . TOPSEN . . is all that can be read on one side, and on the other . . INCOBD . . ; 4. the woman that was a sinner, washing our Lord's feet, with ATTVLIT ALABASTRVM VNGVENTI ET STANS RETROSECUS PEDES EIVS LACRIMIS COEPIT RIGARE PEDES EIVS ET CAPILLIS CAPITI SVI TERGEBAT (partly, however, defaced); 5. two figures, supposed to be our Lord healing the blind man, with ET PRAETERIENS VIDIT \* \* \* A NATIBITATE ET S \* \* B INFIRMITA \*; 6. the Annunciation (probably), with INSRESSVS ANGELVS \* \* \* TE \* IRN \* \* (remainder effaced). On the opposite side, 1. at the top, a bird perched upon a branch, with undecipherable Runes surrounding it; 2. two human figures; 3. a figure standing on two globes and holding a lamb in its arms, the inscription undecipherable, except the word [A]DORAMVS; 4. a nimbed figure, probably of our Lord, with one hand raised as if to bless, and round the panel, IHS XPS IVDEX AEQVITATIS SERTO SALVATOREM MVNDI BESTIAE ET DRACONES COGNOVERVNT IN DE \* \* ; 5. two figures, supposed to be SS. Peter and Paul breaking a loaf of bread between them, from an anecdote in S. Jerome's Life of S. Antony, and round them, SCS PAVLVS ET A \* \* \* FREGERVNT PANEM IN DESERTO; 6. the Blessed Virgin holding the Child Jesus in her arms and riding on an ass, with what is supposed to have been the head of Joseph in the corner—inscription defaced, except MARIA ET IO \* \*. But the most remarkable part of the cross are its edges—tapering from about 15 inches in width to 11¼—upon which are interlaced patterns and figures between borders, and upon these a series of Runes, deciphered by Mr. Kemble, so far as they were not defaced, into passages from an Anglo-Saxon poem, which poem (filling up all the lacunæ and tallying with the deciphered passages) was subsequently discovered in a Vercelli MS., and is conjecturally dated in the 7th century, about the time of Cædmon; its subject being the "Dream of the Holy Rood." No name is on the monument; unless that Professor Stephens now reads some of the Runes into "Cadmon me fawed" = "Cædmon made me." (*Stuart, Sculpt. Stones, II. pp. 12-16. See also G. Stephens, Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, II. 419-422.*)

ii. At *Thornhill*, in Nithsdale, co. Dumfries: a cross with interlaced work and animals, which possibly may belong to the earlier period. (*Stuart, ib., I. plate cxxi.*)

[CHRISTIAN INSCRIBED OR OTHER STONES IN SCOTTISH AND BRITISH CUMBERIA.]

iii. At *Durisddeer*, in Nithsdale, co. Dumfries: a fragment of a cross, of the like character in its ornament with the Bewcastle and other English crosses. (*Stuart, ib.*, II. p. 73.)

iv. At *Hoddam*, in Annandale, co. Dumfries, one also of S. Kente-gern's temporary sees: fragments and crosses with interlaced ornaments and nimbed figures under canopies, but no inscriptions. (*Stuart, ib.*, pp. 33, 34.)

v. At *Whitherne*<sup>b</sup>, two fragments of crosses supposed to be of Saxon date; on one of them, LOCI T I PETRI APVSTOLI, and above it the monogram added to the upper limb on the right hand of the (inscribed) cross. (*Stuart, ib.*, p. 53, and plate lxxvii.)

vi. At *Bewcastle*, co. Cumberland: an elaborate cross, with ornamentation of running foliage with birds and animals, like that at Ruthwell, also with figures, and several inscriptions in Runic letters; the meaning of which is much disputed, but one of them is supposed to mention the death of King Alcfred of Northumbria, A.D. 664. See a short account of the principal pamphlets and interpretations in *Stuart, ib.*, pp. 16-18.

vii. At *Jedburgh*, co. Roxburgh: a slab with ornamentation of Saxon date. Other fragments of crosses of like date exist there also. (*Stuart, ib.*, pp. 66, 67<sup>c</sup>.)

These monuments belong to the localities that were most entirely Saxonized, and connect themselves with like monuments in Lindisfarne or Hexham dioceses, as at Jarrow, at Hexham itself, etc. etc.

<sup>a</sup> This might be ERIN, so far as appears by the stone itself.

<sup>b</sup> Sir J. Y. Simpson suggested that the first letters of the inscription should be read, LOC STI, &c. A bell existed also at Whitherne in the 17th century, with an inscription in Saxon

letters in honour of S. Martin. (*Stuart, ib.*, p. 68.)

<sup>c</sup> According to Fordun, II. 96, a magnificent cross was dug up at Peebles A.D. 1260, which bore the inscription of "*Locus* [or *Locus*] *Sancti Nicolai Episcopi*."

### III. NORTHMAN AND IRISH PERIOD, A.D. 800-900.

i. At *Dearham*, co. Cumberland: a cross with figures and interlaced work, resembling that on Manx crosses. (*Stuart, ib.*, p. 18.)

ii. At *Gosforth*, near Wastdale, co. Cumberland: an elaborate cross, of the same character with that at Dearham; also some fragments of crosses, like the Northumbrian examples. (*Stuart, ib.*, plates 24, 25, 28.)

iii. At *Kirkcolm*, co. Wigton, on the west coast of Loch Ryan, in the midst of churches with Irish dedications: a stone having the Crucifixion and several symbols of the Passion on one side, and on the other a short

[CHRISTIAN INSCRIBED OR OTHER STONES IN SCOTTISH AND BRITISH CUMBRIA.]

cross filled with scroll ornaments; all very inferior in execution. (*Stuart, ib.*, p. 34.)

iv. There are some fragments of crosses also, of uncertain date, at *Friars Carse*, parish of Dunscore, and at *Glencairn*, both co. Dumfries; and at *Mansfield*, co. Ayr. (*Stuart, ib.*, p. 67.)

Crosses with interlaced work are also mentioned, as—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| v. At <i>Muncaster</i> , close to Ravenglass, | } co. Cumberland. ( <i>Lysons, Cumberland, p. cii.</i> ) |
| vi. At <i>Beckermeth St. Brigits</i> , . . .  |  |
| vii. At <i>Rockcliffe</i> , . . .             |  |
| viii. At <i>Lanercost</i> , . . .             |  |

Other monumental stones are recorded also as having been destroyed at comparatively recent dates: as e. g. at *Rutherglen*, on the Clyde, a cross ornamented with various figures, on the top of Crieshill, destroyed in the time of Charles I. And throughout (English) Cumberland, generally, there is scarcely a church, in or near which some portions of ancient crosses may not be seen, not mentioned by Stuart or Lysons; the former of whom only professes to give specimens of Saxon work in Northumbria, &c., by way of contrast with the Scottish and Pictish stones.

## APPENDIX B.

### BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE, AS SUBJECT ECCLESIASTICALLY TO YORK.

A.D. 1188-1472.

A.D. 1188. March 13, Lateran, Bull of Pope Clement III., declaring the freedom from York of the Scottish sees by name, but omitting Galloway (see above, p. 50).

JOHN, A.D. 1189-1209.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 17, Pipewell, John Bishop of Candida Casa, consecrated by John Archbishop of Dublin, Fulmar Archbishop of Treves, and Concord Bishop of Enachdune (*Hoveden, Brompton*), makes his profession to Geoffrey Archbishop Elect of York (*Reg. Ebor.*<sup>a</sup>); and immediately after at the same place, as "suffraganeus Eboracensis Ecclesiæ," ordains Geoffrey to the priesthood, Fulmar of Treves assisting (*Diceto*): A.D. 1194, March 30, was at a council under Richard I. at Nottingham (*Hoveden, III.* 240): A.D. 1195, March, consecrates chrism etc. in York diocese, as "suffraganeus et officialis" of York, at York and at Southwell (*Hoveden, III.* 286): A.D. 1189 × 1206, is one of the judges appointed to decide a right of patronage claimed by the see of Glasgow (*Reg. Glasg.* p. 72): A.D. 1206, becomes a monk of Holyrood (*Fordun*): and A.D. 1209, dies (*Chron. de Mailros*).

<sup>a</sup> A Profession of John elect of Candida Casa to *Will.* York, mentioned in Hutton's Extracts from the York Register, must be a mistake.

WALTER, A.D. 1209-1235.

A.D. 1209. Walter, chamberlain to Alan Lord of Galloway, consecrated Bishop of Candida Casa (*Chron. de Mailros*): A.D. 1214, Nov. 2, and Dec. 11, the Bishop of Candida Casa receives pay from the "custodes" of the see of York for taking charge of the spiritualties of York diocese during the vacancy (*Rot. Claus.* pp. 173, 181)<sup>a</sup>; gave the church of Sembry to Dryburgh Abbey (*Keith*); witnesses a grant to Melrose in the reign of Alexander II., A.D. 1214-1235 (*Lib. de Melr., I.* 181); and A.D. 1235, dies (*Chron. de Mailros*).

<sup>a</sup> Pope Innocent III., A.D. 1216, names only Durham and Carlisle as suffragans of York (*Reg. Ebor., MS. Lansd.* 402, and in *Dugd. Mon. VI.* P. iii. p. 1185, n. 38). The same Pope, A.D. 1203, writes to the Archbishop of

York, that in releasing Bernard Archbishop of Ragusa from that see, he permits him to act as Bishop in Carlisle, but "absque usu pallii" (*Decret. Greg. IX.* lib. I. tit. ix. c. 9).



[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

GILBERT, A.D. 1235-1253.

A.D. 1235. Feb. 25 (1st Sunday in Lent), Gilbert monk of Melrose and master of the novices, once Abbat of Glenluce (dioc. Cand. Cas.), elected Bishop of Candida Casa by the clergy and people of the diocese, convent of Whitherne excepted; and March 11 ("Oculi mei," 3rd Sunday in Lent), Odo canon of Whitherne, once Abbat of Deretonsal [Dercongal], elected by the prior and canons of Whitherne (*Chron. de Mailros*): letters of the said prior and canons, declaring the election of Odo "on the 3rd Sunday in Lent;"—of Alexander King of Scotland to the archdeacon and clergy of Galway, at Newbottle, April 23, assenting to Gilbert's election; and to Walter Archbishop of York, at Cadyow (Hamilton), May 20, requiring him not to consecrate Odo;—commission of Walter Archbishop of York, to certain judges, to determine the case upon June 4 at York;—letters of prior and canons of Whitherne excusing their absence from York July 5 on account of the war, and sending a proctor (*Lansd. MS.* 402, from York Registers)<sup>a</sup>: Gilbert consecrated at York by Archbishop Walter Sept. 2<sup>b</sup> (*Chron. de Mailros*). A.D. 1239, May 31, indulgence granted by Gilbert Bishop of Candida Casa of 20 years, to altars of S. John Baptist, S. Mary, and S. Cuthbert; and A.D. 1245, Oct. 1, at "Wermue" [Wearmouth], to all giving alms to Finchale; and A.D. 1246, March 7, at Durham, for sustentation of lights at Finchale; and A.D. 1248, Oct. 28, also for lights (*Finchale Priory, Surtees Soc.* pp. 169, 172, 175, 177)<sup>c</sup>. A.D. 1253, dies (*Chron. de Mailros*, and *Lanercost*).

<sup>a</sup> The same Registers contain a declaration, by the prior and canons, of the names and designations of the canons who voted for Odo; scil. of the prior himself (Dunetanus), of sixteen canons who were priests (among them, one "vices gerens" of [apparently] the prior, an ex-prior, a sub-prior, a treasurer, a "provisor," and a chanter), of three canons who were deacons, and of two who were acolytes.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 1235. Bishop of Galloway and Abbat of Melrose and Patrick Earl of Dunbar attempt to mediate between the Scotch King and Thomas claiming to be Lord of Galloway (*Fordun*, IX. 49; *Robertson, E. S.*, II. 27).

<sup>c</sup> A.D. 1243. July 30, a cause of the abbey of Dundrennan is referred to various judges, and among the rest to the Dean of York and others (*Theiner*, pp. 41, 42).

See vacant, A.D. 1253, 1254.

A.D. 1253, 1254. Henry elected (it does not appear by whom), but his election objected to by Henry Baliol of Barnard Castle, who claimed to nominate to the see in right of his wife Devorguilla, daughter and heiress of the Lord of Galloway, as against Alexander III. King of Scotland, who claimed the patronage as King (*Chron. de Mailros*, and *Lanercost*). A.D. 1257. April 3, Lateran, Pope Alexander IV. to the Prior of Kelso, Glasg. dioc., and to the Archdeacon of Tweeddale, S. Andr. dioc., appointing them to decide an appeal to the Pope by the dean of the church "de Wikecono [Kirkcowan?]," against the rector of the church "de Insula [Inch]," both

[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

"in dioc. Candidæ Casæ," against a decision of the subdean of York; and speaking of "Archiepiscopi Ebor. loci metropolitani, ad quem de antiqua et approbata et hactenus pacifice observata consuetudine hujusmodi causarum cognitio pertinet in supradicta diocesi;"—the cause having begun three years before, scil. in 1254, "vacante sede Candidæ Casæ quæ tunc pastore carebat" (*Theiner*, pp. 75, 76).

## HENRY, 1255–1293.

A.D. 1255. Feb. 7 ("7 Idus Feb.," *Chron. Lanercost*), at S. Agatha, Richmond, co. York, Henry Bishop of Candida Casa consecrated with Thomas Bishop of Carlisle, by Walter Archbishop of York<sup>a</sup> and Walter Bishop of Durham (*Chron. de Mailros*, and *Lanercost*, and *Wikes*); Feb. 11 ("the morrow of S. Scholastica"), Henry, "Abbas S. Crucis," elected Bishop of Candida Casa "in majori ecclesia Ebor. 1254" (A.D. 1255 N.S.), "in presentia Steph. de . . . , magistri R. Pepyn subdecani," etc., and Feb. 24, "anno 40" (sc. of Abp. Gray's archiepiscopate, sc. 1255), confirmed (*Reg. Gray, Rot. Minor.* no. 252<sup>b</sup>). A.D. 1255, he is mentioned in the *Lib. de Dunfermline*. And he also granted a confirmation of various churches to Dryburgh (*Cart. de Dryb.*). A.D. 1260. April 18 ("die S. Oswyni"), Tyne-mouth, Henry Bishop of Candida Casa grants an indulgence for the church of Finchale (*Finch. Priory*, p. 179). Same year, Nov. 16, Westminster, he is one of those appointed to escort to Scotland the child of Alexander King of Scotland, about to be born in England, in case anything should happen to Alexander himself (*Rym., I.* 402). A.D. 1263 × 1266. Feb. 24, Fynchale, he grants an indulgence for the church of Fynchale; and A.D. 1277, "Wardale," another "pro luminari" (*Finch. Priory*, pp. 182, 186). A.D. 1277. Aug. 24, Cawood, Walter Archbishop of York grants a church to Henry Bishop of Candida Casa on account of the poverty of his see, confirmed by Dean and Chapter of York A.D. 1277, Sept. 8; letter also of Dungall Prior of Whitherne and his convent on the subject, A.D. 1279, June 25; and memorandum respecting the confirmation of the grant by the Pope, mentioning the privilege granted to the King of Scotland, that "Scots should not go out of the kingdom for judgment" (*Reg. Giffard*). A.D. 1281. May, Henry Bishop of Candida Casa has a licence from the Archbishop of York to consecrate a chapel at Loweswater in the parish of S. Bees (*Wickwaine's Reg.*, b. 21 a; and in *Hutton MSS. Harl.* 6970). A.D. 1282 Nov. 8, Cawood, "Instrumentum Publicum super professione domini H. Episcopi Candidæ Casæ facta domino W[illmo Wickwaine]," drawn up by a notary and solemnly witnessed; in which Bishop Henry states, among other things, that "suffraganeum et subditum vestrum et Ecclesiæ Eborac. in omnibus iuribus metropoliticiis me et Ecclesiam meam esse, et prædecessores meos

[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

fuisse ab antiquissimis temporibus, publice profiteor et recognosco<sup>c</sup>" (*Reg. Wickw.* in *Lansd.* 402, fol. 75, 76). A.D. 1283. Feb. 5, Scone, at the Scottish Parliament held to swear allegiance to the young Queen Margaret, the Bishop of Galway ("Galwathiensis") was appointed among the other *Scottish* Bishops to enforce obedience by spiritual penalties (*Acts of Parl. of Scoll.*, I. 82). A.D. 1284. Jan. 9, York, H. Whitherne joins in consecrating Anthony Bek to the see of Durham (*Reg. Wickw.*, &c.). A.D. 1286. Sept. 9, "Extildesham" (Hexham), Henry Bishop of Candida Casa professes obedience to John (Romanus) Archbishop of York, in identical terms with his profession in 1282 to William Wickwaine<sup>c</sup> (*Reg. Joh. Rom.*, 99; and in *Lansd.* 402, fol. 76 b, &c.): and same year, Sept. 10, an indulgence of forty days is granted by the Archbishop for contributing to the rebuilding of the church of Candida Casa, burnt with fire (*Reg. Joh. Rom.* in *Hutton, Harl.* 6970). A.D. 1287 (2nd year of Joh. Rom.), a letter of the Archbishop to Bishop Henry excuses him from the annual visit to York promised in his profession, on account of his old age, but promises that if he does come "versus partes nostras," he shall have some churches to consecrate, "quod in emolumentum aliquid vobis cedet" (*Reg. Joh. Rom.*, *ib.*): and accordingly, same year, Aug. 17, Henry Bishop of Candida Casa has a commission to consecrate the churches of Oswaldskirk and Edstone (*ib.*). And A.D. 1287, Archbishop Romanus writes to Mr. G. de Vezano, desiring him to grant more time to Henry Bishop of Whitherne, to pay a debt of 80 marks, in consequence of his poverty (*Historical Papers, &c., from Northern Registers*, 88). A.D. 1290. March 14, "Henry Evesque de Gauway" is present at a Scotch Parliament of Queen Margaret held at "Briggeham," which assents to the intended marriage of young Prince Edward with Margaret (*Acts of Parl. of Scoll.*, I. 85, and *Hist. Doc. Scoll.*, I. 129). A.D. 1291. Aug. 4, Letters of Protection from Edward I. for "H. Candidæ Casæ Episcopus, in Hibernia," the Bishop having sent ships to Ireland for provisions (*Hist. Doc. Scoll.*, I. 218:—a like document for the Abbat and Convent of Dundraynan for five years, A.D. 1292, July 11, *ib.* 327). And same year, Oct. 16 ("sixth year" of Joh. Romanus' archiepiscopate), the Bishop has a commission from the Archbishop to perform all duties which require the imposition of episcopal hands in the province of York, "ipso Archiepiscopo in remotis agente" (*Reg. Joh. Rom.*); Romanus having gone to Rome about his dispute with Bishop Bek of Durham. A.D. 1292. June 5, Norham, he is chosen as one of Baliol's friends in the dispute between him and Bruce respecting the succession (*Rym.*, I. 767). A.D. 1293. Nov. 1, being at the time "cruce signatus," he dies (*Chron. de Lanercost*). And in Archbishop Romanus' Register are various acts of his officials during the vacancy ensuing upon Bishop Henry's death.

## [BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

<sup>a</sup> The *Chron. de Lanercost* names Walter of York as consecrator. But inasmuch as Gray was in London at the Parliament in the beginning of A.D. 1255, was an old man and ill, and died at Fulham May 1 of the same year, it is probable that he did not consecrate at Richmond in Feb. in person, but only gave his commission for the purpose.

<sup>b</sup> This election and confirmation *after* the consecration,—and the dates seem established beyond reasonable doubt,—could only have been performed with the purpose of having all

forms technically complete according to the York view of the case. Henry was manifestly elected in some form or other in 1253 (*Chron. de Lanercost*), inasmuch as Baliol demurred at that time to the election as (upon his view of the matter) invalid.

<sup>c</sup> The Bishop of Durham had refused obedience, as being made to the individual Bishop, not to him and his successors. Consequently these renewed professions do not imply any special rebelliousness at this period in the Bishops of Whitherne.

THOMAS, A.D. 1294–1319 (?).

A.D. 1294. Jan. 13, John (Baliol) King of Scotland, to John Archbishop of York, desiring him not to consecrate Thomas de Kircudbright, chaplain to Robert Bruce, elected Bishop of Candida Casa by John Prior of Whitherne and the canons, because he had been elected, “non per inspiracionem vel viam caritativam, sed per quandam compromissionem, quæ symoniaca conversacio per aliquas certas personas excogitata est;” and from “Robert de Brus,” on the other hand, urging his consecration (*Reg. Joh. Rom., Hutton MS. Harl.* 6970; and *Hist. Papers, &c.*, 104, 105). Feb., York, “Contentio super jurisdictionem, vacante sede Candide Case, inter Capitulum eiusdem et Archidiaconum eiusdem; Archidiaconus vendicat eum sibi pertinere ex consuetudine sed Archiepiscopus probavit esse suam ex registro Walteri Gray Archiepiscopi:” whereupon the Archdeacon’s proctor admitted the claim, and offered amends, “quam dictus Archiepiscopus benigne admisit, volens super emenda plenius deliberare, processu temporis, cum sibi et suo consilio videbitur expedire” (*ib.*). May 30, Cawood, Thomas makes his formal and detailed profession to Archbishop John Romanus, “qui me de premissis per librum corporaliter investivit” (*ib.*). June 30, invitations to Bishops of S. Asaph and Carlisle to join in the consecration of the Bishop of Whitherne at Ripon (*ib.*; the *Chron. de Lanercost*, calling him Thomas de Daltown, supposes him to have been actually consecrated at Ripon, Aug. 15). Oct. 10, “crastino S. Dionysii,” in the parish church of Gedeling, Thomas is consecrated by the Archbishop and the two Bishops above-named (*Reg. Joh. Rom., ib.*). A.D. 1296. Aug. 28, “vint utime,” Berwick-upon-Tweed, Thomas Bishop of Candida Casa (with Robert of Glasgow and Henry of Aberdeen) swears allegiance to Edward I. (*Rym., I.* 844, and *Hist. Doc. Scoll., II.* 65); and so also, same day and place, Maurice Prior of Whitherne with his convent (*Hist. Doc. Scoll., II.* 69); and accordingly, Sept. 2, same place, among other Scotch ecclesiastics, the Bishop has a writ to restore his lands, addressed in his case “Vice-Comiti de Cumb.” (*Rym., I.* 845); and Sept. 1, same year and place, a writ occurs respecting a debt due by him (*Hist. Doc. Scoll., II.* 87). A.D. 1297. Jan. 13, and 1298. June 12, Letters of Presentation for livings in the diocese, addressed by the English



[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

King, but merely "Episcopo Candidæ Casæ" (*ib.* 161, 287). A.D. 1303. April 16, Burton near Beverley, Thomas de Kircudbright, Bishop of Candida Casa, professes obedience to Archbishop Corbridge (*Reg. Corbridge*). A.D. 1305. April 13, Westminster, writ of Edward I., "De Exequiis Johannæ Reginæ Franciæ Exequendis," addressed to the Bishops of all his dominions, reckons the Bishop of Candida Casa among those of Scotland (*Rym.*, I. 971): same year, Oct. 21, "Commissio facta" (in the diocese of York) "Thomæ Episcopo Candidæ Casæ, altaria dedicare, ecclesias et cimeteria reconciliare, et Christianis pueris ordinem affectantibus in clericulis primam tonsuram conferre" (*Reg. Dec. et Capit. Ebor., sede vacante post m. Corbridge*, who died Sept. 22, A.D. 1304). A.D. 1306, Sept. 20, the church of Carnemole appropriated to the see of Candida Casa by Archbishop Grenefeld, on account of the poverty of the see (*Reg. Grenefeld*; and *Hist. Papers*, &c., 175-177). A.D. 1307. Dec. 13, letters to Scottish Bishops, etc. from Edward II., and among others to the Bishop of Candida Casa, to assist in keeping the peace against the King's enemies in Scotland (*Rym.*, II. 22). A.D. 1309. Feb. 24, Dundee, "Discussio Juris Succedendi in Regnum, declarata per clerum" (in a Council of Scottish clergy), where Thomas Bishop of Candida Casa among others declares for Robert Bruce (*Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, I. 100): same year, Oct. 12 (Clement V's. Bull of excommunication against Bruce, for the murder of Comyn, being dated May 21, A.D. 1309), the Bishops of Durham and Candida Casa are directed to publish the excommunication of Bruce (*Reg. Grenefeld*). A.D. 1310. April 11, "100s. and an honest hospice at York against the time of our Council," granted to Thomas Bishop of Candida Casa by the Archbishop of York (*Reg. Grenefeld*). May 20, he is present as a suffragan of York at the provincial Council held there against the Templars (*ib.*, and *W.*, II. 394): and likewise A.D. 1311, May 24, and onwards, at a second Council held there on the same subject (*ib.*). A.D. 1311. May 30, Thomas Bishop of Whitherne joins at York in consecrating Richard Kellaw to the see of Durham (*Reg. Grenefeld*, etc.): and July 1, at Thorp, the Archbishop of York commissions Thomas Bishop of Candida Casa to remove Walter Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield from the King's prison at York to the Archbishop's, as a matter of Church liberties (*Rym.*, II. 138): and July 29, York, Thomas Bishop of Candida Casa solemnly absolves the Templars who had submitted (*Reg. Grenefeld*, and *W.*, II. 400): and same year has a grant of £20 for his services as suffragan (*Reg. Grenefeld*). A.D. 1313. Sept. 27, parish of Snaith to pay 40s. "pro reconciliatione cimiterii sanguinis effusione polluti," to Thomas Bishop of Candida Casa, appointed for the purpose by the Archbishop of York, or else the church to be interdicted (*ib.*): and A.D. 1314, Sept. 18, Blith church interdicted for



[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

non-payment of like dues to the same Bishop Thomas (*ib.*). A.D. 1314. Sept. 20, royal licence to the same Thomas to visit his diocese, stay there, and return to England, "pro voluntate sua" (*Rot. Scot.* p. 131 b): same year, Dec. 5, "Penitentia Walteri de Hamerton pro non solvendo pecuniam Domino Candidæ Casæ Episcopo pro dedicatione capellæ de Conseby" (*Reg. Grenfeld*). A.D. 1319. July 12, York, presentations to various churches by Edward II. include some addressed, "Episcopo Candidæ Casæ" (*Rym.*, II. 481), but with a blank for the name, leaving it uncertain whether Thomas was still living: probably however Thomas was the Bishop intended, inasmuch as his successor Simon, although apparently elected (in some fashion or other, not recognized by the see of York) before A.D. 1321, was not consecrated until A.D. 1327, and the presentations seem to imply that the see was still filled in A.D. 1319.

See vacant, A.D. 1319(?)–1326.

A.D. 1321. July 6, "Oct. of SS. Peter and Paul," Wedale, Simon "Divina miseratione Candidæ Casæ humilis minister," permits Melrose Abbey to rebuild S. Cuthbert's chapel (old Melrose), which had been destroyed by the English (*Lib. de Melros*, II. 390). But the authenticity of the date is doubtful. A.D. 1322. Nov. 24, 17th Robert Bruce, a charter of that King implies the see of Whitherne to be then vacant (*Harl. MSS.* 4628). A.D. 1323. April 19, Cawood, Archbishop Melton to the Cardinal Deacon of S. Heliodorus, complaining that the Bishop elect of Candida Casa was seeking confirmation and consecration from the Pope instead of from himself his proper metropolitan (*Reg. Melton*, in *Cott. MSS. Vesp. C.* xvi. 108).

SIMON, A.D. 1326–1354.

A.D. 1326. Sept. 25, ("die Martis prox. post fest. S. Matt."), Simon, Abbot of Holyrood, elected Bishop of Whitherne "per viam compromissi," announces his election to the Archbishop of York (see a full account of his consecration, submission, &c., in *Hist. Papers*, &c. 335, sq.). A.D. 1327. Jan. 28, licence from Abbat of Westminster for the consecration of the Bishop of Candida Casa in a chapel of Westminster Abbey (*Reg. Melton*). Feb. 1, Simon de Wedehale is consecrated accordingly by commission from the Archbishop of York by the Bishops of Carlisle, Lichfield, and Llandaff (*ib.*). A.D. 1334. Feb. 10, the Bishop of Candida Casa is present in a Scottish Parliament at Edinburgh (*Rym.*, II. 877), being called in Rymer "Henricus," but by an evident mistake; inasmuch as, A.D. 1335, Nov. 1, Dodynton, Edward III. grants protection to "Simon" Bishop of Candida Casa for one year (*Rot. Scot.* p. 385 b): and A.D. 1344, Aug. 27, Cawood, the same "Simon" professes obedience to Archbishop

[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

Zouche (*Reg. Zouche*): and A.D. 1345, Nov. 11, Kyrchrist (in Kirkcudbright), Simon Bishop of Candida Casa confirms to the canons of Holyrood all their privileges in his diocese, together with the presentation "ad vicariam ecclesiæ de Kirkcudbright" (*Charters of Holyrood*, pp. 95, 96). A.D. 1349. April 28, commission from the Archbishop of York to the Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, and Candida Casa, to publish an indulgence on behalf of the mortality (*Reg. Zouche*): and A.D. 1354, March 11, "Simon de Wedehale Episcopus Candidæ Casæ obiit" (*Reg. Dec. et Capit. Ebor., Hutton MSS. Harl. 1671*, p. 164).

## MICHAEL, A.D. 1354-1359.

A.D. 1355. June 26, Michael de Malconhalgh, Prior of Candida Casa, elected Bishop of the see, is confirmed (*Reg. Dec. et Capit. Ebor., ib. a*): according to Hutton, from York Reg., he was Bishop in A.D. 1354, in which year he was probably elected. A.D. 1355. July 12, "Reverendissimus pater dominus Willelmus [Edendon] Wintoniensis Episcopus, ascitis et assistentibus sibi venerabilibus patribus domino Cesario Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ de Rosis et—[blank in MS.] Episcopis, reverendis dominis Michaeli electo Londoniensi, virtute litterarum Apostolicarum etc., et Michaeli Mackenlagh Ecclesiæ cathedralis Candidæ Casæ provinciæ Eboracensis electo, virtute commissionis Johannis Archiepiscopi Eboracensis cujus tenor inferius describitur, in ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ de Suthwerke munus consecrationis impendit" (*Reg. Edendon Winton.*). A.D. 1357. Oct. 5, Berwick, Michael, Bishop of Candida Casa, is one among the Scottish Bishops appointed to enforce by spiritual penalties the treaty for the redemption of King David Bruce (*Rym., III. 375, 378*): and A.D. 1358, Jan 17, Mortlake, Edward III. grants the same Michael, "suffragan of York," a safe-conduct to come to England to the Archbishop of York on business relating to his diocese (*ib. 387*).

<sup>a</sup> Thoresby Archbishop of York was translated to that see Oct. 22, A.D. 1352, and enthroned there Sept. 8, A.D. 1353. But it appears that he did not begin to hold his own ordinations until he ceased to be chancellor,

viz. in A.D. 1356 (*Raine*). This may possibly account for this entry and that of Bishop Simon's death occurring in the Decanal Register.

## THOMAS, A.D. 1359-1362.

A.D. 1359. Dec. 31, Avignon, Pope Innocent to Thomas Bishop of Candida Casa, provides the said Thomas ("rector de Kyrteum" [Kirkcolm] "ejusd. dioc.") to the see, vacant by the death of Michael, and states that he has caused him to be consecrated (at Avignon) by Peter Bishop of Ostia; similar letters to the chapter of Candida Casa, to the clergy and people of Candida Casa, to the Archbishop of York, and to King David II. (*Theiner*, pp. 314, 315). A.D. 1362. Sept. 2, Perth, Thomas Bishop of Candida

[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

Casa (with John of Dunkeld and Patrick of Brechin) arbiter between the Bishop and Chapter of Glasgow (*Reg. Glasg.* p. 271).

ADAM, A.D. 1363-(after) 1369.

A.D. 1363. Feb. 20, Westminster, Edward III. grants a safe-conduct to "Adam de Lanark, Episcopus de Galway in Scotia," now "in partibus transmarinis," to pass through England to Scotland, to last one year (*Rot. Scot.*, I. 881 a): which looks as if Adam also had been consecrated abroad by the Pope. A.D. 1365. Jan. 13, and July 14, "Adam Episcopus Candidæ Casæ" present in Scottish Parliaments (*Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, I. 137, 138): and A.D. 1369, Sept. 30, Scone, witnesses a charter of 38th David II. (*Reg. M. Sig.* p. 57), which is witnessed also by another "Adam de Lanark, clericus." The Bishop of Candida Casa was also present at a Scottish Parliament A.D. 1369, March 8 (*Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, I. 148), but no name is given<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Keith calls him "Andrew," from a deed of 39th Edward II., i. e. Nov. 1369-Nov. 1370, but "Adam" was *certainly* still Bishop up to Sept. 30, A.D. 1369; and Andrew is probably a mistake for Adam.

DAVID DOUGLAS, A.D. (after) 1369-1373.

A.D. 1373. March 25, David Douglas Bishop of Candida Casa died (*Hay's Diplom.* [MS.] III. 579).

JAMES CARRON, A.D. 1373.

A.D. 1373. James Carron was Bishop for a few months, but resigned, his resignation being "confirmed" by Pope Gregory XI. "in the 3rd year of his pontificate" (Jan. 5, 1373-Jan. 5, 1374)—(*Hay, ib.*).

FRANCIS RAMSAY, A.D. 1373-1402.

A.D. 1373, Francis Ramsay, a Mathurine of Brechin from A.D. 1362, elected Bishop of Candida Casa in succession to James Carron in A.D. 1373, but whether consecrated by the Pope (who certainly was applied to for the confirmation of his predecessor's resignation) is doubtful: died Oct. 1, A.D. 1402, having administered the diocese 29 years (*Hay, ib.*: see at the end of this Appendix).

But OSWALD, a York Bishop, A.D. 1379-(after) 1406.

Contemporaneously however with Ramsay's episcopate [and upon occasion possibly of the schism between Pope Urban VI. (elected April 9, A.D. 1378) and the Antipope Clement VII. (elected Sept. 21, 1378), the latter of whom was acknowledged by Scotland, the former by England], A.D. 1379, March 26, one Oswald, "Episcopus Candidæ Casæ in Scotia, ut asserit," has a safe-conduct from Richard II. King of England to pass into Scotland in connection with Church business entrusted to him by Urban VI. (*Rot. Scot.*,

[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

II. 14). And the same Oswald, A.D. 1388, May 5, has a protection as "Bishop of Galway" from King Richard, he having fled into England "pro salvatione vitæ suæ" (*ib.* 98). And thenceforth we find him in York only: viz. A.D. 1389, Dec. 13, Oswald Bishop of Candida Casa ordains for the Archbishop of York "in capella B. Mariæ et SS. Angelorum" (*Reg. Arundel, Hutton MSS. Harl.* 6969): A.D. 1392. Nov. 11 (Fest. S. Martini), he grants indulgence of 40 days to all who pray at S. Andrew's church, Newcastle, but as "anno nostræ consecrationis 12" (*Brand, Hist. of Newcastle, I.* 179), which does not tally with his being consecrated (as he almost certainly was) by the Pope abroad before March, A.D. 1379: A.D. 1397, April 6 (*Reg. Waldby, Hutton, ib.*), and again A.D. 1398, Jan. 9 (*York Reg. Galba E.* 10), he has a commission to act as suffragan in York diocese; in the former case, "in absentia Archiepiscopi, ad dedicand.," etc.: and A.D. 1398, March 2, he ordains in S. Martin's church, York; April 6, in the Carmelites' church, York; June 1, in S. Michael's le Belfry, York (*Galba E.* 10): and A.D. 1406, April 3, "deputatur suffraganeus Dunelmensi sede vacante" (*Reg. Scrope, in Hutton MSS.*, Bishop Skirlaw of Durham being just dead).

Meanwhile the Scottish succession was obviously kept up without regard to Oswald, whom the Scottish Church must have regarded as an intruder thrust into the see by the Pope whom they did not recognise. For we find a Bishop—

ELISÆUS, A.D. 1405-1414 or 1415.

A.D. 1405. Elisæus was consecrated to the see of Candida Casa, inasmuch as he calls A.D. 1412 "the seventh year" of his consecration (in a charter quoted by Keith from *Reg. Chart.*, A.D. 1413); and probably therefore he was succeeded immediately by—

THOMAS, A.D. 1414 or 1415-1420 × 1426.

Who, A.D. 1416, March 17, Perth, 22nd year of (the Antipope) Benedict XIII., testifies among the other Scottish Bishops, etc., to an *inspeximus* of Edward II.'s resignation, anno 2 of his reign, of his claim to the Scottish crown (*Acts of Parl. of Scoll., I.* 226; *Reg. Glasg.* p. 310): and A.D. 1420, July 16, Perth, assists at a general Council of the Scottish Church (*Reg. Brechin., I.* 39, etc., in *Keith*): and who would appear therefore to have been succeeded immediately by—

ALEXANDER VAUS, A.D. 1420 × 1426-1444 × 1451.

Who A.D. 1426 is Bishop of Candida Casa (*Reg. Chart. in an.*, ap. *Keith*), and A.D. 1429, May 25, is appointed by James I. of Scotland

[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

one of the Conservators of Peace on the Borders; and June 15 is sent as ambassador into England (*Rym.*, X. 417), and July 12 acts as Conservator aforesaid (*ib.* 428); and A.D. 1444 is still Bishop (*Reg. Chart.* in *Keith*): but resigns before A.D. 1451: in which year we find—

THOMAS SPENS, A.D. 1444 × 1451–1459.

For A.D. 1451, July 5, Thomas Spens, Bishop of “Candida Casa” (or again “of Whithern,” and “vulgariter de Galway nuncupatus”), has letters of safe-conduct from Henry VI. of England to go to Newcastle and Durham (*Rym.*, XI. 286), and July 27 is appointed ambassador to England by James II. of Scotland (*ib.* 287), and Aug. 13 and 14 acts in that capacity (*ib.* 288, 293), and Oct. 9 has a safe-conduct to come to England (*ib.* 303); and also in A.D. 1451 grants a charter (*Reg. Chart.* and *Reg. Episc. Morav.* in *Keith*): and A.D. 1453, “anno regn. Jac. II. 18,” is still Bishop (*Invent. Aberdon.* in *Keith*); and A.D. 1454, April 14, Edinburgh, attests a grant of James II. to Melrose (*Lib. de Mailros*, I. 589—an indulgence granted to S. Cuthbert’s Melrose by a Bishop of C. C. unnamed, in some unnamed year of James II. [*ib.* 570], may also be his); and is also still Bishop A.D. 1454, Oct. 22, and in 1458 (*Reg. Chart.* in *Keith*); but between Aug. 24, A.D. 1458 (when the see of Aberdeen became vacant), and April, A.D. 1459, is postulated to Aberdeen.

NINIAN, A.D. 1459–1479 × 1483.

A.D. 1459, April 27, 23rd Jac. II., letters patent appoint Ninian to the see of Candida Casa (*Keith*); and July 13, “Ninianus Episcopus de Gallo-way” has safe-conduct from Henry VI. to come to England (*Rym.*, XI. 423): and in A.D. 1476 he is still Bishop (*Acts of Parl. of Scoll.*, II. 113, not however naming him; *Chart. de Sanct. Crucis*, pp. 147, 148). But—

A.D. 1472, Aug. 17<sup>a</sup>, a Bull of Pope Sixtus IV. erects St. Andrew’s into a metropolitan see, and archiepiscopate, having all the Scottish Bishoprics, including Galloway, as its suffragans: the Archbishop of York of the time renewing his claim to the subjection of all the Scottish Bishops, but fruitlessly (*Buchanan*, *lib. XII.*, *Opp.*, I. 226).

From the above it is evident, that Michael (ob. A.D. 1359) was the last Bishop of Whitherne whose profession to the see of York is on record: that Thomas his successor (ob. A.D. 1362) was consecrated by the Pope, who however thought it fitting to write to the Archbishop of York on the



[BISHOPRIC OF CANDIDA CASA OR WHITHERNE.]

occasion: that Adam, who came next (ob. A.D. 1369  $\times$  1373), was also probably consecrated by the Pope, but that both he and all his successors (with one exception) were obviously Scottish altogether and had nothing at all to do with York; although in A.D. 1379, there being a Pope and an Antipope, the former intruded Bishop Oswald into the see, already filled by a Bishop in communion with the latter; and Oswald, so intruded, being obliged in A.D. 1388 to fly for his life to England, acted thenceforth as a suffragan of York, the Scottish line being kept up in entire disregard of his existence: lastly, that a final protest or complaint was made in vain in A.D. 1472 by the see of York, but with reference to *all* the Scottish Bishoprics, and not to Galloway in particular.

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From the "*Historia Ordinis S.S. Trinitatis ad annum 1296 continuis Catalog. Cœnob. ejus Ordin. in Scotia*," in Hay's *Diplomata*<sup>a</sup> (MS., Advocates' Library, Edinb.), vol. III. p. 579.

Anno autem 1256 exstructum est patribus Trinitariis cœnobium Brechinense in Scotia ab Edwardo ejusdem civitatis Episcopo; deinde a B. Francisco Ramiseo, qui in eodem ordine monachatum subiit, multis possessionibus ditatum anno 1362. Idemque Franciscus ob singularem integritatem et vitæ innocentiam Episcopatu Case Candide honestatus est in hunc modum. Anno a partu Virginis 1373, octavo Kalendas Aprilis, obiit David Douglassius ejus sedis antistes; et sub obitum author fuit clero ac populo, ut dictum patrem Franciscum ordinis Trinitarii monachum successorem sibi in Episcopatu designarent. Nihilo tamen minus clerus Candide Case, corruptus largitionibus cujusdam Jacobi Caarron [sic], qui eandem sedem ambiebat, rejecto Francisco, eum Episcopum designarunt: sed non volente eventu. Nam Jacobus, altera die post sui consecrationem, caldissima febre correptus vite usuram desperavit. Et agnoscens morbum sibi a Deo vindice immissum ob Episcopatum nefario modo occupatum, ipsum Franciscum protinus accersivit. Qui cum adesset, [et] infirmum antistitem aqua cui ipse benedixit adpersisset, protinus eum molestia febris liberavit. Propter que alter sanitati restitutus Episcopatum Francisco resignavit: quod, factum in Scotia, Rome deinde Gregorius undecimus confirmavit pontificatus sui anno tertio. Unde beatus Franciscus sedem illam viginti novem annis magno sui laude administravit. Tandem morte absumptus anno Domini 1402, Kal. Octobris, sepultus est in sua ecclesia, etc.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This work, which is a collection of transcripts, was formed by Richard Augustine Hay, canon regular of S. Genéviève, about the

beginning of the 18th century. The MS. is now in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

## APPENDIX C.

### BISHOP OF GLASGOW IN SUBJECTION TO YORK, A.D. 1318-1323.

A.D. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>0</sup>, Feb. 1, Archbishop Melton of York writes to B. Cardinal deacon of S. Mary in Aquiro, on behalf of John Bishop of Glasgow, who on account of the war dares not visit his diocese, and is for that reason in great poverty; and the same John of Glasgow, called once John de Ecclesclif, and once Friar John de Ecclesfeld; is on four occasions employed by Archbishop Melton as a suffragan (*Histor. Papers, &c. from Northern Registers*, 299, 300). John Bishop of Glasgow, who must have been the York Bishop, assisted also at the consecration of Roger of Lichfield at Hales Abbey, June 27, A.D. 1322. And a grant, which must be his, to Holyrood Abbey, March 1, 1322, is among the Holyrood Charters, pp. 186-188. "Frater Johannes de Eglesclif de ordine Predicatorum, consecratus in curia Romana, venit ad dyocesim suam Landav. octavis Sancte Trinitatis [May 29] anno Domini 1323, et obiit apud Lancadwaladwr, viz. ii<sup>o</sup> die mensis Januarii anno Domini [1344, miswritten 1306], et sepultus est in ecclesia Fratrum Predicatorum de Kerdyf" (MS. additions to the Owston MS. of the *Lib. Landavensis*). John of Eggescliffe is stated to have been Bishop of Bethlehem *in partibus*, in the first instance (*Gallia Christ.*, XII. 690; *Hibern. Dominicana*, c. 13): but he was really consecrated to Glasgow in the place of Robert Wiseheart deceased, by Nicolas Bishop of Ostia, at Avignon; see the Bull dated XVI. kal. Aug. A.D. 1318 (*Theiner*, 202). As Bishop of Glasgow he has letters from Edward II. dated July 19, A.D. 1319 (*Rymer*, III. 401). Robert Bruce objected to him as an Englishman, and was answered by the Pope, Aug. 18, A.D. 1320 (*Rymer*, III. 432); and in A.D. 1323, Mar. 15, he was translated to Connor (*Theiner*, 226), and June 20, to Llandaff (*Reg. Reynolds*). The Llandaff scribe, apparently, knew nothing of John of Eggescliffe's previous Glasgow and Irish Episcopates.

John Lindsey was appointed Bishop of Glasgow in his place, Mar. 15, A.D. 1323 (*Theiner*, 226).

COUNCILS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

VI.  
BRITISH CHURCHES ABROAD.

I. BRITISH CHURCH IN ARMORICA UNTIL THE SUPPRESSION OF BRITISH  
CUSTOMS THERE.

A. D. 387-818.

II. BRITISH SEE AT BRETOÑA IN GALLICIA.

A. D. 569-830.

I. Misit [Oudoceus Episcopus Landavensis (c. A.D. 600) Guidnerth Regem Gwentiae] in peregrinationem ad Archiepiscopum Dolensem, ... propter veteranam amicitiam et cognitionem quam sancti patres habuerant antecessores sui inter se, ... et propter aliam causam, eo quod ipse Guidnerth et Brittones et Archiepiscopus illius terrae essent unius linguae et unius nationis, quamvis dividerentur spatio terrarum.—[LIB. LANDAV. 172.]

Notandum quia in Nordwallia (Venedotia) lingua Britannica delicatior et ornatior et laudabilior est, quanto alienigenis terra illa impermixtior esse perhibetur: Cornubienses vero et Armorici Britonum lingua utuntur fere persimili, Cambris tamen propter originem et convenientiam in multis adhuc et fere cunctis intelligibili; quae quanto delicata minus et incompressa, magis tamen antiquo linguae Britannicae idiomatici, ut arbitror, appropriata.—[GIR. CAMBR., *Descript. Cambr.*, I. 6. A.D. 1215.]

II. Transnavigare maria terrasque spatiosas transmeare non tam piget [Britannos sacerdotes] quam delectat.—[GILDAS, *M. H. B.* 31, c. A.D. 560.]

# BRITISH CHURCHES ABROAD.

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## I. BRITISH CHURCHES IN ARMORICA\* UNTIL THE SUPPRESSION OF BRITISH CUSTOMS.

A.D. 387-818.

[A.D. 387. Colony of Maximus' soldiers from Britain (*Nenn. Gild.*).

A.D. 409-502. Independent Armorican state, under a "King of the Britons<sup>b</sup>."

c. A.D. 450. Immigration of (Christian) Britons fleeing from Saxon invasion (*V. Gild.* in *Bibl. Floriac.* and *V. S. Winwaloëi*).

A.D. 461. First mention of a Bréton Bishop.

A.D. 502. Brittany henceforth claimed as subject to the suzerainty of the Franks<sup>c</sup>, although practically independent; and its rulers called "Comites" instead of "Reges" (*Greg. Tur., IV. 3*).

A.D. 512. Further immigration of Britons<sup>d</sup>: Bishoprics founded for them by Childebert at Léon, and perhaps at Dol, irrespectively of the Archbishopric of Tours.

A.D. 541-590. Differences about Easter.

A.D. 561, 566, etc. Further immigration of Britons, in connection with SS. Maclovius, Maglorius, etc.

A.D. 561. Vannes occupied by the Franks until A.D. 753.

A.D. 567. Metropolitanship of Tours over Armorica asserted in a council of Tours.

A.D. 600-700. Frank supremacy powerful over nearly all Brittany (so that in Eastern Brittany the people ceased to use the British language, *Courson*, p. 256).

A.D. 612 x 632. Cadwallon of Wales takes refuge with Duke Salomon; and, A.D. 664 x 689, Cadwallader with Alan<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 635. Judicael, "Rex Brittannorum," submits himself and his kingdom to Dagobert at Creil (*Fredegar. 78*; *V. S. Elig. Noviom.*).

A.D. 753. Brétons recover Vannes, but are driven out again by Pipin (*Ann. Metens.*), who appoints "Counts of the British March" (among others, Roland).

A.D. 786, 799, 811. Brittany overrun by Andulfus, "Senescallus" of Charlemagne, by Wido Count of the British March, and yet again by a third army of Charlemagne (*Eginbard*; *Regin. Abb.*; *Conc. Wurm.* A.D. 786; *Ann. S. Nazar., Franc., Xantens.*).

A.D. 818. Brittany again overrun by Ludov. Pius (*Eginbard, Ermold. Nigell.*), who also puts down there the British monastic rule and tonsure<sup>f</sup>.]



<sup>a</sup> *Armorica* (*Lez-ar-mor*, *Littus Maris*) = at first the whole northern and north-western seaboard of Gaul up to the confines of (modern) Belgium (*Cæs. De B. G.*, VII. 75, and see *Rot. Scacc. Normann.*, ed. Stapleton, I. xxxviii.); in the 5th century, North-western Gaul from Loire to Seine, then independent; subsequently restricted to the territory of the British immigrations, i.e. at first to the triangle marked by *Cruc-Uchidient* = *Ushant* to the west, the bay to the north of *Mons Jovis* or *Mont-S. Michel* (*Gall. Cbrist.*, XII. 472) to the north-east, and *Cantguic* or *Condivicium* = (precisely) Corbilo, two leagues below Nantes, on the Loire (*Courson*, 199), to the south-east (*Nenn.*, and especially the *Irish Nennius*, with *Herbert's Append.* X.): its eastern boundary being the Vilaine, the Rance, and the *Forêt Brékilien* (*Courson*, 200):—thus excluding, from probably the time of Clovis, Nantes and Rennes (*Venant. Fortun.*, *Carm.* III. iii. 7, and vi. 41; *Greg. Tur.*, V. 27, IX. 18, 24, X. 9; and *De Mirac.*, I. 61; *Columban.*, *Epist.* IV.; and *Jon.* in *V. S. Columban.*, from A.D. 578 to A.D. 610); although these towns had probably been subject to the Armorican or British King during the 5th century ("Britannos ad *Ligerim* sitos," *Sidon. Apoll.*, *Epist.* I. 7, A.D. 472 x 484; also charters from Landevenec in *Morice*: and see the history of King Riothamus). So, also, Nantes is only "in vicinia Brittonum," A.D. 610 (*Columban.*, *Epist.* IV.; *Galland.*, XII. 351 b, c). This eastern boundary remained until the 9th century (so the "Limes Namneticus" of *Greg. Tur.*, IX. 18, the "Limes Britonum" of A.D. 600 [and onwards] in *Fredegar.*, XX., the "Marchia Britonum" of the first Carlovingians, A.D. 753 and onwards; Saxons also at Bayeux and in the Bessin during this period, and the "Otlingua Saxonica," due south of Bayeux, in A.D. 843 [*Capit. Car. Calv.* in *Balz.*, II. 69]; Saxons even for a short time on the Loire [*Greg. Tur.*, II. 18, 19] viz. about A.D. 470): but was pushed east by the Britons after their victory at Ballon in A.D. 845, as far as Bayeux; and not only Rennes and Nantes, but as far as Angers and the Cotentin and Avranchin, ceded to Brittany in A.D. 865; but the two last named again lost (and seized by Normandy) in A.D. 933, and finally in A.D. 941. British *Armorica* was also called *Letavia*, *Llydaw* (Welsh), *Leatba* or *Letha* (Irish), either from *Lez-ar-Mor* or from the *Læti* of Maximus (*Herbert*,

*App.* XI.), *Cornugallia*, *Domnonia* (but these two names limited at first to Finisterre and Morbihan), *Britannia*, *Britannia Minor*; and its inhabitants *Lydwiceas* (*A. S. C.*), *Armorici*, *Ἀρβόρυχοι* (in *Procopius*), *Brittones*, *Britanni*, *Britanni Ultra-marini*.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 409, Roman officers expelled, and an "οἰκείον κατ' ἐξουσίαν πολίτευμα" established, by "ὁ Ἀρμόριχος ἄπας," in imitation of the Britons proper (*Zosim.*, VI. 5, *in fin.*). A.D. 416, Exuperantius endeavours to reconquer them (*Rutil. Iuin.*, I. 213-216): and A.D. 437 or 439, Littorius (*Sidon. Apoll.*, *Carm.* VII. 251, 252); and A.D. 445, Majorian raises the Bréton siege of Tours (*Id.*, *Carm.* V., and *Eric.* in *V. S. Germani*): A.D. 447 or 448, S. Germanus intercedes with the Emperor against a projected Alan invasion of Armorica (*Constant.* in *V. S. Germ.*, II. 5; *Bæd. H. E.*, I. 21): A.D. 451, Armoricans join in the victory of Châlons (*Jornand. De Reb. Get.*, LVI.): A.D. 463, Egidius defeats the Visigoths "in provincia Armorica" (*Idat. Chron.*): A.D. 470, "Riothamus Rex Britonum" helps the Romans against the Goths,—*Ἀρβόρυχοι Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται γεγεννημένοι*,—and A.D. 477 x 481, the Britons are driven by the Goths from Bourges (*Jornand. ib.*, XLV.; *Sidon. Apoll.*, *Epist.* III. 9; *Greg. Tur.*, II. 18; *Sigebert*; *Procop.*, as below): A.D. 493-497, *Ἀρβόρυχοι* independent allies of the *Γερμανοὶ* or Franks, who had vainly endeavoured to conquer them (*Procop. De Bell. Gotb.*, I. 12).

<sup>c</sup> "Φράγγων κατῆκοι ὄντες, φόρον μέντοι ἀπαγωγὴν οὔτε πώποτε παρασχόμενοι," (*Procop. De B. Gotb.*, IV. 20):—"Subjugata a Francis [a. 799], quod nunquam antea fuerat" (*Ann. Franc. ad an. 799*):—"Certi fines," kept by Clovis for the Franks and granted by him to the Britons (*Lup. Abb. Ferr.*, *Epist.* 84).

<sup>d</sup> King Riwallus (or Howel), "cum multitudine navium a transmarinis veniens" (*Act. S. Winocb.*):—"Venerunt transmarini Britanni in minorem Britanniam" (*Chron.* in *Morice*, I. 3, *in an.* 513). So also *Chron. Namnet.*, *Chron. S. Michel*, *Act. S. Paul. Leon.*, etc.

<sup>e</sup> *Brut Guent*, and two MSS. of *Ann. Camb.* in *an.* 682.

<sup>f</sup> The present work has no other concern with Brittany, than in so far as it was ecclesiastically connected with Great Britain.

#### A.D. 461. First Bréton Bishop recorded<sup>a</sup>.

CONC. TURON. I.—[Among the signatures,] Mansuetus Episcopus Britannorum interfui et subscripsi. [*Labb.*, IV. 1053.]

## [COUNCIL OF VANNES.]

<sup>a</sup> Mansuetus was probably a regionary Bishop, and obviously in union with Tours, Perpetuus of Tours presiding over this council. The legendary accounts of S. Corentin, the first Bishop of Quimper (*Corisopitanus*), connect him also with Tours, and with S. Martin; and if (as has been conjectured) his name is disguised under that of "Cariaton," who was at the council of Angers A.D. 453, he was likewise almost contemporary with Mansuetus. As was also the first S. Padarn of Vannes, if he was really there A.D. 448. Venerandus, however, who signs this council at Tours by proxy in A.D. 461, is conjectured to have been Bishop of Quimper. If these two sees really existed at that time, it is possible that Mansuetus *may* have been Bishop of Aleth, as Trésvaux (*l'Eglise de Bretagne*, Paris, 1839)

conjectures. The Bishops of Nantes and Rennes were also present at the Tours Council, and were plainly *not* Bishops "Britannorum." The *Acta* of S. Winwaloe of Landevenec, and those of S. Brioc, also point to the earlier half of this century. And while no doubt there were Christians in Armorica during Roman times, all the British immigrations—beginning A.D. 387 (and continuing until c. A.D. 570)—were of Christian Britons. Yet the *Acta S. Melanii* (said to have died after A.D. 530) describe the *Veneti* as "tunc temporis pene omnes gentiles" (*Act. SS. Jan. 6, I. c. IV. § 23*). And those of S. Paul of Léon (Bishop there from A.D. 512) testify to the continuance of heathenism in that district also down to that date.

A.D. 465. *Council of Vannes, to ordain S. Padarn (II.) of Vannes* <sup>a</sup>.

CONC. VENET.—[The synodical letter prefixed to the council states, in the name of the subscribing Bishops, that] Nos in ecclesia Venetica causa ordinandi Episcopi congregavit: [and among the signatures is] Paternus Episcopus subscripsi. [*Labb., IV. 1054, 1057.*]

<sup>a</sup> Perpetuus of Tours presided, and five Bishops besides Paternus, *not* Britons, were present, or assented, together with two Bishops whose sees are not known, sc. Albinus and Liberalis, conjectured by Stapleton (*Rot. Scacc. Norman., I. xli.*) to have been respectively Bishops of Quimper and Aleth, as being the only sees unaccounted for. Obviously

Brittany was still reckoned without dispute as within the province of Tours. *Can. 15* of the council enacts an uniform "ordo sacrorum," and "consuetudo psallendi," and "unam officiorum regulam," within "provincia nostra:" a canon possibly suggested by Briton immigration.

(Probably) A.D. 475 × 480. *Faustus the Bréton, Abbat of Lerins, and then Bishop of Riez* <sup>a</sup>.

SIDON. APOLLIN., *Epist. IX. 9.*—SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *Domino Papæ Fausto.* Legi volumina tua, quæ Riochatus, Antistes ac monachus atque istius mundi bis peregrinus, Britannis tuis pro te reportat. .... Hic igitur ipse venerabilis, apud oppidum nostrum dum moraretur donec gentium concitatarum procella defremeret, etc. .... Sed post duos aut iis amplius menses sic quoque a nobis cito profectum, etc. etc. [*Galland., X. 546.*]

<sup>a</sup> Riochat, mentioned in the Litany in Mabillon (below, *Append. A.*) as a confessor, and called here a Bishop (for "Antistes," simply, must mean Bishop, in Sidonius), was obviously conveying Faustus' two Books *De*

*Gratia*, from Riez, Faustus' see (A.D. 472-494), to Aleth (if that were indeed Riochat's see—nothing is recorded of him elsewhere), or at any rate to Brittany; and in his journey passed through Clermont in Auvergne, Sido-

[SEE OF LEON.]

nus' see in A.D. 472-484; and stopped there two months and more on account of the wars, no doubt those of the Britons, Romans, and Visigoths, A.D. 477 x 481. Faustus wrote his work about A.D. 475, and was driven into exile about A.D. 481. Sidonius also writes to King Riothamus, the Bréton King,

respecting certain slaves, stolen "Britannis clam solicitantibus" (*Epist. III. 9*; *Galland., X. 488*). Respecting Faustus' semipelagianism, and the councils of Arles, Lyons, Orange, and Valence, on the subject, see *Voss. Hist. Pelag., etc.*

### A.D. 511. *A Bréton Bishop at a Council of Orleans.*

CONC. AURELIAN. I.—[Among the signatures,] Modestus Episcopus Ecclesiæ Veneticæ<sup>a</sup>. [*Labb., IV. 1410.*]

<sup>a</sup> "Litharedus Oxomensis," named next before Modestus, can hardly have been (as has been guessed) Bishop of Seez, or of the Osismii at (at this date) Quimper. The

editor of the *Gallia Christiana* (XIV. 873, 971) supposes him to have been a bishop of uncertain or even unsettled see in the district of the Léonois.

A.D. 512. *See of Léon, or of the Osismii, taken out of that of Quimper, and erected by Childebert, irrespectively of the See of Tours*<sup>a</sup>.

ACTA S. PAULI LEON.—Childebertus vero Rex cum (Paulum) a terra elevans, et cujusdam præsulis baculum accipiens, Suscipe, inquit, pastoralem gradum, quo officio queas prodesse salutis plurimorum. Et evocatis tribus Episcopis, qui eum benedicerent, vir Dei, perfusus lacrymis, volens nolens suscepit quod multo tempore distulit. Cui benedicto statim Rex gloriosus Agnensem Leonensemque pagos, cum sibi debito redditu, Regiæ auctoritatis præcepto tradidit. [*fo. a Bosco, Biblioth. Floriac., I. 423.*]

<sup>a</sup> The account of the details of the act here recorded dates probably after the time of Charlemagne. The establishment of the see by the King, and the consecration of Paul by Bishops at court and not at Tours, are no doubt facts. The Chronicles assign various dates for the transaction—one as late as A.D. 580. But the Childebert intended was probably the first of the name, King of Paris A.D. 511-558. And Paul is said to have been aided, *when an old man*, by Judwal of Brittany, who was Count about A.D. 550, and 4th in descent from the Riwallus who came to Brittany in A.D. 513. The existence and authority of a Frank Count at Léon, at whose

request Childebert is said to have acted, agrees also with the beginning more than with the end of Childebert's reign, the Franks at the former period being more masters of Brittany than they were at the latter. If Samson came to Dol at this same date, then that see also was possibly founded, and for the influx of British immigrants. But this would seem to belong to the somewhat later immigration of the middle of the century: if indeed Dol was ever a Bishop's see at all until Nomenoë made it so in A.D. 845. The legend of S. Samson (in *Lib. Landav.*) calls it a "monastery" throughout, without any hint of a bishopric there at that time.

### A.D. 520<sup>a</sup>. *Foundation of the British Monastery of Ruys by Gildas.*

<sup>a</sup> So the *Cbron. Brit.* in Morice. But according to the dates given above in vol. I. pp.

44, 45, note †, it must have been at least 20 years later.

A.D. 541. *Easter question raised at the 4th Council of Orleans*<sup>a</sup>.

CONC. AURELIAN. IV. *can.* 1.—Placuit itaque, Deo propitio, ut sanctum Pascha secundum laterculum Victorii ab omnibus sacerdotibus uno tempore celebretur. Quæ festivitas annis singulis ab Episcopo Epiphaniarum die in ecclesia populis denuntiatur. De qua solennitate quoties aliquid dubitatur, inquisita vel agnita per metropolitanos a Sede Apostolica sacra constitutio teneatur. [*Labb.*, V. 381<sup>b</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> Injuriosus of Tours, and Eumerius of Nantes, are among the signatures to this council, but no name of any Bréton Bishop. Nor does any Bréton Bishop occur in Frank councils, except Samson in A.D. 555 or 557, who was a Bishop but almost certainly not a Bréton Bishop, and the questionable Cadoenus, supposed to be of Aleth, at Rouen in A.D. 682. Brittany was evidently becoming severed from Tours, since the establishment of the Frank

kingdom, and the great British immigrations into Brittany, had brought about a difference of race between the two, and continual Frank and Bréton wars besides.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 529 × 561, one "Joannes Reclusus, presbyter, natione Britto," is mentioned as having a cell at Chinon, and as being an adviser of the Frank Queen, Radegund (*Greg. Tur.*, *De Glor. Confess.* 23; *Baudoniv.* in *V. S. Radegund.* § iv.).

A.D. 553 × 561. *Synod of Bréton Bishops excommunicates Macliaus Bishop of Vannes*<sup>a</sup>.

GREG. TURON., *Hist. Franc.*, IV. 4.—Macliauvus, de sub terra consurgens, Veneticam urbem expetiit, ibique tonsuratus et Episcopus ordinatus est. Mortuo autem Chanaone, hic apostatavit, et demissis capillis, uxorem, quam post clericatum reliquerat, cum regno fratris simul accepit; sed ab Episcopis excommunicatus est.

<sup>a</sup> Chanao, Count of Brittany in A.D. 553, murdered three of his brothers, but failed in his attempt to murder the fourth, Macliaus, who was first hidden in the way above hinted by Count Conober, and then protected by his Episcopate. Upon Chanao's death he seized

the Countship, which he held with his Bishopric, in spite of excommunication, until he was himself assassinated (*Greg. Tur.*, *ib.*), which must have been before A.D. 577, as in that year one Ennius appears as Bishop of Vannes (*Id.*, V. 25).

A.D. 555 or 557. *Welsh or Bréton Bishops at Paris*<sup>a</sup>.

CONC. PARISIENS. III.—[Among the signatures,] Paternus peccator Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. .... Samson peccator Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. [*Labb.*, V. 818.]

<sup>a</sup> No sees are mentioned. The South Welsh Samson, according to his legend (see vol. I. p. 149), went to Dol, being a Bishop already; and living there until his death, took an active part

in procuring the restoration of Judwal to the Countship of Brittany c. A.D. 550 by the help of King Childebert, and in opposing a usurper called Commorus, mentioned also in the



[SS. MACLOVIUS AND MAGLORIUS.]

Lives of Gildas and of Paternus (=probably Conober, slain by the Franks A.D. 560, *Greg. Tur.*, IV. 20). He was also contemporary with King Chilbert I., A.D. 511-558. (See also next article.) His *Archbishopric* at Dol (which probably was not even a Bishopric until A.D. 845) is a fiction of the same kind with that of the like Archbishopric at S. David's: as are also, it need hardly be said, the story of the York Archbishopric and pall, and the locating S. Samson himself at S. David's. And his connection with Chilbert sufficiently accounts for his presence at Paris, without making him a Bréton Bishop. The legend of S. Teilo, which brings him also to S. Samson at Dol for a time, and that of Oudoceus, making him son of one Budic who comes from Cornwall to Armorica to be prince of the latter country, shew at all events a close intercourse in this century between South Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. As does also the legend of Padarn of Llanbadarn (see above,

vol. I. p. 159); to be mentioned here in order to distinguish him, not only from the Bishops of Vannes of the previous century, but from the "Paternus" (of Avranches) above in the text, who was probably a Bréton from his name, but lived and died at S. Pair d'Avranches, not at that time in Brittany (see the *V. S. Paterni* by Venant. Fort., his contemporary). The Welsh legend of the Padarn of Llanbadarn (*Cambro-Brit. SS.*), composed after the 9th century (for it speaks of *seven* sees in Brittany), makes *him* also Bishop of Vannes, and connects him with S. Samson of Dol. It was obviously written to exempt Vannes from subjection to Dol. See also the History of Gildas for another instance of British and Bréton intercourse. The legends of S. Cadoc and S. Illtyd also take those saints to Armorica (*Cambro-Brit. SS.*). And although S. David himself is not taken thither, yet his legend and memory were familiar there (see below, *Append. D.*).

A.D. 561, 566. *Further immigration of Britons into Brittany in connection with Maclou, Maglorius<sup>a</sup>, etc.*

SIGEBERT, *Chron. ad an.* 561.—Machutes, qui et Maglorius<sup>b</sup>, regulariter educatus et ipsius [sc. Brendani] navigationis socius, in Britannia [i. e. Armorica] sanctitate et miraculis claruit: qui a Britannis exacerbatus, eis maledictis, transivit ad Gallias, et sub Leontio Santonum Episcopo multo tempore virtutibus claruit; Britannis vero propter suam maledictionem variis cladibus affectis, data rursus benedictione, absolvit et sanavit.—*Id.*, *in an.* 566.—Samson Dolensis Archiepiscopus consanguineus Sancti Maclovii, et successor Samsonis Maglorius, qui de transmarina Britannia ad cismarinam transierunt Britanniam, clarent sanctitate et doctrina.—*VIT. S. MAGLORII.*—(Maglorius) ad prædicandum populo ejusdem linguæ, in occidente consistenti, mare transfretavit, properans finibus territorii Dolensis. [*Morice, I.*]

<sup>a</sup> Maglovius became Bishop of Aleth, afterwards (viz. about A.D. 1062) transferred to S. Malo; Maglorius succeeded Samson at Dol: according to their legends, referred to below in *Append. B.* They were both from Glamorgan or Gwent, and connected with Samson. For the many legendary lives of Britons who came to Brittany, from A.D. 450 to A.D. 600, mainly, but a few also in the following century, see below in *Append. B.* It really looks *possible*, that if Dol was at first only a monastery in the see of Aleth, with probably enough (occasionally) episcopal ab-

bats (and this is rendered almost certain by Nomenoë's reckoning in A.D. 845, that he found *four* sees and left *seven*, viz. by adding S. Brieuc, Treguier, and Dol as a separate see, to Vannes, Quimper, Léon, and Aleth,—and see Stapleton as before quoted, *I. xlv. note*), then that Maglovius and Maglorius were one and the same person. At any rate Maglorius was probably no more than abbat (perhaps episcopal) of the monastery of Dol.

<sup>b</sup> The best edition of Sigebert (Pertz, VI. 318) reads *Maclovius* instead of *Maglorius*.



A.D. 567. *Council of Tours (II.) asserts the Metropolitanship of Tours over Brittany.*

CONC. TURON. II. *can.* 9.—Adjicimus etiam, ne quis Britannum aut Romanum in Armorico sine metropolitani aut comprovincialium voluntate vel literis Episcopum ordinare præsumat. Quod si quis contraire tentaverit, sententiam in anterioribus canonibus prolatam observet, et a nostra caritate usque ad majorem synodum se cognoscat remotum et excommunicatum; quia merito a caritate nostra vel nostris ecclesiis segregantur, qui patrum statuta contemnunt<sup>a</sup>. [*Labb.*, *V.* 854.]

<sup>a</sup> Signed by the metropolitan of Tours, and among others by the Bishops of Rennes and of Nantes; but by no Bréton Bishop. About A.D. 580, Venantius Fortunatus congratulates Felix Bishop of Nantes, because "Insidiatores removes vigil arte Britannos, nullius arma

valent quod tua lingua facit," etc. (*Carm.* III. vi. 40, 41): which doubtless means, that Bishop Felix had protected Nantes, not (as has been imagined) from the Pelagianism, but from the incursions, of the neighbouring Britons.

A.D. 577, 590. *Differences of Easter Cycle*<sup>a</sup>.

GREG. TUR., *V.* 17 [A.D. 577].—Eo anno dubietas Paschæ fuit. In Galliis vero nos cum multis civitatibus quarto decimo kalendas Maias [April 18] sanctum Pascha celebravimus. Alii vero cum Hispanis duodecimo kalendas Aprilis [March 21] solennitatem hanc tenuerunt. Tamen, ut ferunt, fontes illi qui in Hispaniis nutu Dei complentur, in nostro Pascha repleti sunt.—*Id.*, X. 23 [A.D. 590].—Dubietas Paschæ fuit ob hoc, quod in cyclo Victor lunæ decima quinta Pascha scripsit fieri; sed ne Christiani, ut Judæi, sub hac luna hæc solemnia celebrarent, addidit. Latini autem lunæ vigesima secunda. Ob hoc multi in Galliis decima quinta luna celebraverunt. Nos autem vigesima secunda. Inquisivimus tamen studiose. Sed fontes Hispaniæ, qui Divinitus implentur, in nostrum Pascha repleti sunt.

<sup>a</sup> These seem to be the last (probable) allusions to the Easter dispute in connection with Brittany. The council of Orleans in A.D. 541 had adopted the cycle of Victorinus. As respects A.D. 577, the Spaniards in that year, as is plain by the day named, still kept to the old uncorrected cycle, to which the Britons also adhered. And the "alii," in the neighbourhood probably of Tours, who agreed with the

Spaniards, were most probably Brétons. According to our present mode of reckoning, and setting aside new style, April 25 would have been Easter Day in A.D. 577. All three days were Sundays in that year. Columbanus had not yet come into Gaul. As regards A.D. 590, Sunday March 13 was new moon in that year; so that the British rule would have determined Easter Day to March 26,

## [LATEST BRITISH MONASTERY IN BRITTANY.]

whereas Gregory kept it on April 2. The history of both differences shews that all these Easter disputes arose merely out of a con-

fusion respecting cycles, springing from nothing more than the difficulty in those times of obtaining information.

A.D. 578–586. *Intended Pilgrimage of S. Winoch to Jerusalem.*

A.D. 582. SIGEBERT, *in an.*—Winochus in Britannia claruit sanctitate.—A.D. 578. GREG. TUR., *V.* 24.—Tunc [sc. A.D. 578] Uuinochus Britto in summa abstinencia a Britanniiis venit Turonis, Hierosolymam adire cupiens, nullum aliud vestimentum nisi de pellibus ovium lana privatis habens: quem nos [Greg. Tur.], quo facilius teneremus, quia nobis religiosus valde videbatur, presbyterii gratia honoravimus<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *Greg. Tur.*, VIII. 34, relates the horrible end of "Vennocus Britto," about A.D. 586.

The *Acta S. Winochi* belong to a totally different Winoch (see below in *Appendix B.*).

A.D. 578–590. *Saxons on the border of Brittany adopt British customs.*

GREG. TUR., *Hist. Franc.*, X. 9<sup>a</sup>.—Fredegundis ..... Bajocassinus Saxones juxta ritum Britannorum tonsos atque cultu vestimenti compositos in solutium Warochi abire præcepit.

<sup>a</sup> The Saxons of Bayeux, who attacked the Britons on the Vilaine A.D. 578 (*Greg. Tur.*, *V.* 27), as they befriended them in A.D. 590, must have extended into the interior far south of Bayeux itself (see above, p. 72, note<sup>a</sup>). The "tonsure," however, here spoken of, was apparently the lay, not the clerical, fashion among the Britons. So Sidon. Apollin. a

century earlier, A.D. 472–484, *Epist. VIII.* 9, describes the Saxons as adopting the British custom in the arrangement of the hair. Count Waroch planted Saxon landholders round Vannes as early as A.D. 560 (so *Courson*, 253, 254, from signatures to Redon charters).

A.D. 600. *Another British Monastery founded in Brittany.*

CHRON. BRITANN., *in an.*—His diebus construxit S. Mevanius<sup>a</sup> suum cœnobium. [*Morice*, I. 3.]

<sup>a</sup> See for S. Méen, a Welshman from Gwent, below in *Append. B.* And Louis le Débonnaire's letters patent for restoring the then destroyed monastery, A.D. 816, in *Morice*, I. 225. Judicael gave up the throne of Brittany in A.D. 638, and retired to S. Méen. A story

in *Hoveden*, II. 136, shews a kind of connection still between this monastery and that of Bodmin so late as A.D. 1177. The next monastery founded in, or in connection with, Brittany, that of Aindre, had a German for its founder, about A.D. 695.

(A.D. 656, Council of Nantes, had no connection with Brittany [*Flodoard*, *Hist.*, II. 8; *Labb.*, VI. 486, IX. 468].)

[PROHIBITION OF THE SCOTTISH MONASTIC RULE AND TONSURE IN BRITTANY.]


A.D. 786. *Brétons submit to Charlemagne at the Council of Worms.*REGINO OF PRÜM.—Britonum principes Carolo Regi supplices oblatisunt. [*Labb., VI.* 1861.]A.D. 817. *Letters Patent of Louis le Débonnaire for the Abbey of Landevenech.*

Adopt the Rule of S. Benedict (in place of that of S. Columbanus) and the Roman tonsure in place of the Scottish.

CARTUL. LANDEVENECH.—In nomine Domini Dei salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, LUDOVICUS DIVINA ORDINANTE PROVIDENTIA IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS *omnibus Episcopis et universo ordini Ecclesiastico Britanniae consistenti.* Notum

sit, quod, dum Matmonocus abbas ex monasterio Landevennoch nostram adiisset præsentiam et illum sive de

conversatione monachorum illarum partium consistentium sive de tonsione interrogassemus, et ad liquidum nobis qualiter hæc forent patefecisset, cognoscentes quomodo ab Scotis sive de conversatione sive de tonsione capitum accepissent, dum ordo totius sanctæ Apostolicæ atque Romanæ Ecclesiæ aliter se habere dignoscitur, placuit nobis ut sive de vita seu etiam de tonsura cum universali Ecclesia Deo dispensante nobis commissa concordarent. Et ideo jussimus ut et juxta Regulam Sancti Benedicti patris viverent, quæ possibilis et laude digna est; et de tonsura capitis juxta taxatum modum cum sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quæ per orbem terrarum dilatata est, concordent unitate; et eundem vivendi morem, juxta quod in sancti atque eximii patris Benedicti Regula scriptum est, in hoc monasterio prædicto teneant, et in subjectis ejus cæteris, quæ nostrum plenissimum jussum exequi valuerint. Hæc piissimi Ludovici Imperatoris præcepta de manu ejus roborata<sup>a</sup>.

Sigillum s Ludovici serenissimi Imperatoris.

Hæc eodem anno prædicto cœpta est in eodem monasterio superscripto Regula Patris Benedicti. [*Morice, Mém. etc. à l'Hist. de Bretagne, I.* 228<sup>b</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> In the *Vita S. Guingaloëi* (extr. in *Morice, I.* 227, 228), this document is prefaced by an account of the rule observed at Landevenech, describing the exceeding austerity of its regulations about food and dress. The exception in the former point is—"nisi tantum modice de caseo per aquam decocto utebatur

Sabbato et Dominico die," a little fish ("paucos pisciculos") being also allowed on the Sunday: thus proving that Saturday was *not* a fast with them. Further, "Talis ars unicuique eorum dabatur, ut ex opere manuum quotidiano, *sicut Ægyptii monachi*, se posset in victu necessario continere: nam non solum

## [COUNCIL OF VANNES.]

monachorum sed etiam heremitarum currebant per semitam." Lastly, "hæc lex sive Regula per tempora longa refulsit in isto monasterio, id est, ab illo tempore quo Gradlonus, quem appellant magnum, Britannix tenebat sceptrum, usque ad annum Ludovici Augusti imperii V., Dominicæ autem Incarnationis 818." And it was abrogated by Louis as being too ascetic, in dress especially, for the "infirmiores." The *Cartul. Redon.* (founded at the very beginning of the 9th century) speaks always of "monachi regulam Sancti

Benedicti tenentes," from A.D. 834 (Documents in *Append. to Courson*, I. 394 sq.). And a council of Tours, A.D. 813, enforced the Benedictine rule in monasteries where that rule "olim conservabatur" (*Can. XXV. ; Labb., VII. 1265*).

<sup>b</sup> Louis had just conquered Brittany (*Morice, Mém. &c., IV. 27*), and was encamped at the time on the river Elé, which runs into the Bay of Biscay between Quimper and Blavet. The date is from the *Cbron. Britann.* in *Morice*, I. 3.

A.D. 818. *Council of Vannes under Louis le Débonnaire.*

LABB., *Conc. VII. 1867*.—[Ludovicus dicitur] cum insuperabili armatorum agmine Britanniam properasse, et fugatis Britannis atque perempto eorum pseudorege patriam suis legibus subdidisse. Peracto igitur triumpho, in Venetia urbe generale principum atque pontificum celebrat concilium, ubi ordinatis regni negotiis, et causis discussis ecclesiasticis, cum in Gallias redire disponderet, beatum Covoium adiit: eique Imperator obtulit, pro sua suorumque salute et æterna remuneratione, locum Rothonensem ab omni onere liberum et immunem, proprio confirmans donationem annulo: anno imperii sui V., Incarnati vero Verbi DCCCXVIII.<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> From the charter of foundation of abbey of Rédon. Nomenoë claimed to be, and no doubt was, the real founder.

## APPENDIX A.

LITANY OF (PROBABLY) THE TENTH CENTURY, BELONGING TO  
BRITTANY<sup>a</sup>.

Kyrie eleison :

Christe eleison.

Christe audi nos :

Christe audi nos :

Christe audi nos.

Sancta Maria, or.

Sancta Maria, or.

Sancta Maria, or.

### *De Angelis.*

Sancte Michaël, or.

Sancte Gabriel, or.

Sancte Raphaël, or.

Omnes sancti Angeli, orate :

Omnes sancti Archangeli, orate :

Omnes sancti chori novem ordinum cœlestium, orate pro nobis.

### *De Apostolis.*

Sancte Petre, ora.

S. Paule,

S. Andrea,

S. Jacobe,

S. Johannes,

S. Thoma,

S. Jacobe,

S. Philippe,

S. Bartholomæu,

S. Matthæu,

S. Juda,

S. Barnaba,

S. Mathia,

Omnes sancti chori Apostolorum, orate.

### *De Martyribus.*

S. Stephane, II. ora pro nobis.

S. Luca,

S. Marce.

S. Barnaba,

S. Timothæu,

S. Tite,

S. Philimon,

S. Clemens,

S. Syxte,

S. Felix,

S. Laurenti,

S. Corneli,

S. Cypriane,

S. Sebastiane,

S. Gervasi,

S. Protasi,

S. Vincenti,

S. Georgi,

S. Dionysi,

S. Maurici,

S. Victor,

S. Johannes,

S. Paule,

S. Donatiane,

S. Rogatiane,

S. Agustine,



## [BRÉTON LITANY.]

S. Cosma,  
 S. Damiane,  
 S. Romane,  
 S. Cæsari,  
 S. Marcelline,  
 S. Pancrate,  
 S. Nazari,  
 S. Benigne,  
 S. Symphoriane,  
 S. Hermes,  
 S. Felicissime,  
 S. Abdo,  
 S. Senes,  
 S. Tiburti,  
 S. Beate,  
 S. Candide,  
 S. Bonifaci,  
 S. Nicomedis,  
 S. Menna,  
 S. Magne,  
 S. Ruphine,  
 S. Nabori,  
 S. Juvenalis,  
 S. Beatrix,  
 S. Jacincte,  
 S. Martiniane,  
 S. Dremore,  
 Omnes sancti chori Martyrum,  
 orate pro nobis.

*De Confessoribus.*

S. Leo,  
 S. Silvester,  
 S. Donate,  
 S. Gregori,  
 S. Augustine,  
 S. Hieronyme,  
 S. Benedicte, II.  
 S. Hilari,  
 S. Martine,  
 S. Samson,

S. Brioce,  
 S. Melore,  
 S. Branwalatre,  
 S. Patrici,  
 S. Brindane,  
 S. Carnache,  
 S. Gilda,  
 S. Paterne,  
 S. Petrane,  
 S. Guinwaloeë,  
 S. Courentine,  
 S. Citawe,  
 S. Guoidiane,  
 S. Munna,  
 S. Serwane,  
 S. Serecine,  
 S. Guiniave,  
 S. Tutwale,  
 S. Germane,  
 S. Columcille,  
 S. Paule,  
 S. Judicaile,  
 S. Mevinne,  
 S. Guoidwale,  
 S. Dircille,  
 S. Bachla,  
 S. Rawele,  
 S. Racate,  
 S. Loutierne,  
 S. Riocate,  
 S. Toninnane,  
 Omnes sancti chori Confessorum,  
 orate pro nobis.

*De Virginibus.*

Sancta Maria, III. ora pro nobis.  
 S. Felicitas,  
 S. Perpetua,  
 S. Agatha,  
 S. Cecilia,  
 S. Agnes,

[BRETON LITANY.]

S. Anastasia,  
 S. Petronilla,  
 S. Eufemia,  
 S. Savina,  
 S. Scholastica,  
 S. Eugenia,  
 S. Sussanna,  
 S. Appra,  
 S. Columba,  
 S. Tecla,  
 S. Ninoca,  
 S. Ticiawa,  
 S. Genufefa,  
 S. Justina,  
 S. Cristina,  
 S. Crispina,  
 S. Crispiniana,  
 S. Corona,  
 S. Benedicta,  
 S. Senentina,  
 S. Margareta,  
 S. Blandina,  
 S. Martha,  
 S. Menna,  
 S. Mathitia,  
 S. Perpetua,  
 S. Concordia,  
 S. Julitta,  
 S. Sinclita,  
 S. Soffonia,  
 S. Crescentia,  
 S. Donata,  
 S. Juliana,  
 S. Portuna,  
 S. Victoria,  
 S. Tarsilla,  
 S. Emiliania,  
 S. Trifina,  
 S. Brigida,  
 Omnes sancti chori Virginum,  
 orate pro nobis.

Omnes Sancti, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Angeli, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Archangeli, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sanctæ Virtutes, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sanctæ Potestates, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Principatus, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sanctæ Dominationes, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Throni, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Cherubim, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Seraphim, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Patriarchæ, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Prophetæ, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Apostoli, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Martyres, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti Confessores, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sanctæ Virgines, intercedite pro nobis :

Omnes Sancti, intercedite pro nobis :—

Ut per vestras orationes adipiscamur sine fine requiem cœlorum, Domino volente, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Propitius esto, Parce nobis, Domine.

Propitius esto, Libera nos, Domine.

[BRÉTON LITANY.]

Ab omni malo, Libera nos, Domine.

Ab omni immunditia cordis et corporis, Libera nos, Domine.

A morbo malo, Libera nos, Domine.

Ab hoste malo, Libera nos, Domine.

Ab insidiis Diaboli, Libera nos, Domine.

A persecutione inimici, Libera nos, Domine.

A periculo mortis, Libera nos, Domine.

A ventura ira, Libera nos, Domine.

Per Adventum Tuum, Libera nos, Domine.

Per Nativitatem Tuam, Libera nos, Domine.

Per Baptismum Tuum, Libera nos, Domine.

Per Passionem Tuam, Libera nos, Domine.

Per Crucem Tuam, Libera nos, Domine.

Per Resurrectionem Tuam, Libera nos, Domine.

Per Ascensionem Tuam, Libera nos, Domine.

Per Descensionem Spiritus Sancti, Libera nos, Domine.

Peccatores, Te rogamus, audi nos, III.

Ut pacem nobis dones, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut vitam atque sanitatem nobis dones, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut nobis in bonis operibus perseverantiam dones, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut nos in vera fide et religione conservare digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut Ecclesiam Catholicam conservare digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut Regem et Episcopum nostrum conservare digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut vitam et sanitatem eis dones, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut populo Christiano pacem et unitatem largiri digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut fructum terræ nobis dones, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut cœli serenitatem nobis dones, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut pluviam opportunam nobis dones, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut caritatem nobis dones, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut nobis veram pœnitentiam concedas agere, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut clerum et plebem Anglorum conservare digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut universalem congregationem Sanctorum conservare digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut eam in vera fide et religione conservare digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut nobis misereri digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut nos exaudire digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Fili Dei, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Agnus Dei, Qui tollis peccata mundi, Miserere nobis.

## [BRÉTON LITANY.]

Agnus Dei, Qui tollis peccata mundi, Parce nobis, Domine.

Agnus Dei, Qui tollis peccata mundi, Dona nobis pacem.

Christe, audi nos, III.

Kyrie eleison, III.

Christe eleison, III.

Oremus. Pater Noster.

*Hæc Oratio post Litaniam canitur.*

Magnificis mirificisque orationibus atque meritis recensitorum Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, atque Apostolorum, plurimorumque Martyrum, vel electorum, atque Confessorum omnium, petimus et oramus, ut quemadmodum eorum nomina vel

memoriam in hoc sæculo memorari et recitare frequentamus, ita atque ipsi pro nobis in regnis cœlestibus affectuales ac privatas preces fundere dignentur, ut a Deo veniam et indulgentiam impetrare atque obtinere, et eorum desiderandam et aspiciendam speciem et gloriam in regno Dei videre et congaudere mereamur, præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Cui est honor et potestas et imperium una cum Patre atque Spiritu Sancto in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. [*Mabillon, Anal.* 168, 169, ed. 1723, from a Rheims MS.]

\* It is a difficult task to locate a Litany, which prays for the "Plebs et Clerus *Anglorum*," as well as for "*Rex et Episcopus*," who must be supposed to be "of the Angles" also, and which yet in its list of local saints contains principally Bréton, but wholly Celtic, saints, S. Samson, S. Brioc, etc., S. Patrick and the chief Irish names, and S. Columba, and the Cornish S. Melorus, but no one name connected with Saxon England except that of S. Augustin, an exception proving nothing. And the Bréton names moreover are not only the chief names, but also those of less note. The name of S. Judicael brings down its date to at least the end of the 7th century. The special mention of S. Benedict, as in connection with Brittany, points to (at earliest) the 9th. And the names of Gudwal and Melorus seem to postpone it to the end of the 10th, inasmuch as the legends

of those (fictitious) saints date at that period, although they themselves are alleged to have lived earlier. The omission of Columbanus (*O'Conor, Biblioth. Stow., II. 2*) proves nothing, since the document plainly has no relation to foreign Irish missions or Churches, and belongs to a time and place where S. Benedict was the monastic founder and was held in special reverence. On the whole, taking into account also the place where it was found, and the character of the documents accompanying it or found in like localities, it seems most probable that (invocations excepted) it is an English Litany, possibly from York, transcribed for Bréton use, at the latter part of the time when the influence of the York school was great in Northern France, and when the Bréton Church and State looked for protection to Anglo-Saxon Kings; i.e. somewhere in the 10th century.

## APPENDIX B.

LEGENDARY LIVES EXIST OF THE FOLLOWING BRETON SAINTS A.D. 450-800,  
OF WHOM ALL, EXCEPT THE FEW MARKED ‡, CAME FROM GREAT BRITAIN OR IRELAND.

A.D. 450-500.

1. Vita *S. Brioci*, Episcopi (a Briton "ex gente Coriticiāna," alleged to have gone to Gaul with S. Germanus, and thence to Armorica, where he founded a monastery, first at Tréguier<sup>a</sup>, and then at S. Briec, and to have died about A.D. 500: not called a Bishop in his legend, and the see of S. Briec was one of those founded by Nomenoë about A.D. 844): in *Actt. SS.*, May 1, *I.* 92-94, "ex Officio Proprio Eccl. S. Brioci;" and the *Hist. Translationis* (i. e. of his relics, to Angers, during the Northman ravages in the end of the 9th century), *ib.*, 94; and see *ib.*, VII. 539, and *Hardy's Descr. Catal.*, *I.* 103, 104.

2. Vita *S. Winwaloëi*, Abbatis (son of a British Prince, Fracanus, who fled to Armorica<sup>b</sup>, and born according to one story in Armorica, according to another in Britain, c. A.D. 418; alleged to have been connected with S. Patrick and S. Budoc, and with S. Martin of Tours<sup>c</sup>, and with Gradlon Count of [part of] Brittany, and to have died about A.D. 504; founded the abbey of Landevenech): one, *auct. anonymo*, in *Actt. SS.*, March 3, *I.* 250-254; a second, *ib.*, 254, 255; a third in two Books, *auct. Gurdestino monacho* (abbat of Landevenech some time during the 9th century), *ib.*, 256-261; another in *Surius*, March 3, p. 38, abbreviated in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 312. See also *Arch. Cambr.* 3rd Series, III. 129, X. 41; and in *Dom Morice, Lobineau*, etc., and *Hardy* as above, 104.

[Notices also exist of—i. *S. Ninnoca*, Virgin (from Great Britain, "in Combronensia regione," daughter of King Brechan, migrated to "Letavia," and founded the nunnery of Lan Ninnok; said to have been contemporary with S. Germanus, yet baptized by S. Columba, and more probably of 6th than 5th century), collected in *Actt. SS.*, June 4, *I.* 407-411; and in *Le Grand*, from *Reg. of Quimperlé*.—ii. *S. Corentin*<sup>d</sup>, Bishop (a Briton, who founded the see of Quimper [Cornu-gallia or Cornubia at first, after 8th century *Corisopitensis*, which properly meant *Corseul* near Aleth according to M. Bizeul in *Bull. Arch. de l'A. Brétonne*], under Count Gradlon, and



## [BRITISH SAINTS IN BRITTANY.]

was consecrated by S. Martin, i. e. at Tours, S. Martin's see), collected in *Actt. SS.*, July 12, *III.* 307, 308.—iii. *S. Jacutus*, of Landouart, and iv. *S. Winwaloc* or *Buennoc*, of Landevenech, brothers or cousins of Winwaloë, of whom the latter is said to have gone to Ireland in the time of S. Patrick; and v. *S. Guenbael* or *Guenant* (a Briton, second abbat of Landevenech); and vi. ‡ *S. Rioc* (a Bréton at Landevenech); all in *Le Grand*, Feb. 8, March 3, Nov. 3, and Nov. 12, and the last also in *Actt. SS.*, Feb. 12, *II.* 602-604.—vii. *S. Sezni*, Archbishop, and viii. *S. Ronan*, Anchorite (Irishmen who emigrated to Léon), in *Le Grand*, Sept. 19 and June 1.—ix. ‡ *S. Guenegan* or *Cognogan* (Corentin's alleged successor at Quimper), *ib.*, Oct. 15; and in *Actt. SS.*, Oct. 15, *VII. i.* 43, 44.—x. *S. Kénan* or *Ké*, an Irishman, in *Le Grand*.]

\* The Gallo-Roman missionaries from Tours evidently could not penetrate the forest of Brékilien, and their Christianizing efforts were practically confined to the dioceses of Rennes and Nantes, and probably the south of Vannes. The British immigrants came by sea, planted the whole coast—Ruys, Landevenech, S. Matthew's abbey, Léon, Treguier, S. Brieuc, Aleth, Dol,—and penetrated also into the heart of the forest above-named at

S. Méen. See M. de la Borderie in the *Bulletin Archæol. de l'Assoc. Bretonne*.

<sup>b</sup> The Britons, says the Life, fled in part to "Scotica terra," in part to "Belgia."

<sup>c</sup> This means, doubtless, only with the see of Tours, not with S. Martin himself, who died about A.D. 400.

<sup>d</sup> Another S. Corentin (S. Cury) is placed as a hermit in Cornwall at the same period.

## A.D. 500-600.

1. Vita ‡ *S. Melanii*, Episcopi (a Bréton from Vannes—if Vannes was then Bréton, which is questionable—who became Bishop of Rennes, was at the council of Orleans A.D. 511, and died after A.D. 530, an abbey being dedicated to him at Rennes by King Salomon A.D. 630): *auct. coætaneo* in *Actt. SS.*, Jan. 6, *I.* 328-333; and see also *Greg. Tur., De Glor. Confess.*, *lv.*, and the *Epist. Gervas., Archiep. Remens.* (ob. A.D. 1067), *De Mirac. S. Melan.* in *Actt. SS., ib.* His day at Rennes was Nov. 6.

2. Vita *S. Gildæ* (of Ruys): see in vol. I. p. 156.

3. Vita *S. Samsonis* (of Dol): see in vol. I. pp. 158, 159.

4. Vita *S. Paterni* (of Vannes): see in vol. I. pp. 159, 160.

5. Vita *S. Pauli Aureliani, Leonensis*, Episcopi (a Briton from Cornwall, cousin of S. Samson, made Bishop of a new see in *Cornugallia*, viz. at Léon or of the *Osismii*, by King Childebert A.D. 512, and consecrated at Childebert's court without reference to Tours; died A.D. 573): one, *auct. Monach. Floriac.* in *Jo. a Bosco, Bibl. Floriac.* 418-428, and *Actt. SS.*, March 12, *II.* 111-120; another, according to Potthast, still in MS. (Paris, S. German. 593), entitled *V. S. Pauli Aurcliani Domnonensis*, *auct. Himworeletio*, 4 Id. Mart. See also *Hardy, I.* 157, 158.

6. Vita *S. Maclovii*, Episcopi (from Llancarvan and Gwent, connected with SS. Samson and Brendanus; migrated to Brittany, and founded the see of Aleth, afterwards [9th century] translated to S. Malo; noted for a curse, denounced by him against the Brétons for expelling him, which he revoked on their repentance; contemporary with Leontius Bishop of Bourges or of Saintes; died about A.D. 565; called also Machutus or Machutius):

one, *auct. Bili Levita*, printed at S. Malo in 1555 (*Hardy, I.* 138-140); a second, *auct. Sigebert. Gemblacensi* (A.D. 1076 × 1099), in *Surius*, Nov. 15, pp. 349 sq.; a third, *auct. Balderico Andegavensi* (A.D. 1100 × 1200), in *Jo. a Bosco, Bibl. Floriac.* pp. 485-515, and *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened., sæc. I.* pp. 217-222.

7. Vita *S. Maglorii*, Episcopi (of Dol, in succession to S. Samson his cousin, whom he had accompanied into Brittany, a disciple also of the Welsh S. Illyd, died A.D. 575): *auct. Balderico Andegavensi*, in *Surius*, Oct. 24, *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened., sæc. I.* 223-231, and *Actt. SS.*, Oct. 24, X. 782-791; and abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 221; and the *Translatio S. Maglorii et aliorum Parisios* (i. e. of their relics during the Northman ravages), *Actt. SS., ib.* 791-793, and *Mabill., Ann. Ord. S. Bened., III.* 666.

8. Vita *S. Golweni*, Episcopi (of Léon): see vol. I. p. 160.

9. Vita *S. Leonorii* (or *Lunaire*): see vol. I. p. 160.

10. Acta ‡ *S. Helerii*, Martyris (in Jersey), *auct. anonymo*, in *Actt. SS.*, July 16, IV. 148-152; and see also the *V. S. Marculfi* (of the Cotentin) in *Actt. SS.*, May 1, I. 71-75, and *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened., sæc. I.* 128-133.

11. Acta † *S. Herbaudi* sive *Heribaldi*, solitarii: *auct. anonymo*, in *Actt. SS.*, June 17, VI. i. 202-204.

12. Acta ‡ *S. Hervæi*, Abbatis: in *Actt. SS.*, June, III. 366-371, but from *Le Grand*; and see *Villemarqué, Légende Celtique*.

[Notices also exist of—i. *S. Mevanius* or *Maianus* (*Méen*), a cousin of S. Samson, from Gwent, founder of the abbey of S. Méen in the heart of the Forest of Brékillen, about A.D. 600, which was restored under Charlemagne, and under Louis in A.D. 816 (charter in *Dom Morice*), in *Actt. SS.*, June 21, IV. 101-104, and *Le Grand*.—ii. ‡ *S. Aaron*, hermit in an island (S. Malo) near Aleth, companion of Maclovius, in *Actt. SS.*, June 22, IV. 247.—iii. *S. Eboarnus* (*Eguiner*), hermit and martyr c. A.D. 520, an Irishman; in *Actt. SS.*, Feb. 11, II. 568.—iv. *S. Tenenanus* or *Tinidorus*, Bishop of Léon, an Irishman; in *Actt. SS.*, July 16, IV. 179, 180.—v. *S. Armel* or *Arzel*, a Welsh hermit near Rennes in the time of Childebert,—vi. *S. Sulliaus*, son of Brochmael, a Welsh hermit settled at Rance, died A.D. 606,—vii. *S. Hernen* or *Tbernén*, a British hermit near Carhoux,—viii. *S. Vouga* or *Vio*, an Irish Archbishop, hermit in Brittany,—ix. *S. Gunstan* or *Gulstan*, a British monk at Ruys (alleged, however, also, to have been a Saxon, really named Dunstan),—x. *S. Bieuzy*, a British companion of Gildas,—all in *Le Grand*, respectively Aug. 16, Oct. 1, Nov. 2, June 15, Nov. 27, Nov. 24, and *S. Vouga* also in *Actt. SS.*, June 15, II. 1060, 1061.—xi. *S. Tugdwal* or *Pabutugdwal*, from Britain, founder of the abbey of Tréguier, said to have died A.D. 533; with his companions, *S. Goneri* and *S. Gueroec*, Britons, and *S. Briac* and *S. Maudez*, Irishmen: in *Le Grand*, Nov. 30, April 4, Feb. 17, Dec. 7, Nov. 18.—xii. ‡ *S. Budoc*, said to have succeeded Maglorius in the see of Dol: *Le Grand*, Nov. 18.—xiii. ‡ *S. Tanfuy*, founder of the abbey of S. Matthieu in the sixth century; in *Le Grand*, ed. Kerdanet, p. 781.]

## A.D. 600-700.

1. Vita ‡ *S. Melarii* (a Bréton Prince, murdered by his uncle, see *Morice, Daru*, etc.): in *Actt. SS.*, Oct. 2, *I.* 2, 317, 319; Jan. 3, *I.* 136, 137.
2. Vita *S. Ethbini* (died about A.D. 625): see vol. I. pp. 160, 161.
3. Vita *S. Joavæ* seu *Jovini*, Episcopi (of Léon, an Irishman who accompanied S. Paul de Léon thither): in *Actt. SS.*, March 2, *I.* 139.
4. Vita ‡ *S. Judoci* (*Josse*), Presbyteri et Confessoris (son or brother of Judicael Prince of Brittany<sup>a</sup>, hermit in Ponthieu: died about A.D. 651 or 668): one, *auct. anon., sæc. VIII.*, in *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened., sæc. II.* 566-571; a second, his *Translatio, auct. Isembardo Floriac.* (c. A.D. 1003), see *Hardy, Descr. Catal.*, *I.* 267; a third, *auct. Florentio abbate Britanno*, in *Surius*, Dec. 13.

[Notices also exist of—i. *S. Gurval*, a Briton brought up by S. Brendan, and Bishop of Aleth after S. Maclou, in *Actt. SS.*, June 6, *I.* 727.—ii. *S. Goeznou*, a Briton, Bishop of Léon A.D. 650-675, in *Le Grand*, Oct. 25.—iii. ‡ *S. Genevæus*, Bishop of Dol, died A.D. 639, in *Actt. SS.*, July 29, *VII.* 83.—iv. ‡ *S. Guennius*, Bishop of Vannes, died A.D. 622, in *Actt. SS.*, Aug. 18, *III.* iii. 662, 663.—v. ‡ *S. Egnogatus* or *Enogatus*, Bishop of Aleth, died A.D. 631, in *Actt. SS.*, Jan. 13, *I.* 822.—vi. ‡ *S. Euriela*, Virgin, in *Actt. SS.*, Oct. 1, *I.* 198.]

<sup>a</sup> Judicael himself became a monk at S. Méen's, resumed the crown in A.D. 632, on the death of his brother Salomon who had excluded him, and retired again to S. Méen A.D. 638 (*Morice*, etc.).

## A.D. 700-800.

1. Vita ‡ *S. Winochi*, Abbatis (at Wormholt in Flanders, a Bréton Prince, son or brother of Judicael, died A.D. 717): one, *auct. anon., sæc. XI.*, in *Surius*, Nov. 6, and *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened., sæc. III. i.* 302-314; another, *auct. Drogone seu Dracone monacho Bergensi* (of Bergue S. Winox), *sæc. XI.*, in *Mabill., ib.* 315-317.
2. Vita ‡ *S. Turiavi* seu *Turiani*, Episcopi (of Dol, died A.D. 749): in *Surius*, July 13, and *Actt. SS.*, July 13, *III.* 617-619.
3. Vita ‡ *S. Benedicti*, Abbatis (a Greek from Patras, said to have sailed round to the mouth of the Loire, and to have become abbat of Macerac on the Vilaine, dioc. Nantes, born A.D. 782, died A.D. 850): also of his sister ‡ *Avenia*: in *Actt. SS.*, Oct. 22, *IX.* 625, 626.
4. Vita ‡ *S. Hermenlandi* (*Herblon*), Abbatis (a German from Nimeguen, who founded about A.D. 695 the monasteries of the islands of Aindre and Aindrette, in the Loire below Nantes, in the time of Bishop Pasquier; died A.D. 730): *auct. anon. fere æquali*, in *Actt. SS.*, March 25, *III.* 576-586, and *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened., sæc. III. i.* 383-403.

[BRITISH SAINTS IN BRITTANY.]

5. Vita *S. Vilalis* (*Vial* or *Vian*), Eremitæ (at Nermoustier near the mouth of the Loire, a Briton): in *Acth. SS.*, Oct. 16, *VII. ii.* 1096-1101: also his *Miracula*, *ib.*

[Notices also exist of—i. ‡ *S. Pascbarius* (*Pasquier*), Bishop of Nantes during the Northmen troubles; in *Acth. SS.*, July 10, *III.* 70-72.]

## APPENDIX C.

### SUPREMACY OF THE SEE OF TOURS OVER BRITTANY, AND ESPECIALLY AS AGAINST THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF DOL.

As Welsh nationality led to the assertion of an imaginary Archbishopric of S. David's, in order to escape submission to the Norman Canterbury, so Bréton nationality led to the attempted, and for several centuries actual, establishment by the Bréton Princes of (not a Bishopric only but) an Archbishopric of Dol, in order to escape the domination of the Frank Archbishopric of Tours<sup>a</sup>; both attempts being finally crushed at the same period, viz. at S. David's A.D. 1203, at Dol A.D. 1199.

1. The very earliest *British* Bréton Bishops and abbats, viz. Paternus of Vannes, and Corentin of Quimper, and Winwaloë and Brioc respectively at Landevenech and S. Brieuc, etc. etc., evidently resorted (as it was most natural they should) to S. Martin's still Gallo-Roman successors at Tours. But—

2. The conquests of the Franks, c. A.D. 500, pushed up to the Vilaine and the Rance, and the entire occupation of Brittany proper, west of that boundary, by British immigrants, and the constant border wars that followed, naturally produced a national severance between the proper Bréton Church and the now Frankish see of Tours. Bréton Bishops proper do not appear thenceforth at Frank councils<sup>b</sup>. And a council of Tours in A.D. 567 condemns consecrations in Brittany independent of Tours. At the same time<sup>c</sup>, there was no Archbishopric in Brittany either at Dol or anywhere else, and indeed at Dol not even a Bishopric (as is manifest from the MS. of Mont S. Michel quoted below). The Bréton Bishops must have consecrated one another, as the contemporary Welsh Bishops did; and probably one Bishop was held enough for a consecration, after the Celtic practice.

3. With Nomenoë's grand (and until the Northmen came, successful and enduring) effort at Bréton independence and kingship came a new ecclesiastical era also. Appointed Duke of Brittany by Louis le Débonnaire, A.D. 826, Nomenoë declared himself King A.D. 841-3; and the victory over the Franks at Ballon A.D. 845, and the treaty made by Charles



the Bald with Nomenoë's son in A.D. 867, gave the Brétons possession of not only Rennes and Nantes and some way into Angers, but also of the Avranchin and Cotentin as far as Bayeux. In order to secure this independence on the ecclesiastical side, Nomenoë, under the advice of Convoion abbat of Redon (which abbey he had himself founded A.D. 832), contrived, after a council at Redon A.D. 846, and an unsuccessful mission of Convoion to Pope Leo IV., to extort, at a council of Coetlou near Vannes A.D. 848, the resignation on a charge of simony of the four Bréton Bishops, of Vannes, Quimper, Léon, and Aleth ("Quomodo Nomenoius tyrannus Britonum de Quatuor Episcopatibus fecit septem, tempore Caroli Calvi Regis Francorum," in *Labb., Conc. VIII.* 1957, 1958, from a MS. Cod. Mont. S. Michel. in *Sirmond*). And further, at a council of Dol A.D. 850, he both had himself crowned King, and established three new sees in addition to the above four, viz. Dol, S. Brieuc, Tréguier, the first two certainly, and probably all, taken out of the see of Aleth, and the first of the three made also into an Archbishopric (*ib.*). He also set up a Bishop of his own, Gislard, in opposition to one Actard, at Nantes, the latter however holding the see nevertheless, A.D. 846-851, until Nomenoë's death.

i. From this time to A.D. 881, Frank councils and Popes continuously condemned the Brétons, but with no practical result.

A.D. 849, the council of Paris (*Morice, I.* 291-293; *Labb., VIII.* 58-61), and A.D. 850, Leo IV. (*M., I.* 288, 289; *L., VIII.* 30-32), commanded respectively Nomenoë himself and the Bréton Bishops to submit to Tours; and Leo IV., also in A.D. 850 (*L., ib.* 32), enjoined Nomenoë to desist from supporting Gislard at Nantes. A.D. 855 x 858, Pope Benedict III. (as referred to by Pope Nicholas A.D. 862), and A.D. 862, Pope Nicholas I., writing to Salomon now King of the Brétons, pronounced that Bishops could not be deposed by laymen, or judged by less than twelve Bishops (*Morice, I.* 316-318; *Martene, Thes., III.* 859); and the latter also took up the cause of the now expelled Bishop Actard of Nantes. The council of Savonnières near Toul, A.D. 859, writing to the Bishops of Brittany, to King Salomon, and to certain Bréton lords (*Morice, I.* 309-314; *Mart., III.* 858),—and Nicholas I., May 26, A.D. 865, writing to Salomon, and May 17, A.D. 866, writing again to Salomon and also to the Bréton Bishops (*Morice, I.* 318-321; *Mart., III.* 862-864),—enjoined obedience to Tours; and the council of Soissons, A.D. 866, August, also took up Actard's cause (*Morice, I.* 321-325). And that cause was again urged by Pope Adrian II., A.D. 868, Feb. 23 and 25, writing to Charles the Bald, to the Bishops of the council of Soissons, and to Actard himself (*Morice, I.* 325-328; and *Mansi, XV.* 824). The same Adrian II., A.D. 868, March 8, had assured Herard Archbishop of Tours that he would not favour Dol to Herard's injury

## [ARCHBISHOPRIC OF DOL.]

(*Morice*, I. 324; *Mart.*, III. 865). And Pope John VIII., A.D. 878, writing to Maheu "Bishop" of Dol and the other Bréton Bishops, bade them submit to Tours on pain of excommunication (*Morice*, I. 333, 334).

On the other hand, while it is obvious from these very letters and councils that the Brétons did not submit to Tours, they produced also on their own side, at a later period, a letter of Adrian, A.D. 867 × 872, sending "a leg of S. Leo" to King Salomon, and a pall to Festinian of Dol,—spurious however, and indeed only produced under very suspicious circumstances, and contradictory to Adrian's undoubted letter,—and a letter of John VIII. to Mainus (Maheu) "*Archbishop*" of Dol, and the Bréton Bishops, A.D. 881, relating only to the ordination of certain monks by their abbat, but incidentally styling Maheu *Archbishop* (*Morice*, I. 338; *Mart.*, III. 867; *Mabill.*, *Ann. Ord. Bened.*, III. 683).

ii. From A.D. 881 to 1076, with two exceptions at long intervals, the Bréton question went to sleep, Brittany evidently remaining (ecclesiastically) independent, and the Norman ravages and wars accounting probably in part for its being let alone. The two exceptions were, 1. a letter of Pope John XIII. to all the Bishops and Nobles of Hither Britain, A.D. 965 × 972, enjoining submission to Tours (*Morice*, I. 347, 348; *Mart.*, III. 868); and 2. the council of Rheims, Oct. 4, A.D. 1049, followed by a letter of Leo IX. and a Roman council, May 12, A.D. 1050, to Eudo Prince of the Brétons and their other chiefs, the former declaring Dol not an Archbishopric and to have no pall, and ordering submission to Tours, the latter excommunicating the Armorican Bishops for alleged simony and for not appearing at Rome to answer the complaint of Tours, but summoning them to a council at Vercelli Sept. 1, at which it does not appear what happened; but A.D. 1059, Cardinal Stephen, writing to "J... *called Archbishop of Dol*," summons him to Rome against March 26, A.D. 1060, and to Tours meanwhile to meet the Pope's legate (*Morice*, I. 395, 396, 411, 412; *Mart.*, III. 869-871; *Labbe*, IX. 993, 994; *Mansi*, XIX. 928).

iii. From A.D. 1076 to A.D. 1143, the Brétons in effect carried their point, by obtaining a distinct Papal recognition of their Dol Archbishopric. Gregory VII. (who had written Aug. 28, A.D. 1074, to "all the *Bishops and Abbats of Brittany*," summoning them to a council at Rome for February, A.D. 1075, and meanwhile enjoining them to prevent incestuous marriages), interfered in A.D. 1076 with his usual high-handedness in a disputed election at Dol, by himself consecrating one Ivo (abbat of S. Melaninus at Nantes) to the *Archbishopric* of that see and giving him a pall; writing to that effect to the clergy and people of Dol, to the Bishops of Brittany (whom he enjoined to obey the Archbishop of Dol, pending the decision of the Tours claim), and to William of England (to support Ivo

against Duke Alan of Brittany's "simoniacal" Bishop); but again in A.D. 1077 to Rodulph Archbishop of Tours, that he had reserved the question of the pall and the Tours supremacy, and to King William (who had interfered on behalf of the other Dol claimant), that he would send legates to decide (*Morice*, I. 442-447; *Mart.*, III. 871-876). In A.D. 1078, however, the same Pope writes to Geoffrey, Howel, and Geoffrey son of Eudo, Counts of Brittany, to cause the Bishops, abbats, clerks, and laity to come to a synod about Ivo's case; and in A.D. 1080, he writes again to the Bishops, clergy, and people of Brittany "in the province of Tours," to inform them that a council of Rome has referred the cause to Apostolic legates (*Morice*, I. 447-451; *Mart.*, III. 877). And those legates, in the same year 1080, at a council held at Saintes, decide against the claims of Dol (alleging the letter of Adrian above mentioned to be a forgery), but give the actual incumbent of Dol his pall for life (*Labb.*, X. 398). Pope Urban II. perpetuated the same half-decision, by giving the pall to another Dol Bishop, Roland, while deciding in general against Dol: writing to that effect to the Bishops of Brittany and to the clergy and people of Dol A.D. 1093; and again to the Bishops of Brittany and to Ralph Archbishop of Tours A.D. 1094; and repeating his condemnation of Dol, according to the testimony of William Bishop of Poitiers, at the Council of Clermont, Nov., A.D. 1095 (*Morice*, I. 467, 469, 482, 483; *Mart.*, III. 878, 879, 881, 882). Nevertheless, A.D. 1109, Pope Paschal grants a pall to Baldric, "Archbishop of Dol," without any restriction at all; writing to that effect to Baldric himself and to the "Suffragans, clergy, and people of Dol" (*Morice*, I. 497, 498; *Mart.*, III. 882, 883). And "Baldric and his suffragans" are accordingly summoned as such to the council of Rheims, Oct., A.D. 1119, by the same Pope Paschal; and by Pope Calixtus II., June 25, A.D. 1122, to a council at Rome for March 18, A.D. 1123; and Geoffrey "Archbishop of Dol and his suffragans" to the council of Pisa, May 26, A.D. 1135, by Pope Innocent II., Nov. 8, A.D. 1134; and the "Archbishop" of Dol is addressed as one with the Archbishops of Bourges, Tours, Bordeaux, and Auch, by Pope Honorius II., A.D. 1124 x 1130 (*Morice*, I. 541, 552, 569, 570; *Mart.*, III. 884, 885); and A.D. 1142, Dec. 10, Innocent II. summons Hugh Archbishop of Tours to Rome by Oct. 18, A.D. 1143, to answer the complaint of the "Archbishop of Dol," that he had taken from him the see of Aleth; repeating his summons Dec. 10, A.D. 1143 (*Morice*, I. 587; *Mart.*, III. 886, 887). Hildebert of Tours however had during this period urged the claims of his see upon Innocent II. (*Mart.*, III. 854).

iv. A.D. 1144-1154, however, the tide turned again against Dol. In the first named year, Lucius II. issued a formal Bull in favour of Tours, yet left his pall to the actual Bishop of Dol; absolved the Bishops of Briec and

Tréguier from subjection to Dol; urged Godfrey Count of Brittany to suffer his Bishops to obey Tours (*Morice*, I. 591-595; *Mart.*, III. 887, 890); and generally undertook to defend Tours (*Maan*, *Eccl. Turon.* 252). And Eugenius III., Jan. 3, A.D. 1147, issued a like Bull to that of his predecessor (*Morice*, I. 598; *Mart.*, III. 892). The council of Rheims, A.D. 1148, March 20, excommunicated Dol and Briouc for not obeying Tours; the great S. Bernard, at Pope Eugenius' request, effected a compromise between Tours and Dol, of which however the terms are not specified; Eugenius himself, writing to Hugh Archbishop of Tours and his chapter, A.D. 1149, took the Tours side, but withheld the actual sentence of excommunication; and Pope Anastasius IV., A.D. 1154, writing to the clergy, barons, and people of Dol, and (twice) to Engelbaud Archbishop of Tours, again took the Tours side, yet allowed Hugh of Dol to be an Archbishop and to have a pall, and urged S. Bernard's compromise (*Morice*, I. 599, 620; *Mart.*, III. 812, 894, 896, 897).

v. In A.D. 1155-1160, Dol was again in the ascendant. Adrian IV. in the first-named year, May 21, abrogated S. Bernard's compact and gave a pall to Dol; desiring the Archbishop of Tours, Dec. 20, to be reunited to Dol, and the clergy and people of "the province" of Dol to submit to Dol, and in especial, A.D. 1156 × 1158, the Bishops of Briouc and Tréguier; and A.D. 1155, Geoffrey son of Oliver, and A.D. 1156 × 1158, "E. Count of Léon," to help Dol, and the clergy and people of a particular parish ("de Murmicellio") to submit to Dol; and A.D. 1155, May 21, the Archbishop, Archdeacons, and Dean of Rouen, to give up his own churches to Hugh of Dol (*Morice*, I. 625-628; *Mart.*, III. 898-902). And in A.D. 1160, March 3, Alexander III. still commended Dol to the barons and people of that see (*Morice*, I. 640; *Mart.*, III. 903).

vi. But A.D. 1161-1199, the case turned finally against Dol. Pope Alexander III., July 12, A.D. 1161, desired the Dean and Chapter of Dol to send their newly elected Bishop to Tours to be consecrated. And the question being revived by the Archbishop of Tours at the council of Avranches, A.D. 1172 (*Hoveden*), appears to have been again pressed at the court of Rome. Alexander III., Dec. 18, A.D. 1179, and again May 12, A.D. 1180, writes to Bartholomew Archbishop of Tours to come to Rome on the subject, and to "the King of the French" (probably in A.D. 1179) to strive to reconcile the two, but to help Dol to have the case tried; and in A.D. 1179 or 1180, issues a commission to the Archbishop of Sens, the Bishop of Bayeux, the abbat of S. Genéviève, and the Dean of Bayeux, to collect evidence (*Morice*, I. 645, 673, 674; *Mart.*, III. 903-906). Lucius III., Aug. 18, A.D. 1184 or 1185, renews that commission to the Dean of Mans, the Archdeacon of Rouen, and Master Hugo Januensis (*Morice*, I.



690; *Mart.*, III. 910). Urban III., A.D. 1186 or 1187, urges a friendly agreement with Dol upon Bartholomew of Tours (*Mart.*, III. 911). But A.D. 1199, Innocent III., after a full statement of the case on both sides (Testimonies on behalf of Tours against Dol, and on behalf of Dol against Tours, Petition of Church of Dol, with the succession of their Bishops, Reply of Tours to that Petition, *Morice*, I. 735-759), gave final sentence in favour of Tours (*ib.* 759-767), writing to the Archbishop and Chapter of Tours and to the Duchess and Barons of Brittany to announce and enforce his sentence (*ib.* 767, 768). And accordingly, c. A.D. 1200, Jean de Lizannet, consecrated to Dol by Bartholomew of Tours, professes obedience to that see. So ended a suit, that had been prolonged in the Papal court just 350 years.

<sup>a</sup> The history of the later Bréton Church and that of the Welsh Church of the same period, present, beside the parallel histories of their (alike ineffectual) struggles for an independent national Church, some other curious resemblances, which however the scope of the present work only allows us to indicate. i. Northman invasion threw the Bréton Church, as well as the South Welsh, upon Anglo-Saxon protection, as early as Ethelwulf, A.D. 835-857; and King Alfred, who patronized Armorican monasteries, c. A.D. 888, as he did S. David's (*Asser, De Reb. Gestis Ælfredi*, M. H. B. 486, 496); and Eadward, A.D. 901-925. And Athelstan, A.D. 925, gave refuge to Duke Alan of Brittany (*Chron. Namnet. ap. Bouquet, VII. 276*). (*The Epist. Radbod. Episc. Dol.* (in *W. Malm., G. P. V.*; *Gale, III. 364*) is quoted by Lingard, as shewing that even then, in Athelstan's reign, the Brétons regarded themselves as Britons—"In exulatu atque in captivitate in Francia commoramur."—ii. The same cause produced also, in A.D. 878, not one, but a whole series, of "Translations," like the wanderings of S. Cuthbert; of which Le Grand (*Vies des Saints de la Brét.*, p. 244, 3rd edit.) gives a list, including every Saint of any note in the country, their relics being transported to Paris, Angers, Poitiers, Chartres, Bourges, Marmoustier, etc., and not in all cases restored when the troubles were over.—iii. Marriage of priests continued in Brittany, as in Wales, owing probably to their comparative isolation, longer than elsewhere (see *Courson, II. 163, 164*). And benefices became hereditary, also, in the one country as in the other: see *Hildebert, Epist. (Opp.*, pp. 135, 136), who affirms that the practice was abolished in a council A.D. 1127 (see also *Girald. Camb., Opp.*, III. 130).—iv. Imputations of incestuous marriages were cast upon the Brétons as upon the Welsh and the Scots: see Gregory VII.'s letter to the Bréton

Bishops and Abbats of Aug. 28, A.D. 1074.

<sup>b</sup> Apparent exceptions either belong to the pre-Frank period, or are mere conjectures, or are explicable by peculiar circumstances. Mansuetus A.D. 461, Corentin (if indeed he was the same with "Cariatonus") at Angers in A.D. 453, Modestus of Vannes, and Venerandus, conjecturally of Quimper, by his vicar, at the council of Tours A.D. 461, and Albinus, also conjecturally of Quimper, at the council of Vannes A.D. 465, and S. Paternus, consecrated by the Archbishop of Tours in A.D. 465, come under the first head of the three. And Litharedus "Episcopus Oxomensis," at the council of Orleans, A.D. 511, who has been guessed to have been Bishop of Quimper (the one Osismian see prior to the erection of that of Léon), and S. Paul of Léon itself in A.D. 512, who was consecrated irrespectively of Tours but by Frank authority, belong also to a time when the national estrangement could hardly as yet have become intense, and when also Frank power had reached a point in Brittany from which it almost immediately receded. After this, there occurs only the one case of S. Samson, at the council of Paris A.D. 557, but without any see named. But Samson, according to his Legend, was then in refuge at the Frank court with the young fugitive Count Judwal; had been made a Bishop in Wales before he came to Brittany; and almost certainly was not only not Bishop of Dol, but there was no see of Dol at all at that time; and, lastly, the meeting at Paris was not a regular council. Paternus, at the same Council, himself apparently a Bréton, was Bishop of Avranches. It is a mere conjecture, that Cadoenus, at Rheims A.D. 682, was Bishop of Aleth.

<sup>c</sup> The claim made long after, of a pall granted by the Pope, Severinus, to Restoaldus Bishop of Dol, A.D. 638 x 640, is manifestly founded on fiction. And S. Samson's pall is also an obvious fiction of the 12th century.



## APPENDIX D.

INSCRIBED AND OTHER CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF EARLY BRITTANY.

I. Of inscribed Christian monuments anterior to the 8th century in Brittany, only two are mentioned by Le Blant<sup>a</sup>: scil.,—

1. (Fifth or sixth century) at *Lomarec*, on the coast near *Quimper*, on a granite coffin in the chapel there,—

IRHAEMA ✱ INRI

translated by Villemarqué into, “*Illius cujus et Jesus Christus in Regem,*” and assigned by him to the period above mentioned (*Le Blant*, II. 559).

2. (Eighth century) at *Basse Indre* near *Nantes*, near S. Hermeland’s abbey of Aindre (founded A.D. 695), on an unwrought slab,—

S . . RE . . . . S HIC REQVISQVIT

Under the inscription, a cross surmounting a globe, and at the sides two badly sculptured animals (*Id.*, *ib.* 558).

The Count de Keranflec’h (in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., III. 368, IX. 319, 323, 329, 368) adds to these,—

3. That at S. *Trefine*, still illegible, mentioned below in note <sup>b</sup>, which he refers to the sixth century.
4. At *Plouagal Chatelaudren*, Departm. *Côtes du Nord*, of early date, with the inscription,—

VORMVINI.

5. At *Crac’h*, Departm. *Morbihan*, ninth century, a cross incised on a column, with the inscription,—LAPIDEM HER AN NVEN FIL[II] HER AN ALAM IE . . R AN HVBRIT (= The stone of Nuen son of Alam [or Alamie or Alamic] son of Hubrit).
6. At *Kervili* (*Caer Bili*), near *Landivant*, Departm. *Morbihan*, probably ninth century, a Greek cross incised on a column, with the inscription,—

CRAX HAR EN BILIIB FIL[IVS]

HER AN HAL

(= The cross of Bili son of Hal or Gal).

7. At *Locoal Meudon*, Departm. *Morbihan*, but probably not earlier than the twelfth century, a cross incised on a pillar, with the inscription,—

CROVX  
PROSTLON<sup>b</sup>.

II. Of uninscribed Christian monuments the most noticeable is a tomb of S. Nonne<sup>c</sup>, in a chapel of S. Divy [= Dewi = David] at *Divinon* near *Brest*, with the chief events of S. David's legend sculptured on its sides, but of late date (*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, III. 249, 377 sq.). Besides this, crosses were erected on almost all the heathen "menhirs," etc., of which some, mentioned by M. de Freminville, are noted below<sup>d</sup>. And similar crosses abound in Brittany, mostly resembling Greek crosses, and with a slender shaft, like those in Cornwall which Blight calls Transition Crosses (*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., III. 369 sq.).

<sup>a</sup> *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII.ème Siècle, réunies et annotées*, par E. de Blant, Paris, 1856, 1865.

<sup>b</sup> M. de Freminville (*Antiquités du Finistère, Morbihan*, etc. etc., Brest, 1834-7) mentions also the obelisk and tomb of S. Tromeur (A.D. 500 x 550) at S. Trefine near Corlay, with two words unintelligible (IV. 342); another, near Kersaint, Plubennec, with an inscription also unintelligible (II.

250); an inscribed cross once existing at Plouzané, and a chalice at Landevenech with an inscription, which have both now disappeared: and an inscription, certainly of Roman date but questionably Christian, which existed as late as A.D. 1709 at Corseul near Aleth (IV. 272). But all these need sifting and careful examination to ascertain their real dates. The Corseul inscription is said to have run thus:—

D + M + S  
SILICIA NA  
MoIDDE [ex] Do  
Mo . AFFRIKA .  
EXIMIA . PIETATE .  
FILIVM SECVTA .  
HIC . SITA . EST  
VIXIT A[nnos] LXV  
C[ale]N IANVARI  
VS FIL . . . POSVIT.

<sup>c</sup> A Bréton "mystery" also exists, about S. Nonna and her son S. Devy, dating before the 12th century (*Arch. Camb.*, as above, 377 sq.).

<sup>d</sup> E. g. in Morbihan, near Carnac, a cross on a "dolmen" (III. 40); Côtes-du-Nord, near Lannion, at Ploemeur, Christian symbols on a "menhir" (IV. 26); same department, near Faimpol, two very ancient crosses (*ib.* 130, 131). De Freminville also mentions an inscription, at Plouigneu in Finistère, resem-

bling that to Bishop Avanus in Wales, and, like his, much later in date than the Bishop himself,—“D. Jæuva Epus Leoñs fuit hic sepultus:”—and also tombs once existing at Landevenech, but of late date, to Count Gradlon and to Winwaloë; and one to S. Ronan at Loc-Ronan, also very late (II. 35, 41, 59). For bells of old date in Brittany, resembling those of Wales, of Ireland, and of Scotland, see *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd. Ser., II. 315 sq.

## VI.

### II. SEE OF BRETOÑA IN GALLICIA, APPARENTLY BRITISH.

A.D. 569–830.

[A.D. 569. "Britones," and a see of Bretoña, in Galicia, first mentioned.

A.D. 633. Tonsure seemingly British in the same district.

A.D. 830. The place destroyed by the Moors, and the see apparently merged for a time in that of either Oviedo or Mondoñedo.]

A.D. 569. COUNCIL OF LUGO <sup>a</sup>.—Ad sedem Britoniorum (pertinent) Ecclesiæ quæ sunt intra Britones, una cum monasterio Maximi, et quæ in Asturiis sunt. [*Catalan.*, *Conc. Hisp. III.* 188.]

<sup>a</sup> "Tempore Suevorum" (*Catal.*, *ib.*). The above passage occurs in a list of Spanish dioceses. Bretoña was in Galicia, seven leagues

from Lugo, close to the western extremity of the northern coast of Spain.

A.D. 572. COUNCIL OF BRAGA II.—[Last of twelve signatures, of Martin Archbishop of Braga and his suffragans, of which the last six are headed, "Item ex Synodo Lucensi,"] Mailoc, Britonensis <sup>a</sup> Ecclesiæ Episcopus, his gestis subscripsi. [*Catal.*, *ib.* 206 <sup>b</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> *Aliter*, Britonorum.

<sup>b</sup> Can. IX. of this council directs the metropolitan to announce the right Easter Day to each Bishop, annually, in sufficient time to be proclaimed in each church on the preceding Christmas Day after the reading of the Gospel. Greg. Tur. (*V.* 17, *X.* 23) records a differing observation of Easter in A.D. 577

between Spain and Gaul, and again a "dubietas Paschæ" A.D. 590; see above, p. 77. This canon therefore is not a necessary proof of *Briton* influence in Galicia, although it agrees with the supposition. Indeed the wonder is, how at that time a unanimous Easter was obtainable at all.

A.D. 633. COUNCIL OF TOLEDO IV., *can. xli.* <sup>a</sup>.—*De Qualitate Tonsuræ a cunctis clericis vel lectoribus communiter habenda.*—Omnes clerici vel lectores, sicut Levitæ et sacerdotes, detonso superius toto capite, inferius solam circuli coronam relinquunt: non, sicut hucusque in

[SEE OF BRETOÑA IN GALLICIA.]

Galliciæ partibus facere lectores videntur, qui, prolaxis ut laici comis, in solo capitis apice modicum circulum tondent. Ritus enim iste in Hispania hucusque hæreticorum fuit. Unde oportet, ut pro amputando Ecclesiæ scandalo hoc signum dedecoris auferatur; et una sit tonsura vel habitus, sicut totius Hispaniæ est usus. Qui autem hoc non custodierit, fidei Catholicæ reus erit. [*Catal., ib.* 373, 374.]—[And among the signatures to the council, no. 50 out of a total of 69,] Metopius, Britaniensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus, subscripsi. [*Id., ib.* 386.]

<sup>a</sup> A canon respecting the mode of fixing Easter likewise occurs among those of this council. But the Easter dispute was common all over the Western Churches (see above, pp. 75, 77), and was at its crisis in Gaul only a few years before this council, in the case of Columbanus. The peculiar tonsure,

however, here spoken of, appears to have been limited to certain "parts of Gallicia," and points more conclusively to Briton or Celtic influence there. See for the tonsure question, vol. I. pp. 112, 113, 154; and above in this volume, pp. 78, 79.

A.D. 646. COUNCIL OF TOLEDO VII.—[Among the signatures, no. 22 out of 39,] Sona Ecclesiæ Britanensis etsi indignus Episcopus hæc statuta definiens subscripsi. [*Catal., ib.* 423.]

A.D. 653. COUNCIL OF TOLEDO VIII.—[After the signatures of the Bishops and Abbats, come those of the] "Vicarii Episcoporum." [And out of 10, no. 4 is,] Matericus Presbyter Sosani Episcopi Ecclesiæ Britaniensis <sup>a</sup> subscripsi. [*Catal., ib.* 449.]

<sup>a</sup> *Aliter*, Britolensis.

A.D. 675. COUNCIL OF BRAGA IV.—Bela in Christi nomine Britaniensis <sup>a</sup> Ecclesiæ Episcopus similiter. [*Labbe., VI.* 567.]

<sup>a</sup> *Aliter*, Britoliensis. Bela is a Gothic name.

A.D. 683, and 693. COUNCILS OF TOLEDO XIII. and XVI.—[Florez conjectures that the Bishop of Bretoña is disguised in the signatures to the former of these councils under the miswritten name of] Brandila Laniobrensis Episcopus; [and in those to the latter, under that of] Suniaguisidus Laniobrensis Episcopus. [*Catal., ib.* IV. 288, 334.]

A.D. 830. [A royal decree seemingly merges the see of Bretoña in that of Oviedo;] Ipsam Ovetensem Ecclesiam facimus et confir-

[SEE OF BRETOÑA IN GALLICIA.]

mamus pro sede Britoniense, quæ ab Ismaelitis est destructa et inhabitabilis facta<sup>a</sup>. [*Florez, Espana Sagr.*, XVIII. 1-20.]

<sup>a</sup> So also, "Ovetum, hoc est, Britonia, exempta a Gallæciæ Bracara" (*MS.* ap. *Loaisam* ad *Conc. Luc.*, in *Catal.*, III. 198). But "Theodesindus Britonensis" is still distinguished from the Bishop of Oviedo in A.D. 873 (*Conc. Ovetense*, in *Catal.*, IV. 356; or A.D. 899 according to *Florez*). And the see still occurs under the province of Braga and the name of "Britona," or "Britonia," or "Britonacensis sedes," in lists dating in A.D. 962 and later (*Loaisa* ad *Conc. Luc.*, in *Catal.*, III. 189, 191, 192); the last of them assigning to it, "Ecclesias quæ in vicino sunt inter Britones,

una cum monasterio Maximi, usque in flumen Ovæ." And the place is called "Britonia" as late as A.D. 1156, in a *Privilegium* of Alphonso VII. (*Florez*). But the only Bishop with a Celtic name is Mailoc in A.D. 572, and the last mention of the tonsure is in A.D. 633. The see was ultimately and chiefly merged in that of Mondoñedo according to *Florez*. See for its history, *Florez, España Sagrada*, XVIII. 1-20; *Loaisa* ad *Catal. Concil.* as above; and *Künstmann, Angel-Sachs. Pönit. Bücher, Pref.* 5.

Brittenburg at the mouth of the Rhine, once a Roman station, has been assigned to Briton emigrants at the time of Maximus, A.D. 387, by Courson (*Hist. des Peuples Brétans*, I. 151), and so also Camden (Gibson's edition, p. 54). And see the Dutch chroniclers as quoted by Ussher (*Rer. Brit. Antiq.*, XII., *Works*, V. 480 sq.). There was also, it appears, a place called "Bretangen," on the coast of Holland near the mouths of the Rhine. And Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, IV. 31) and apparently Dionysius Periegetes (vv. 284, 285) locate a tribe of "Britanni" from the first century on the shores of Flanders and Picardy, which would fall in with Bede's statement (*H. E.*, I. i.) that the island Britain was colonized by Britons from Armorica, i. e. originally the whole northern as well as western shore of Gaul. And this is corroborated again, although in a confused and blundering narrative, by Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*, IV. 20), who places "Britones" in conjunction with Frisians and Angles, either at or near the mouths of the Rhine, or in a "Brittia," of which he conceives as distinct from the island of Britannia and as somewhere off the mouths of the Rhine. Henry Cannégieter (*Dissert. de Brittenburgo*, Hague, 1734) is quoted as imagining a colony of Britons at that place, founded by Adminius, who is mentioned by Suetonius (*Calig.*, c. xlv.) as flying to Caligula from his father Cinobellinus King of the Britons. But none of these, except in the case of Maximus, could be Christian.





COUNCILS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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VII.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND  
DURING THE CELTIC PERIOD,  
AND  
UNTIL FORMALLY DECLARED INDEPENDENT OF THE SEE OF YORK.  
A. D. 400-1188.

Period I.—*Before S. Columba.* A.D. 400–565.

Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita. [*Tertullian, Adv. Jud. VII.*]

Period II.—*During the supremacy of the Presbyter-Abbats of Hy.*

A.D. 565–849.

Habere autem solet ipsa insula [Hy] rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam Episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius [Columbæ], qui non Episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus. [*Bæd. H. E., III. 4, A.D. 731.*]

Period III.—*During the primacy of Dunkeld, A.D. 849–906(?), and of S. Andrew's, from the latter year until the consecration of Bishop Turgot, A.D. 1109.*

Nondum Scotorum regnum, uti nunc, in dioceses divisum erat; sed quivis Episcoporum, quos ea ætate vitæ sanctimonia cunctis reverendos fecerat, quocunque fuisset loco, sine discrimine pontificia munia obibat. [*H. Boeth., X.*]

In diebus illis [sc. of Bishop Turgot] totum jus Keledeorum per totum regnum Scotiæ transivit in Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ. [*Chron. Dunelm. ap. Selden, Pref. to X. Scriptt. vi.*]

Period IV.—*York claim of supremacy over the Scottish Church, and formation of the Scottish dioceses.* A.D. 1109–1188.

Eboracensis Archiepiscopus habebat omnes trans Humbram Episcopos suæ ditioni subjectos, . . . et omnes Episcopos Scotiæ et Orcadum. [*W. Malm. G. R. A., III., A.D. 1114 × 1123.*]

Cum ipse [David Rex] in toto Scotorum regno tres vel quatuor tantum inveniret Episcopos, . . . ipse tam de antiquis quas reparavit, quam de novis quas ipse erexit, decedens novem reliquit. [*Ailred. Rieval., Geneal. Reg. Angl., in Twysd. X. Scriptt. 348: c. A.D. 1153.*]

# CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

DURING THE CELTIC PERIOD,

AND

UNTIL DECLARED INDEPENDENT OF THE SEE OF YORK.

A.D. 400-1188.

## PERIOD THE FIRST.

BEFORE S. COLUMBA, A.D. 400-565.

[i. A.D. 400-565. Church of the Southern Picts.

A.D. 400 (?). Conversion of the Southern Picts by S. Ninian<sup>a</sup>.

After A.D. 430. Mission of S. Palladius<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 450-500. S. Serf said to have preached at Culross on the Forth, and S. Ternan at Banchory-Ternan on the Dee<sup>c</sup>.

ii. A.D. 503-565. Church of the Dalriad Scots<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 503. Feargus Mor Mac Earca, and Loarn his elder brother, colonize Dalriada from Ireland with Irish Scots already Christian (*Ann. Tigb. in an.* 502; *Chron.* in Skene, pp. 130, 171, 197, 287, and *Pref. cx.*; *Reeves ad Adamn.* p. 433).

A.D. 559 or 566. Comgal, Abbat of the Irish Bangor, attempts unsuccessfully to plant a monastery on Tyree<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 563. S. Columba comes to Hy<sup>f</sup>.

A.D. 565. S. Columba's mission to the Northern Picts.]

No documents exist for this period.

<sup>a</sup> The "Australes Picti" were those who dwelt "infra montes" (*Bæd. H. E., III. 4*), i.e. south of the Mounth, and east of the "Dorsum Britanniae" or Drum-Alban, = Kin-cardine, Forfar, Perthshire, &c., southwards to the Forth; the wall from Forth to Clyde being the continuation of their southern boundary, except so far as the petty states of Manann (= Clackmannan and Linlithgow) and Calathros or Calatria (= the Carse of Falkirk) may have pierced that line (*Skene, Chron. Pref. lxxx., lxxxi.*, who, however, antedates Galloway Picts to S. Ninian's time). S. Ninian's Pictish converts undoubtedly lived north of the Forth, since Bede identifies them with the "Australes Picti," and all the Picts according to him were "transmarinæ gentes," i.e. lived north of Forth and Clyde (*H. E., I. 12*).

<sup>b</sup> See above, vol. I. p. 18.

<sup>c</sup> Legend of S. Servanus in *Skene, Chron.* pp. 412, sq.; *Brev. Aberdon. Prop. SS. Pars Æstiva*, fol. xv.; Bishop Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*; and *Lib. Eccl. B. Terrenani de Arbuthnot*, pp. lxxii, sq.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. of Argyllshire, with the western part of Dumbartonshire, to the Firth of Clyde, and northwards, the isle of Mull, &c., and from Lorn to the promontory of Ardnamurchan: the capital being Dunadd near Crinan (*Skene, Pref. to Chron.* p. cxiii.).

<sup>e</sup> See above, in vol. I. p. 116.

<sup>f</sup> "Navigatio Columcilli ad insulam Je etatis sue xlii<sup>o</sup>." (*Ann. Tig. in an.* 563). So also *Adamnan*, in *V. S. Col., I. 1, III. 4*. Bede's date of A.D. 565 (*H. E., III. 4*) seems correctly explained (by Lanigan and others) of S. Columba's mission to the Picts.

## PERIOD THE SECOND.

DURING THE SUPREMACY OF THE PRESBYTER-ABBATS OF HY,

A.D. 565-849.

[A.D. 565. Northern Picts converted by S. Columba.

A.D. 575. Irish and Scottish Dalriada declared politically separate at the (Irish) council of Drumceat.

A.D. 603. Aidan of (Scottish) Dalriada defeated by the Angles at Degsastan (*Bæd. H. E., I. 34, V. 24*).A.D. 617-633. Oswald of Northumbria and his brothers take refuge among the Picts and Scots and at Hy (*Bæd. ib., III. 1, 3*).

A.D. 635-664. Scottish Bishops of Lindisfarne, and Scottish missions from Northumbria to the Middle-Angles, Mercians, and East-Saxons.

A.D. 681. Trumwini's Pictish episcopate at Abercorn.

Before A.D. 685. Aldrid at Hy (*Bæd. in V. S. Culbb., XXIV.; V. S. Culbb., auct. anon. lib. III.*).

A.D. 685. Defeat of Egfrid at Nectansmere, and end of Trumwini's Pictish episcopate.

A.D. 704. Failure of Adamnan to convert the Scottish and Irish Columbite monks to the Roman Easter and tonsure.

A.D. 710. The Picts,—and A.D. 716, the monks of Hy,—adopt the Roman Easter; and the former, the tonsure also: which, A.D. 718, the latter likewise accept. But—

A.D. 717. The Columbite clergy are banished from the Pictish kingdom, of which Abernethy probably obtains the primacy.

A.D. 736. Dalriada temporarily subject to Angus King of the Picts.

A.D. 778. Niall Frassach, and A.D. 791, Artgal, Kings respectively of Ireland and Connaught, die as monks at Hy.

A.D. 792. Last mention of a King of (Scottish) Dalriada, Doncoircai, in the (Irish) Annals.

A.D. 794, 806, 825. Northmen ravage Hy.

A.D. 829, 831, 849. Migrations of S. Columba's relics.

A.D. 842. Earliest (certain) record of "Keledei" in Scotland.

A.D. 843. Scottish (Dalriad) and Pictish kingdoms united under Kenneth Mac Alpin.

A.D. 849. Primacy transferred to Dunkeld.]

A.D. 565. *Conversion of the Northern Picts by the preaching of S. Columba.*

BÆD., *H. E., III. 4*.—Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, quo tempore gubernaculum Romani imperii post Justinianum Justinus minor accepit, venit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas habitu et vita monachi insignis, nomine Columba, Brittaniam, prædicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est, eis quæ arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratæ. Namque ipsi australes Picti, qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes, multo ante tempore, ut per-



hibent, relicto errore idolatriæ, fidem veritatis acceperant, prædicante eis verbum Nynia Episcopo &c. . . . Venit autem Britanniam Columba, regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus, gentemque illam verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit: unde et præfatam insulam [Hy] ab eis<sup>a</sup> in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit<sup>b</sup>. [*M. H. B.* 175, 176; and in *W.*, *IV.* 713, 714.]

<sup>a</sup> The *Ann. Tigb.*, a. 574, record the death of Conaill Mac Congaill King of *Dalriada*, who in the 13th year of his reign "oferavit insulam Ia Columcille." So also nearly all the Irish Annals. It may well have been the case, as Hussey (*ad loc. Bæd.*) and others suggest, that both kings laid claim to the island; but in any case the *Christian* king, i.e. Conaill, must

have been the original donor in A.D. 563. See however, *Reeves ad Adamn.* p. 435, and also *Skene*, Pref. to *Chron.* p. cxi.

<sup>b</sup> See also *Adamnan* in *V. S. Columb.*, I. 1, III. 4. For S. Columba's Irish acts and foundations, see under the Irish Church; and for the details of his Pictish mission, *Adamnan*, I. 38, II. 33-38, &c.

[A series of Christian settlements, mostly in Western Scotland, sprang from or followed S. Columba's mission to Hy. See also below in App. D, note b.]

A.D. 563 × 597. 1. *S. Mochonna* or *Machar*, a Bishop, one of S. Columba's Irish companions, to Aberdeen (*Brev. Aberdon.*, *Prop. SS. P. Æstiv.* f. cliv.-clvii.).

2. *S. Cormac the Navigator*, either one of S. Columba's disciples or the head of an independent monastery, to the Orkneys (*Adamn.* in *V. S. Columb.*, I. 6, II. 42, III. 17, and *Reeves's Append. F.*).

3. *S. Ernan*, in the isle of Himba or Hinba.

4. *S. Lugneus Mocumin*, in the isle of Elena.

5. *SS. Baithen* and *Findchan*, at Campus Lunge and Artchain in Ethica (Tiree).

6. *SS. Caillan* and *Diuni*, near Loch Awe[?].

7. *S. Drostan*, at Aberdour and Deer, in Buchan (*Bk. of Deer*, pp. 91, 92).

A.D. 592. 8. *S. Moluag*, at Lismore in Argyll (*Ann. Tigb.*, *Ult.*, a. 592, 608 or 611, 632 or 635, 700).

About A.D. 600. 9. *S. Congan* (possibly eighth century), at Lochalsh in N. Argyll (*Brev. Aberd.*, *Prop. SS. P. Æst.* fol. cxxvi.).

Before A.D. 617. 10. *S. Donnan*, in Egg (martyred A.D. 617).

Before A.D. 660. 11. At Kingarth in Bute, with (at first) episcopal abbats (*Ann. Tigb.*, *Ult.*, a. 660, 689 [Bishops], 737, 790 [merely abbats]; *Ann. IV. Mag.*, &c.: see *Reeves's Adamnan*, Add. Notes, pp. 375, 377, 385-387).

A.D. 671. 12. *S. Maelrubha*, at Applecross (see *Ann. Tigb.*, a. 737; *Ann. Ult.*, a. 802; *Reeves's S. Maelrubha* (Edinb. 1861); and above in vol. I. p. 125.)]

All disciples of S. Columba: see *v. Adamn.*, I. 31, 36, 45, II. 15, 17, III. 8, 17.

Distinct from S. Columba: see vol. I. p. 121, first note c.

[MISSION OF BISHOP AIDAN TO NORTHUMBRIA.]

A.D. 574 (?). "*Ordination*" of King *Aidan* as King of *Dalriada* by *S. Columba*<sup>a</sup>.

ADAMNAN., *V. S. Columb. lib. III. c. 5.*—Sanctus [Columba], verbo obsecutus Domini, ad Iouam<sup>b</sup> transnavigavit insulam, ibidemque Aidanum, iisdem adventantem diebus, in Regem (sicut erat iussus<sup>c</sup>) ordinavit. Et inter ordinationis verba, de filiis et nepotibus pronepotibusque ejus futura prophetizavit: imponensque manum super caput ejus, ordinans benedixit. [p. 198, ed. Reeves.]

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Gildas' statement about "anointing" British Kings, *Hist. XIX.*; *M. H. B. 12.* In Ireland, the first mention of ecclesiastical confirmation of royalty is A.D. 992 (Reeves, *Adamn.* p. 199, note). The practice was no doubt borrowed from that of the Greek Emperors. See e.g. *Morinus, De Sac. Ord. P. I. p. 243. n. 122.* Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*,

*II. 10.*, wrongly asserts this act of S. Columba to be the earliest of the kind. See also *Mas-kell's Pref. to the Coronation Service*, and *Robertson, Stat. Eccl. Scot., Pref. p. xliv. note.*

<sup>b</sup> *Iona* = a corruption of *Ioua* [i. e. insula], an adjective, sc. of Hy: v. Reeves, *Addit. Notes to Adamn.*, pp. 258–262.

<sup>c</sup> Viz. by an angelic vision.

A.D. 575<sup>a</sup>. *Council of Drumceat (in Ireland) separates politically the Scottish and Irish Dalriada.* (See under the Irish Church.)

<sup>a</sup> *Ann. Ul.*, and see Reeves *ad Adamn.* pp. 37 note, 97.

A.D. 597. June 9. *Death of S. Columba.* (See below, in Appendix D.)

A.D. 604 × 610. *Letter of Laurentius Archbishop of Canterbury respecting Easter, to the Bishops and Abbats "per universam Scottiam."* (See below, under the Saxon Church, vol. III. p. 61. It seems to include Hy<sup>a</sup>.)

<sup>a</sup> The letter was addressed to the *Irish* Bishops, according to Bede's description, but S. Columba and his immediate successors were in the closest possible connection with the Irish Church. A legend about S. Laurentius and S. Margaret, in connection with Laurence-kirk in the Meams (*Goscelin, Transl. S.*

*Augustini* [written A.D. 1098], *Actt. SS. May*, vol. V. pp. 881–883, and see likewise *ib.*, *Feb.*, vol. I. p. 294), connects Laurentius also with the Pictish Church, if any reliance, even so far as this, can be placed upon it. See *Robertson, Stat. Eccl. Scot., Pref. xxi. note.*

A.D. 634. *Letter of Cummianus to Segienus Abbat of Hy respecting Easter*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> For this, and for the letters of Popes Honorius and John IV. (*Bæd. H. E., II. 19*), see below under the Irish Church.

A.D. 635. *Mission of Bishop Aidan to Northumbria from Hy*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See below, under the Saxon Church, vol. III. p. 91.—"Ferunt autem quia cum de provincia Scottorum Rex Osuald postulasset antistitem, qui sibi suæque genti verbum fidei ministraret, missus fuerit primo alius austerioris

animi vir, qui cum aliquandiu genti Anglorum prædicans nihil proficeret, nec libenter a populo audiretur, redierit patriam, atque in conventu seniorum retulerit, quia nil prodesse docendo genti ad quam missus erat, potuisset, eo quod

[ADAMNAN.]

essent homines indomabiles, et duræ ac barbaræ mentis. At illi, ut perhibent, tractatum magnum in concilio, quid esset agendum, habere cœperunt; desiderantes quidem genti quam petebantur, salutem esse, sed de non recepto quem miserant prædicatore, dolentes. Tunc ait Ædan,—nam et ipse concilio intererat,—ad eum de quo agebatur, sacerdotem: 'Videtur mihi, frater, quia durior justo indoctis auditoribus fuisti, et non eis juxta Apostolicam disciplinam primo lac doctrinæ mollioris porrexisti, donec paulatim enutriti verbo Dei, ad capiendam perfectiora et ad faciendam sublimiora Dei præcepta sufficerent.' Quo audito, . . . ipsum esse dignum Episcopatu, ipsum ad erudiendos incredulos et indoctos mitti debere decernunt, . . . sicque illum ordi-

nantes, ad prædicandum miserunt" (*Bæd. H. E., III. 5*). "Accepto gradu Episcopatus" (*Id., ib.*); and when "Segeni abbas et presbyter monasterio præfuit" (*Id., ib.*). The "austerer" missionary is alleged to have been named Cormannus, but by no higher authority than H. Boethius. A.D. 651, Finan from Hy succeeds Aidan (*Bæd. H. E., III. 17*), and A.D. 653, Diuma a Scot becomes Bishop of the Mercians (*Id., ib. 21*). A.D. 658, Ceolach from Hy succeeds Diuma, but A.D. 659 retires again to Hy (*Id., ib.*), and is succeeded by Trumhere, an Angle but ordained by the Scots (*Id., ib.*) A.D. 664, Colman finally retires from England, after the conference at Whitby, first to Hy, then (A.D. 667) to Inisbofinde (*Id., ib., IV. 4*).

A.D. 635. *Columbite Church in Rathlin.*

ANN. TIGH., *in an.*—Seigine abbas Ie ecclesiam Recharrn fundavit.

A.D. 680. *Council of Rome, where Wilfrid answers for the faith of (among others) the Scots and Picts<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 5; and below, in the Saxon Church, vol. III. p. 140.

A.D. 681-685. *Trumwini's temporary Episcopate over Picts, at Abercorn<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> See below, under the Saxon Church, vol. III. p. 165.

A.D. 686. *Adamnan's visit to Aldfrid of Northumbria, to obtain the liberty of Egfrid's Irish prisoners.*

ANN. TIGH., *in an.* 687.—Adomnanus captivos reduxit ad Hiberniam LX. (So also *Ann. Ulton., in an.* 686<sup>a</sup>.)

<sup>a</sup> See also *Ann. IV. Mag., I. 293*; *Ann. Clonmacnois.*, and Adamnan's own *V. S. Columb., II. 46, 47*. Adamnan paid two

visits to Aldfrid, in A.D. 686 x 688, besides his formal embassy of A.D. 703 (?).

A.D. 692. *Irish Columbite Monasteries subject to Hy<sup>a</sup>.*

ANN. TIGH., *in an.*—Adomnanus XIII. annis post pausam Failbe Ea ad Hiberniam pergit.

<sup>a</sup> "Plurimorum caput et arcem cœnobiorum" (*Bæd. H. E., III. 21*). Failbe, Adamnan's predecessor, also went to Ireland A.D. 673, returning A.D. 676 (*Ann. Tigb., Ulton., IV. Mag., Clonmacnois*). And Cumine before him,

A.D. 661. See also *Bæd.* as quoted in pp. 110, 115; and the list in *Reeves, Addit. Notes to Adamn.*, pp. 276-285; and below, under A.D. 727.

[THE MONKS OF HY STILL REFUSE THE ROMAN EASTER.]

A.D. 697. *The "Cain Adhamnani," and certain Canons, enacted in an Irish Council at Birr (?) by Adamnan's influence, and for the Pictish Kingdom also<sup>a</sup>.*

ANN. TIGH., *in an.*—Adomnan brought a law with him this year to Ireland. Adomnan brought a law with him this year to Ireland. bliadhna seo.

ANN. ULTON., *in an.*—Adomnanus ad Hiberniam pergit et dedit legem innocentium populis.

<sup>a</sup> "Hiberniensis synodi conductum" is Adamnan's own expression, *V. S. Columb., II.* 45. See also *Lanigan, III.* 136, 139, 140, and *Reeves ad loc. Adamn.*, and below under the Irish Church. It appears from Colgan (*Act. SS.*, and see *Reeves ad Adamn., Pref. li.* and p.

179), and from the Acts themselves of the Council, that "Bruidi Mac Derili, King of the region of the Picts," signed this council, last of its non-ecclesiastical signatories; and that the council also sanctioned the "Cain Adhamnani," or tribute due to the abbat of Hy.

A.D. 704. *Adamnan fails to convert his Monastery of Hy, and its Irish dependencies, to the Roman Easter and tonsure.*

BÆD., *H. E., V.* 15.—Adamnan presbyter et abbas monachorum qui erant in insula Hii, cum legationis gratia missus a sua gente venisset ad Aldfridum Regem Anglorum, et aliquandiu in ea provincia moratus videret ritus Ecclesiæ canonicos; sed et a pluribus qui erant eruditiores esset sollerter admonitus, ne contra universalem Ecclesiæ morem, vel in observantia Paschali, vel in aliis quibusque decretis, cum suis paucissimis et in extremo mundi angulo positis vivere præsumeret, mutatus mente est; ita ut ea quæ viderat et audierat in Ecclesiis Anglorum, suæ suorumque consuetudini libentissime præferret. Erat enim vir bonus et sapiens, et scientia Scripturarum nobilissime instructus. Qui cum domum rediisset, curavit suos qui erant in Hii, quive eidem erant subditi monasterio, ad eum quem cognoverat, quemque ipse toto ex corde susceperat, veritatis callem perducere, nec valuit. Navigavit Hiberniam, et prædicans eis ac modesta exhortatione declarans legitimum Paschæ tempus, plurimos eorum, et pene omnes qui ab Hiiensium dominio erant liberi, ab errore avito correctos ad unitatem reduxit catholicam, ac legitimum Paschæ tempus observare perdocuit. Qui cum, celebrato in Hibernia canonico Pascha, ad suam insulam revertisset, suoque monasterio catholicam temporis Paschalis observantiam instantissime prædicaret, nec tamen perficere quod conabatur posset, contigit eum ante expletum anni circulum migrasse de sæculo. [*M. H. B.* 265; and in *W., IV.* 747; and see Ceolfrid's letter to Nectan, below, under the Saxon Church, *III.* 293, 294.]

A.D. 679 × 704. *Canons of Adamnan.*INCIPIUNT<sup>1</sup> CANONES ADOMNANI<sup>2</sup>.

## C. 1.

Marina animalia ad littora cadentia<sup>3</sup>, quorum mortes nescimus, sumenda sunt sana fide, nisi sint<sup>4</sup> putrida.

## C. 2.

Pecora de rupe cadentia, si sanguis eorum effusus sit<sup>5</sup>, sumenda<sup>6</sup> sunt; sin vero, sed fracta sunt ossa eorum et sanguis foras si non venerit<sup>7</sup>, reputanda<sup>8</sup> ut morticina essent.

## C. 3.

In aquis extincta morticina sunt, quorum sanguis intrinsecus latet.

## C. 4.

A bestiis capta<sup>9</sup> et semiviva bestialibus hominibus sumenda sunt.

## C. 5.

Animal semivivum subita morte præruptum<sup>10</sup> abscissa aure vel alia parte, morticinum est.

## C. 6.

<sup>11</sup>Caro suilla morticinis crassa vel pinguis, ut morticinum quo pinguescit refutanda est'. Cum vero decreverit et in pristinam maciem reversa, sumenda est. <sup>12</sup>Si vero in una vice vel secunda morticinam manducaverit, post hujus secessum de ventre earum sana fide sumenda est'.

## C. 7.

Sues carnem hominum vel sanguinem gustante illiciti sunt semper<sup>13</sup>. In lege namque animal cornupetum, si hominem occiderit,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by D'Achery (*Spicileg.*, IX. 490, 491), but as Theodore's, from MS. Sangerm. 121, which expressly styles them *Canones Adomnani*; by Martene in part (*Thes. Nov.*, IV. 11, 18, 19), from Cod. Paris. 3182 ol. Bigot. 89; by Wasserschleben (*Bussordn.* &c. 120 sq.), from both MSS.; and the same part as Martene's, by Robertson (*Stat. of Ch. of Scotl.*, pp. 229, 230), from a Cotton MS., *Otho E. XIII.* fol. 155 b, 157 b, of which a transcript is also in Bishop Marsh's Library at Dublin (*Reeves ad Adamn.*, p. 179 note), and which is almost the same in text with Martene's MS. They are here printed (with corrections) from Wasserschleben. Probably they were passed by some Irish council under Adamnan's influence. The Paris MS. is here called A; MS. Sangerm., B; MS. Cotton, C.

<sup>2</sup> Addamnari vel Addominari, A; Adomnani, B.

<sup>3</sup> delata, B, Mart.

<sup>4</sup> B, Mart., om. sint.

<sup>5</sup> sanguines . . . effusi sunt, edd.

<sup>6</sup> recipienda, Mart.

<sup>7</sup> foras non fluxerit, B; f. n. fluxit, C, Mart.; foras fluxerit, edd.

<sup>8</sup> refutanda, B, Mart.; Mart. om. ut morticina.

<sup>9</sup> animalia, add. C, Mart.

<sup>10</sup> præ-

paratum, edd.

<sup>11</sup> Carnes suillæ, si morticinum comedent, crassa vel pinguis, ut morticinum

quo pinguescunt sues, refundendæ sunt, Mart.

<sup>12</sup> Si vero . . . sumenda est, om. A.; vel III.,

Mart.; vel II. vel III., C.—excessum, Mart., eorum s. f. sumendæ sunt, C, Mart.

<sup>13</sup> om. edd.



## [CANONS OF ADAMNAN.]

illicitum, <sup>14</sup>quanto magis, quæ manducant hominem. Fœtus tamen eorum observandi sunt. Linquite<sup>15</sup> quos mogitum immunditia non polluit.

## C. 8.

Gallinæ carnem hominis vel sanguinem ejus gustantes multum immundæ sunt et ova earum immunda sunt, pulli tamen observandi<sup>10</sup> sunt.

## C. 9.

Puteus in quo invenitur morticinum sive hominis sive canis sive animalis cujuslibet, primo evacuandus est, et humus ejus, quia aqua putei madefecerat, foras procienda, et mundus est.

## C. 10.

Intinctum a vacca sana conscientia sumendum; ut si quis enim intinctione<sup>17</sup> vaccæ excommunicemus et<sup>18</sup> vitulo promulgenti<sup>19</sup> gustatum lac non respuimus<sup>20</sup>; sed tamen propter infirmas fratrum conscientias, non<sup>21</sup> propter immunditias, coquendum est, et tunc ab omnibus<sup>22</sup> suscipiendum est.

## C. 11.

Intinctum vero suibus<sup>23</sup> coquendum est et immundis hominibus tribuendum est. Sues<sup>24</sup> namque munda et immunda comedunt', vaccæ vero nonnisi herbis et arborum frondibus pascuntur.

## C. 12.

Intinctum vero a corvo nulla coctione mundari potest propter nostram conscientiam dubiam. Quis enim nostrum scit, quas illicitas carnes prius comederat, <sup>25</sup>quam intinxerit'?

## C. 13.

Intinctum <sup>26</sup>a mustella' nec sine coctione nec post coctionem nullo modo suscipiendum est.

## C. 14.

In aquis suffocata non manducanda sunt, unde Dominus carnem cum sanguine manducari prohibuit. In carne enim animalis suffocati

<sup>14</sup> Quanto . . . polluit, and all C. 8, and all that follows, down to C. 19, *om. c. Mart.*, who have instead, for C. 8, as follows—*Equus aut pecus si percusserit hominem in agro civitatis suæ, dimidium uncie reddet pro eo homini cujus sanguis effusus est. Si percusserit homo animal in agro suo, non redditur pro eo.* <sup>15</sup> *licite, edd.* <sup>16</sup> *conservandi, edd.* <sup>17</sup> *ut quid enim intinctionem, edd.* <sup>18</sup> *et a, edd.* <sup>19</sup> *præmulgenti, edd.* <sup>20</sup> *respuemus, edd.* <sup>21</sup> *om. edd.* <sup>22</sup> *hominibus, edd.* <sup>23</sup> *a suibus, edd.* <sup>24</sup> *namque comedent m. c. i., A.* <sup>25</sup> *quam nostram lac i., edd.* <sup>26</sup> *a duella vel aquila, edd.*

in aquis sanguis coagulatus perdurat. Hoc Dominus prohibet, non quod in illis temporibus homines crudam carnem manducarent, quia non esset dulcior, sed quia carnem suffocatam et morticinam manducassent. Et Lex metrica ratione scriptura<sup>27</sup> dicit: Carnem morticinam non manducetis.

## C. 15.

Prædarum pecora<sup>28</sup> a Christianis sive per commercia sive per donationes non sunt<sup>29</sup> sumenda; quod enim reprobatur<sup>30</sup>, ut quid miles Christi suscipiet: elimosinam namque<sup>31</sup> invasit prædonis fletus' extinguit.

## C. 16.

De meretrice conjuge sic idem interpretatus est, quia meretrix erit decusso proprii mariti jugo et secundi mariti inito<sup>32</sup> vel tertii, cujus maritus illa vivente alteram non suscipiet, quia nescimus illam auctoritatem, quam legimus in quæstionibus Romanorum, utrum idoneis an falsis testibus &c., ornatam fuisse.

## C. 17.

Carnem a bestiis commessam immundam esse idem confirmat, non tamen morticinam, quia sanguis illius carnis illicitæ effusus est per bestias.

## C. 18.

Lethali vero morsu tantum<sup>33</sup> captum pecus nec in totum mortificatum a peccatoribus et a bestialibus hominibus comedendum, abscissa tamen parte et canibus data, quam bestia dentibus intinxerit. Aptum namque sibi videtur, ut carnem bestiis administratam humanæ bestiæ commederent<sup>34</sup>.

## C. 19.

Simili modo prohibet medullas ossium cervorum<sup>35</sup> manducari, quos lupi commederant<sup>36</sup>.

## C. 20.

Similiter cervos, quorum sanguinem quamvis<sup>37</sup> per venas' cernimus fluxisse per fracta in pedicis crura, vetat manducari, morticinam esse adfirmans<sup>38</sup>, eo quod non fluxerat sanguis superior, qui custos et sedes animæ erat,<sup>39</sup> sed coagulatus est intra carnem'; quia licet extremitas sanguinis per extremum quodlibet membrum sit effusa, sanguis tamen

<sup>27</sup> scripta, *edd.*<sup>28</sup> pecunia, *edd.*<sup>29</sup> est, *edd.*<sup>30</sup> Deus, *add edd.*<sup>31</sup> p. f. invassi, B, *edd.*<sup>32</sup> juncta, *edd.*<sup>33</sup> tin, B; tamen, *edd.*<sup>34</sup> com-medant, *edd.*<sup>35</sup> non licet, *add. c.*, which begins here again at "medullas." In the Irish and Welsh canons, which are also contained in MS. B, is a chapter entitled *Item Adompnanus*, coinciding with Chapter 19 of this series, from "medullas" onwards, and Chapter 20. It is also in c.<sup>36</sup> commederunt, *edd.*<sup>37</sup> parvulum, c, *Mart.*<sup>38</sup> confirmans carnem, c, *Mart.*<sup>39</sup> om. A; quamlibet for quia licet, *Mart.*

[CANONS OF ADAMNAN.]

crassior et solidior, in quo anima sederat, intra carnem coagulatus manet. Itaque quodsi non <sup>40</sup>crasa ulneris' inlissi<sup>41</sup> sedem animæ turbaverit<sup>42</sup>, non est effusio sanguinis, sed tantum extremæ partis offensio, <sup>43</sup>ita ut' qui eam carnem commederit, sciat carnem cum sanguine commedisce, "cum Dominus hoc prohibuit", <sup>45</sup>non carnis equotio', sed sanguinis effusio dederat<sup>46</sup>. Et hoc prædictum intelligi<sup>47</sup> et de pecoribus quæ post abscissam vel tantum scissam<sup>48</sup> aurem in extrema infirmitate mortua sunt. Adipem tantum et pelles in usus varios habebimus.

<sup>40</sup> Finiunt hæc judicia'.

<sup>40'</sup> causa vulneris, *ed. Mart.*    <sup>41</sup> illæsi, *ed.*    <sup>42</sup> laverit, *edd.*    <sup>43'</sup> itaque et, *c, Mart.*  
<sup>44'</sup> cum enim prohibuit, *Mart.*; cum enim D. p., c; cum autem Dominus prohibuit, *edd.*  
<sup>45'</sup> nec et coctio, *edd.*; non carnis coctio, *c, Mart.*    <sup>46</sup> deerat, *Mart.*    <sup>47</sup> debet, *add. Mart.*  
<sup>48</sup> om. *edd.*    <sup>49'</sup> om. *edd.*

A.D. 704. Sept. 23. *Death of Adamnan.*

ANN. TIGH., *in an.*<sup>a</sup>—Adamnanus LXXVII. anno etatis sue in nonas kalendis Octobris Abbas Ie pausat.—See also the *Ann. Ulton.* and the *Ann. IV. Mag. in an.* 703. [And see below, p. 135.]

<sup>a</sup> The *Ann. Petav.* quoted by Lappenberg (*Angl.-Sax. Kings, I. xxxvi. n., Eng. tr.*), give A.D. 705 as the date of Adamnan's death. But Bede specifies that it was before the next Easter came round after his vain

attempt to convert the monks of Hy; and the best Annalists give September, and 704, as the date. See, at length, *Reeves' Adamnan, App. to Pref.* p. lvii.

A.D. 710 (?). *Letter of Ceolfrid to Nectan Mac Derili King of the Picts, and consequent adoption by the Picts of the Roman Easter and tonsure*<sup>a</sup>. *Also the introduction of stone churches, &c.*

<sup>a</sup> See below, in vol. III. 285–295. The Picts henceforth took S. Peter as their patron Saint

(*Bæd.*, V. 21), as e.g. at Invergowrie, Restennet, Aberdour, &c., all connected with S. Boniface.

A.D. 712. *A Bishop at Hy.*

ANN. TIGH., *in an.*—Ceode Episcopus Iea pausat.—So also *Ann. Ulton.*, *in an.* (Coeddi).

A.D. 716–718<sup>a</sup>. *The Monks of Hy accept the Roman Easter and tonsure; but apparently lose for a time the supremacy over the Pictish Church east of Drumalban, which (perhaps) passes to Abernethy*<sup>b</sup>.

ANN. TIGH., *in an.* 716.—Pasca in Eo civitate commotatur.—IB., *in an.* 717. Expulsio familiæ Ie trans Dorsum Britannie a Nectono Rege.—IB., *in an.* 718. Tonsura corona super familiam Iea datur.—So also *Ann. Ulton.*, *in ann.*

[ROMAN EASTER AND TONSURE ACCEPTED BY PICTS AND SCOTS.]

BÆD., *H. E.*, III. 4.—Tunc [A.D. 715] veniente ad eos reverentissimo et sanctissimo patre et sacerdote Ecgbercto, de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia diutius exulaverat pro Christo, eratque et doctissimus in Scripturis et longæ vitæ perfectione eximius, correcti sunt per eum et ad verum canonicumque Paschæ diem translati; quem tamen et antea non semper in luna quarta decima cum Judæis, ut quidam rebantur, sed in die quidem Dominica, alia tamen quam decebat hebdomada celebrabant. Sciebant enim, ut Christiani, Resurrectionem Dominicam quæ prima sabbati facta est prima sabbati semper esse celebrandam: sed ut barbari et rustici, quando eadem prima sabbati quæ nunc Dominica dies cognominatur veniret, minime didicerant. Verum quia gratia caritatis fervere non omiserunt, et hujus quoque rei notitiam ad perfectum percipere meruerunt, juxta promissum Apostoli dicentis: “Et si quid aliter sapitis, et hoc quoque vobis Deus revelabit.”—*V.* 22. Nec multo post illi quoque qui insulam Hii incolebant monachi Scotticæ nationis, cum his quæ sibi erant subdita monasteriis, ad ritum Paschæ ac tonsuræ canonicum Domino procurante perducti sunt. Siquidem anno ab Incarnatione Domini septingentesimo sexto decimo, . . . cum venisset ad eos de Hibernia Deo amabilis et cum omni honorificentia nominandus pater ac sacerdos Ecgberct, . . . honorifice ab eis et multo cum gaudio susceptus est. Qui quoniam et doctor suavissimus, et eorum quæ agenda docebat erat exsecutor devotissimus, libenter auditus ab universis, immutavit piis ac sedulis exhortationibus inveteratam illam traditionem parentum eorum, de quibus Apostolicum illum licet proferre sermonem, quod æmulationem Dei habebant sed non secundum scientiam; catholicoque illos atque Apostolico more celebrationem, ut diximus, præcipuæ solemnitatis sub figura coronæ perpetis agere perdociuit. . . . Susceperunt autem Hiienses monachi, docente Ecgbercto, ritus vivendi Catholicos sub abbate Duunchado, post annos circiter octoginta ex quo ad prædicationem gentis Anglorum Aidanum miserant antistitem. [*M. H. B.* 176, 177, 281.]

<sup>a</sup> Bede's date of A.D. 715 has been explained as that of the year when the change was resolved upon, and A.D. 716 as that when it actually took effect. He merely mentions the change, and alludes indirectly to the rejection of Columbite supremacy by the Picts on occasion of it.

<sup>b</sup> Bede, writing A.D. 731, states that the

monastery of Hy “in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum [i. e. in Ireland] et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis præerat” (*H. E.*, III. 3); which implies certainly that Hy had in A.D. 731 lost at least in part that supremacy, as the Annalists affirm. That Abernethy succeeded to it, and that, in

[PROBABLE PICTISH PRIMACY OF ABERNETHY.]

Abernethy, "fuerunt tres electiones factæ, quando non fuit nisi unus solus Episcopus in Scotia," is asserted by Fordun (*IV.* 12). According to the *Cbron. Pict.* (*Skene*, 6), "Necton Morbet filius Erip XXIII. [annos] regnavit: tercio anno regni ejus Darlugdach Abbatissa Cilledara de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britanniam: secundo anno adventus sui imolavit Nectonius Apurnethige Deo et Sancte Brigide, presente Dairlugdach que cantavit alleluia super istam hostiam. Optulit igitur Nectonius magnus filius Wirp, Rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum, Apurnethige Sancte Brigide, usque ad diem judicii, cum suis finibus, que posite sunt a lapide in Apurfeirt usque ad lapidem juxta Cairfuill, id est, Lethfoss, et inde in altum usque ad Athan," &c. &c. It is certainly possible that this legend may really refer to the later Nectan, Mac Derili. There is also an entry in another, 13th cent., chronicle (*Cbron. of Picts and Scots*, *Skene*, 201), which (as does also a third chronicle, *ib.* 150), while it attributes the building of Abernethy to Garnald son of Donald, successor to Bruidi, about A.D. 583, implies

that it occupied the same position as Dunkeld did afterwards:—"Garnald . . . edifica l'eglis de Abirnithin, CC. aunz, et XXV. aunz, et XI. moys, deuant qe l'eglis de Dunkeldin fust edifie du Roy Constenin Roy des Pictis."—The legend of S. Bonifacius (*Brev. Aberdon. Prop. SS. pro temp. Hyem.*, and *Skene, Cbron.* 421, sq.), which brings him with a large number of Roman clergy—Boniface indeed being confounded with the Pope—to baptize a Pictish King Nectan, is also supposed to be a tradition of the influx of (so to say) Roman clergy, necessarily consequent upon the expulsion of the Columbite clergy by Nectan (*Skene, Pref. to Cbron.*). But Boniface is only an alias of Bishop Cuiritin or Queretinus of Rosemarkie (*Reeves, Culdees*, 45), and was an Irishman. Nectan Mac Derili undoubtedly built a stone church in Pictland (*Bæd. H. E.*, V. 21), but its locality is not stated by Bede, and while Wyntoun indicates Rosemarkie, the far more probable site of Restennet, near Dunnichen, is suggested by Bishop Forbes and Mr. Stuart.

A.D. 721. *A Pictish Bishop of "Scotia" at a Council of Rome.*

CONC. ROM. SUB GREGORIO II. (*subscriptt.*).—Fergusus, Episcopus Scotiæ Pictus, huic constituto a nobis promulgato subscripsi. [*Labb.*, VI. 1458; and above, p. 7.]

A.D. 723–791. ANN. TIGH. and ANN. ULT., *in an.* 723. Clericatus Selbaigh Regis Dalriada.—ANN. TIGH., *in an.* 724. Clericatus [N]echtain Regis Pictorum.—ANN. ULT., *in an.* 731. Clericatus Echdach filii Cuidini Regis Saxonum, et constringitur.—IB., *in an.* 770. Niall Frassach, Rex Hiberniæ, post septenne imperium, religiosus in Hyensi monasterio factus est (and IB., *in an.* 778, his death.—IB., *in an.* 782. Baculus Airtgaile mic Cathail Regis Connacie, et peregrinatio ejus in sequenti anno ad insolam Iae (and IB., *in an.* 791, his death).

A.D. 727–778. *Supremacy of Hy over Irish Columbite Monasteries.*

ANN. TIGH. and ULT., *in an.* 727. Adamnani reliquie transferuntur in Hiberniam, et lex renovatur.—ANN. ULT., *in an.* 730. Reversio reliquiarum Adomnani de Hibernia in mense Octobris.—ANN. TIGH. and ULT., *in an.* 754. Sleibine Abbas Iea in Hiberniam venit (and so, A.D. 753, Lex Columb-Cille per Domhnall Midhe [Domnall of Meath, King of Ireland], and A.D. 757, Lex Columcille *la* [i. e. per] Slebine, and A.D. 758, Reversio Slebine in Hiberniam).—ANN. ULT., *in an.*



[CHURCH OF S. ANDREW'S FOUNDED BY ANGUS.]

765. Suibne Abbas Iae in Hiberniam venit (and so A.D. 778, Lex Columbcille per Donnchadh et Bresal [Donchad was son of Domnall and King of Ireland; Bresal was abbat of Hy]).

A.D. 736 × 747. *Church of Kilrimont or S. Andrew's founded by Angus King of the Picts.*

LEGEND OF S. ANDREW (*in Reg. Prior. S. Andreae*).—Rex vero [Hungus] dedit hunc locum, scilicet Chilrymonth, Deo et Sancto Andreae Ejus Apostolo, cum aquis, pratu, cum agris, cum pascuis, cum moris, cum nemoribus, in elimosynam perpetuo; et tanta libertate locum illum donavit, ut illius inhabitatores liberi et quieti semper existerent de exercitu et de operibus castellorum et pontium, et de inquietatione omnium secularium exactionum. Regulus vero Episcopus Deo cantavit orationem Allej. ut Deus locum istum in elemosinam datum in sempiternam protegeret et custodiret in honorem Apostoli. In memoriale datæ libertatis Rex Hungus cespitem arreptum, coram nobilibus Pictis hominibus suis, usque ad altare Sancti Andreae detulit; et super illud cespitem eundem obtulit. In presentia testium horum hoc factum est, Thalarg filii Ythernbuthib, Nactan filii Chelturan, Garnach filii Dosnach, Drusti filii Wrthrosst, Nachtalich filii Gigherti, Shinah filii Lutheren, Anegus filii Forchete, Pheradach filii Finleich, Phiachan sui filii, Bolge, Glunmerach filii Taran, Demene filii Aunganena, Duptalaich filii Bergib. Isti testes ex regali prosapia geniti sunt<sup>a</sup>. [*Skene, Chron.* 186, 187; see also *ib.* 140.]

ANN. TIGH. and ULT., *in an.* 747.—Mors Tuathalain Abbatis Cind-rigmonaigh.

<sup>a</sup> See for S. Rule, below, in App. E. p. 139. S. Cainnech or Canice (*ob.* c. A.D. 597) was also connected with S. Andrew's. It is plain from the Annalists that S. Andrew's was founded as early at least as the reign of the earlier Angus,

A.D. 736-765. If therefore the above legend refers to Angus Mac Fergus, *ob.* A.D. 834 (*Skene, Chron.* 202), that king could only have refounded it. See *Skene, Proc. Soc. Antig. Scotl.*, IV. i. pp. 301-307.

A.D. 782. ANN. ULT., *in an.* 781.—Muiredhach mac Huairgailc, equonimus<sup>a</sup> Iae, quievit.

<sup>a</sup> = "Fertigbis" or steward.

A.D. 813, *the Canon of the Council of Chalons*, respecting "Episcopi Scoti," and A.D. 816, *the Canon of the Council of Cealckyth* condemning the *Scoti* for their want of a metropolitan. See below, under the Irish Church, at their dates, and in vol. III. p. 581.

[PRIMACY TRANSFERRED TO DUNKELD.]

A.D. 794-849. *Hy ravaged by Norsemen, and consequent migrations of S. Columba's relics, and importance of Kells as chief Columbite abbey.*

A.D. 794. ANN. INNISFALL, *in an.*—Orcain Iae Coluimchille [Plunder of Hi Columcille].

A.D. 806. ANN. ULTON, *in an.*—Familia Iae oecisa est a gentibus, i. lx. octo.

A.D. 814. IB., *in an.*—Ceallach Abbas Iae finita constructione templi Cenindsa [Cenannus=Kells, co. Meath] reliquit principatum.

A.D. 825. IB., *in an.*—Martre Blaimhicc meic Flainn o gentib in Hi Coluimcille [The martyrdom of Blaimc son of Flann by the Gentiles in Hi Columcille].

A.D. 829. IB., *in an.*—Diarmait Ab. Iae do dul an Albain cominaib Coluimcille [Diarmait Abbat of Ia went to Alban with the reliquaries of Columcille].

A.D. 831. IB., *in an.*—Diarmait totiachtain in h-Erin cominaib Coluimcille [Diarmait came to Erin with the reliquaries of Columcille].

A.D. 849. IB., *in an.*—Innrechtach Ab. Iae do tiachtain do cum n-Erenn commindaib Coluimcille [Inrechtach Abbat of Ia came to Erin with the reliquaries of Columcille].

A.D. 842. *Grant of Lochleven by King Brude to the Keledei<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> See below under A.D. 955. This is the earliest record of Culdees in Scotland. In Ireland they are traceable perhaps to the 7th,

but certainly to the latter half of the 8th, century. See *Reeves, Culdees*, p. 8.

A.D. 849. *Primacy and S. Columba's relics transferred to Dunkeld<sup>a</sup> by Kenneth Mac Alpin.*

PICT. CHRON.—Kinadius filius Alpini ... septimo anno regni sui reliquias Sancti Columbæ transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit<sup>b</sup>. [*Skene, Chron.* 8.]

DE SANCTIS IN ANGLIA SEPULTIS.—Sanctus Columcylle requiescit in loco dicto Duncahan, juxta fluvium Tau. [*ap. Hickes, Dissert. Epist.* p. 117, from a MS. of probably the tenth century<sup>c</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> See below under A.D. 865. Probably the abbat (see above) who went to Ireland in the same year 849 with the relics (or some of them) of S. Columba, objected to the transfer. It is plain, also, that at some period since A.D. 717 the Columban clergy had regained their influence in Pictland. In A.D. 849, Dalriada had just been permanently absorbed into one

kingdom with Pictland by Kenneth.

<sup>b</sup> Founded by Constantine, *ob.* A.D. 820, according to one (late) Chronicle (*Skene*, 201), followed by Fordun, &c.; and for Keledei (according to Dean Mylne, in the 15th century).

<sup>c</sup> See *Hardy, Descr. Catal.*, I. 666. There is a Latin version as well as the Saxon original.

## APPENDIX A.

### RULE OF S. COLUMBA,

FROM A MS. IN THE BURGUNDIAN LIBRARY AT BRUSSELS<sup>a</sup>.

INCIPIT REGULA CHOLUIM CHILLE.

Bith ind uathad illucc fo leit i fail  
primh catraç, minab innill lat çubus  
byit i coitchendas ina sochaide.

Innochta do gres do sechem ar  
Christ, ocus ar na soscela.

Ceç bycc no mór no muinechtair  
di cech rét, etir edach, ocus biad,  
ocus dig, aèt rob de forchongra  
senóra ocus a comarlecath, ar ní  
hinill do chráidbeç airbera bith etir  
naç cruí la a soyrbrathair féin.

Locc imdaigyn co noyn dorus  
immatt.

Huaíad cráidbeç imaradret Dia,  
ocus a timnai; do tataigith cuccat  
illaitið litaib; do timnyrtað i tiom-  
naib De, ocus a scélaib screptrai.

Duine imorro olcynai conscelai-  
getar do briathraib espae, no don  
doman, no fodordat ní nat cumcat  
do íc, no do cumrech, aèt is móte fo  
fyræ saet dyit mat-cot nista etir carait  
ocus eascarait, nir do foemta cuccat,  
aèt beraitt bendaçtain fo chettoir  
mat roillet.

Mog fyr gor craibdeç nemsclach,

THE RULE OF COLUMBKILLE BEGINNETH.

Be alone in a separate place near  
a chief city<sup>b</sup>, if thy conscience is not  
prepared to be in common with the  
crowd.

Be always naked in imitation of  
Christ and the Evangelists.

Whatsoever little or much thou  
possessest of anything, whether  
clothing, or food, or drink, let it be  
at the command of the senior and at  
his disposal, for it is not befitting a  
religious to have any distinction of  
property with his own free brother.

Let a fast place, with one door,  
enclose thee.

A few religious men to converse  
with thee of God and his Testament;  
to visit thee on days of solemnity;  
to strengthen thee in the Testaments  
of God, and the narratives of the  
Scriptures.

A person too who would talk with  
thee in idle words, or of the world;  
or who murmurs at what he cannot  
remedy or prevent, but who would  
distress thee more should he be a  
tattler between friends and foes, thou  
shalt not admit him to thee, but at  
once give him thy benediction should  
he deserve it.

Let thy servant be a discreet, reli.

[RULE OF S. COLUMBA.]

dia nedta do bĩ oc do ùimterẽt, do  
 šaetar mesraig̃ti bĩd cosmail ãt is  
 inill.

Commus fo ryr nach aili beschnaidh  
 bys craibdẽc.

Mynma erlam fri derccmartraí.

Mynma fossaid̃ feidil fri ban mar-  
 traí.

Dilgãd o cride da gãc aen nduine.

Aurnaig̃ti gr̃essach ar in muintir  
 dod cosich.

Lére gabala ecnairce, amail bĩd  
 saincarai irisech dyit cẽc marb iri-  
 sech.

Imna anmai issyssãm.

Dó coitcynd figell on traí co araile  
 fo a ryr nyich nach aile.

Tri torbai isind lóa, .i. ernaig̃ti,  
 ocus lubair, ocus legenn.

Ind lubair do fodail a trí, .i. do  
 torba fadyin, ocus do torba do luice  
 do nyoch bus fir toise do; araill do  
 cuitigh ina mbratar; araill do ġor  
 ina cõbnessam, .i. rob do foircytal no  
 scribynd, no uaim netaigh, no cecip  
 torbai olcyna ar na beter indespa, ut  
 Dominus ait, Non apparebis ante Me  
 uacuu

Cẽc ní ina urd chóir; nemo enim  
 coronabitur nisi qui legitime certa-  
 uerit.

Secem derce ria cech ret.

Ni hairbertha bĩt o biud combad  
 guirt.

gious, not tale-telling man, who is to  
 attend continually on thee, with  
 moderate labour of course, but always  
 ready.

Yield submission to every rule that  
 is of devotion.

A mind prepared for red martyr-  
 dom.

A mind fortified and steadfast for  
 white martyrdom.

Forgiveness from the heart to  
 every one.

Constant prayers for those who  
 trouble thee.

Fervour in singing the office for  
 the dead, as if every faithful dead  
 was a particular friend of thine.

Hymns for souls<sup>d</sup> to be sung stand-  
 ing.

Let thy vigils be constant from  
 eve to eve, under the direction of  
 another person.

Three labours in the day, viz.,  
 prayers, work, and reading.

The work to be divided into three  
 parts, viz., thine own work, and the  
 work of thy place, as regards its real  
 wants; secondly, thy share of the  
 brethren's [work]; lastly, to help  
 the neighbours, viz. by instruction or  
 writing, or sewing garments, or  
 whatever labour they may be in  
 want of, ut Dominus ait, "Non ap-  
 parebis ante Me vacuus."

Everything in its proper order;  
 Nemo enim coronabitur nisi qui  
 legitime certaverit.

Follow alms-giving before all  
 things.

Take not of food till thou art  
 hungry.

## [RULE OF S. COLUMBA.]

Ni cotalta combad eim lat.

Ni accalta combad fri toisc.

Nach forcraid no sechnai do dilys  
proinn no do etach fuir tabair fri  
haircisect ina mbratar do coset, no  
do bochtaib olcyna.

Serc Dé o uilib craidiib ocus o uilib  
nyrtaib;

Syrc do cobnyssaím samail ut fa-  
dyin.

Fedliged i timnaib De tria san uile  
namsir.

Do mod ernaigti co toetsat do  
dera;

No do mod do obair torbaig co  
toetsat do dera;

No do mod do obair torbaig, no  
do slectanaib co thí hallus comminic  
manabat solma do derae.

FINIT.

Sleep not till thou feelest desire.

Speak not except on business.

Every increase which comes to  
thee in lawful meals, or in wearing  
apparel, give it for pity to the brethren  
that want it, or to the poor in like  
manner.

The love of God with all thy heart  
and all thy strength;

The love of thy neighbour as thy-  
self.

Abide in the Testaments of God  
throughout all times.

Thy measure of prayer shall be  
until thy tears come;

Or thy measure of work of labour  
till thy tears come;

Or thy measure of thy work of  
labour, or of thy genuflexions, until  
thy perspiration often comes, if thy  
tears are not free.

FINIT.

<sup>a</sup> Printed here from Appendix D, pp. 109-112, to *Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry*, ed. Reeves. The translation is Mr. Curry's. In the original MS. it forms one of several so-called Rules, the others being in metre; and the nature of its contents, together with the absence of evidence that S. Columba ever composed a written Rule, marks it almost certainly as a later production of some Columbite monk or hermit (see Dr. Reeves's remarks in the same Appendix, and in *Add. Notes to Adamn.*,

*V. S. Col.*, pp. 336-339).

<sup>b</sup> That is, an Episcopal church or city (*Reeves*).

<sup>c</sup> That is, self-mortification and ascetic practices, or bodily chastisement, as opposed to "red martyrdom," where blood is shed or the life laid down for the truth's sake (*Reeves*).

<sup>d</sup> Or, "Hymns of names," i. e. Litanies, according to another possible rendering of the word "anmai" (*Reeves*).



## APPENDIX B.

LAWS ATTRIBUTED TO KENNETH MAC ALPIN (SPURIOUS).

HECT. BOETH., X. 201, ed. 1574.—KENNETHI LEGES CIVILES.—Capita legum, quæ adhuc extant, sunt hujusmodi.

I. Singulis in regionibus singuli sint jurisperiti, ut ab initio est institutum.

II. Horum filii a primæva ætate leges discant.

III. Legum tabulas, regum magnatumque cartophylacia, soli hi servant.

IV. Si horum quispiam criminis falsi convictus fuerit, furca vitam finiat, abjiciaturque insepultus.

V. Furti convictum suspendito, homicidii capite truncato.

VI. Mulierem capitalis criminis damnatam, aut amne submergito, aut defodito vivam.

VII. Qui Dei nomen, divorumve, Regis, aut tribus suæ ducis, blasphemia læserit; ei linguam abscindito.

VIII. Qui mendacii in proximi perniciem fuerit convictus, ei gladium adimito, ejusque congressum exinde devitato.

IX. Capitalium insimulatos, septem spectata fide viri aut novem, undecim, tredecim, quindecim, aut numero majori, modo is impar fuerit, ex sententia judicante.

X. Latrones, grassatores, depopulatores agrorum, ferro punito.

XI. Fugitivos, bardos<sup>1</sup>, otio addictos, scurras, et hujusmodi hominum genus, loris et flagro cædunto.

XII. Uxor non luet mariti scelus; viro autem fraudi erit, si, eo sciente, quid uxor deliquerit.

XIII. Concubinam viri eadem, cum eo, quicum delinquit, pœna torqueto.

XIV. Qui virginis rapuerit honorem, nisi injuriæ authorem vitiata posperit in virum, capitis pœnam luito.

XV. Si quis alterius conjugem non invitam vitiaverit, uterque extremo afficiatur supplicio. Si vis mulieri fuerit illata, vir injurius proximo, ferro damnabitur, mulier erit innoxia.

XVI. Filium, si parentibus injurius fuerit, lingua, pede, manuve, eodem privatum membro in crucem tollito, abjicitoque insepultum,

XVII. Homicida, mutus, aut parenti ingratus, hæres non esto.

<sup>1</sup> *Bardi* nihil hic faciunt; leg. *vargos*, vel *vergos*; ita vocarunt *errones*. Salmas. ap: W.

XVIII. Præstigiatores, magos, manes invocantes, malis dæmonibus familiares, aut ab eis petentes auxilia, ad unum concremato.

XIX. Semina nisi nocivis granis munda, terræ ne condito.

XX. Qui sua culpa agros satiles nocivis herbis labefactari siverit, eum ob primam culpam bove uno mulctato, ob secundam decem, ob tertiam vero agris ipsis arceto.

XXI. Commilitonem, amicumve prælio forte cæsum, sepelito, hostem sinito insepultum.

XXII. Aberrans pecus aut domino, aut furum indagatori (Tocioderach<sup>2</sup> vulgus appellat), aut sacerdoti reddito; quod si triduum penes te retinueris, furti reus esto.

XXIII. Qui rem proximi deperditam repererit, præconis voce denunciaret inventam; alioquin furis deputetur supplicio.

XXIV. Qui litigantem secum in iudicio percusserit, causæ reus, pulsato homine absoluto, dicatur.

XXV. Si coeuntibus bobus, quævis icta incerto percussore interierit casu, quæ earum fuerit incornuta cædis authorem iudicanto. Ejus dominus, mortuo accepto animali, damnum proximo reparabit.

XXVI. Si sus fœtus suos ederit, lapidibus obruito, ejusque carnes ne comedito.

XXVII. Suem segetes edentem, aut grunno cultum subruentem agrum, occidito impune.

XXVIII. Cætera animantia, quæ nobiscum degunt, si tua læserint terræ nascentia, donec eorum dominus damnum reparaverit, te penes servato.

Hæc civilia et popularia: cætera, quæ ad nos devenerunt, religiosa sunt,

KENNETHI LEGES RELIGIOSÆ.—I. Aras, templâ, divorum statuas, oratoria, sacella, sacerdotes, omnesque sacræ familiæ viros, ex animo venerator.

II. Festos et solennes dies, jejunia, vigiliâs, et omnifarias ceremonias, quas Christo Regi et sacratissimæ Ejus militiæ decrevit humana pietas, multo honore observato.

III. Lædere Christi sacerdotem dicto factove exitiale sit.

IV. Agrum, quo quis forte occisus, sepultus fuerit, septennium incultum relinquito.

V. Sepulchrum omne sacrum habeto, idque crucis signo adornato; quod ne pede aliquando conculces, caveto.

<sup>2</sup> *Lib. 1. Reg. Majest.* cap. vi. § 8, vocatur *Toscheo Derach*; et notat Skenæus, barbarum esse nomen prisca Scotis et Hibernis usitatum pro serjando aut serviente curiam, qui literas citatorias mandat executioni.—*W. Tossachdoir* (*Orig. Paroch. Scoll.*, II. 5) is interpreted "crownor" (*ib.*, p. 97); and see *ib.*, p. 172, and *Chalmers' Caled.*, I. 451 (quoted by Reeves). The office was one of high importance originally, but sank gradually into "something between that of a ground-officer or bailiff and that of a sheriff's officer" (*Stuart's Pref. to Book of Deer*, p. lxxxi. note 1, and authorities there quoted).

VI. Defuncti funus habita facultatum ratione curato.

VII. Insignis viri, aut qui de republica optime fuerit meritus, celebri, lugubri tamen, pompa funus efferto.

VIII. Duos huic adhibeto equestres: alterum vita functi arma indutum ferentem insigne candido equo, alterum pulla veste velata facie nigro equo insidentem. Hic, posteaquam uterque supplicatoriam deductionem funusque antecedens ad templum venerit, retroacto equo, ad altare, dominum morte absumptum vociferans, populo in eum execrante, unde venit, celerius se conferat. Ille ad altare recto pergens gradu, deposita arma equumque offerat sacerdoti demortui insigni admoto monumento, significans eo dominum immortalī vita patriaque æternæ claritatis frui.

Hujusmodi ritum virorum insignium efferendi funera, parum, ut multis est visum, religiosum, posterior ætas abolevit; sacerdoti equi armorumque loco quinque sterlingicis libris in oblationem tributis.

His Kennethus Rex institutis longèque pluribus, quorum partem majorem vetustas aut potius regum sanctiones abrogarunt, populum rite instructum magna fœlicitate usque ad vitæ exitum rexit. Pontificiam sedem dudum Pictorum ab Abbernethi oppido, eo ferro et igni deleto, ad templum Reguli transtulit. Exinde huic oppido Sancti Andræ ædes nomen est factum, eosque, qui illuc per pluscula inde tempora sacrum gessere magistratum, maximos Scotorum Episcopos appellarunt. Nondum enim Scotorum regnum, uti nunc, in diœceses divisum erat; sed quivis episcoporum, quos ea ætate vitæ sanctimonia cunctis reverendos fecerat, quocunque fuisset loco, sine discrimine pontificia munera obibat. Hujusmodi Scotorum Ecclesiæ administratio ad Malcolmī tertii tempora p̄severavit, quando ipse superne admonitus, uti suo referetur loco, sacrum Multhlacensem instituit magistratum. Cæterum tanta reverentia inter homines, tantaque vitæ innocentia, et erga Deum pietate, sacer divi Andræ pontificatus ab institutione sui longa episcoporum serie ad tempus usque quo hæc commentabamur, est continuatus (sex enim supra triginta antistites, et eorum complures inter divos relatos, illic sedisse perhibent), ut nusquam gentium veræ religionis cultus, morum consentiente probitate, magis effulserit. Ad Kennethum redeo. Erant termini ejus regni post Pictos deletos Northumbria et Hirta (ea est ultima Hebridum insularum), Hibernicus hinc oceanus, et illinc Germanicus. Moritur tandem Rex omni vita illustris pituitæ exundantia apud Forteviotum, anno, quam supremum inter Scotos iniverat magistratum, vicesimo, Christi autem Domini quinquagesimo et quinto supra octingentesimum. Ejus funus celeberrima pompa in Ionam est elatum; ubi Firgusius, Hirtus, ac fortissimi quique Scotorum Reges, conditi quiescunt. Suffectus est in demortui locum Donaldus, Kennethi germanus, diverso multum a fratre ingenio. [S., I. 340-343; W., I. 179-181.]

## APPENDIX C.

INSCRIBED AND OTHER CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN THE PICTISH AND  
SCOTTISH KINGDOMS.

A.D. 400-900 (?).

A. A.D. 400-600 (?). A few monuments exist in Scotland, which look as though they should be referred to a semi-Roman date and origin.

### i. *Inscribed Monuments.*

1. Near the kirk of *Yarrow*, a slab with an inscription in debased Roman characters—as read by Sir J. Y. Simpson:—

HIC MEMOR IACIT F  
LOIN : : : NI : : :  
HIC  
PE : : M  
DVMNOGENI . HIC IACENT  
IN TVMVLO DVO FILI  
LIBERALI

These are probably three inscriptions, and are in very rude letters. See *Proc. of Antiq. of Scoll.*, II. 484, IV. 134, 524; *Stuart, Sculpt. Stones, &c.*, II. App. III. p. xlviii.

2. At *Kirkliston*, called the Cat Stone, an inscription in like debased Roman characters—

IN OC TV  
MVLO IACIT  
VETTA F  
VICTI

(*Proc. of Antiq.*, &c., as above, IV. 119; and *Stuart, ib.*)

[INSCRIBED AND OTHER CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN SCOTLAND.]

ii. *Monuments uninscribed*, of this earlier period, may possibly exist, but there is not sufficient evidence whereon to assign such a date to any existing stone.

B. *Inscribed and other Monuments in the Pictish Kingdom.*

A.D. 700–900 (?).

Monuments of a definitely Pictish style cluster most thickly in the parts of the country which formed the centre of the kingdom of the Picts, viz. in the counties of Forfar, Fife, and the eastern districts of Perth, south of the Mounth, and in the valleys of the Dee and Don in Aberdeenshire, immediately north of it; being most abundant in the comparatively level district running westwards from the shore between Montrose and Arbroath through Forfarshire and Perthshire to the Tay and Dunkeld, and again, along the Earn. There are also isolated clusters in Elginshire, and on the shores of Ross along the Moray Firth, besides a few scattered examples elsewhere. All are of a very special character, markedly differing (and especially in the various symbols, which are peculiar to them) from the Saxon monuments in Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Dumfries; from the pre-Saxon monuments in Kirkcudbright and Wigton and towards the lower part of the Clyde; and from those also, which are nearer akin to them, but which are destitute of the symbols above mentioned, viz. the older monuments in Argyllshire and the Isles. They are also of an older type than the Irish crosses, their ordinary character being that of pillar stones with the cross or ornaments simply cut on the face of the stone. But some, as e. g. those at S. Andrew's and at Dunkeld, which have the Celtic ornamentation, lack the peculiar Pictish symbols.

I. *Inscribed Monuments* are very few.

1. *South of the Mounth.*

i. At *St. Vigean's* (church of S. Fechin), near Arbroath, an elaborately adorned stone with a cross, interlaced work, and figures; and on one face of it,—

DROSTEN . .  
IPE UORET  
ELT FOR  
CUS

i.e. (the cross) of Drost son of Voret of the family of Fergus. Drost was a King of the Picts, killed in battle near S. Vigean's A.D. 729.



[INSCRIBED AND OTHER CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN SCOTLAND.]

Another cross at the same place, also elaborately ornamented and with figures, has among the latter two ecclesiastics with peculiar dress and the Roman tonsure; and dates therefore after A.D. 710 × 718.

A third cross uninscribed, and several fragments, are also at the same place (*Stuart, Sculpt. Stones of Scotl., I. 69-71, II. 126-128*).

## 2. North of the Mounth.

ii. At *Newton House*, in the Garioch up the Don, Aberdeenshire, parish of Culsalmond, but removed from its original site: an upright pillar 5 or 6 feet high, with six lines of inscription, not yet read: also Oghams on its edge, which occur elsewhere in Scotland only at Logie in the same neighbourhood, at Scoonie in Fifeshire, at Golspie in Sutherland, and at Bressay in Shetland (*Stuart, ib., I. 1*).

iii. At *Knockando*, up the Spey, Elginshire, three slabs with patterns, and on one of them, in Runes of the 9th or 10th century,

SIKNIK,

a name which occurs also in Runes on a monument at Sanda Södermanland in Sweden (*Stuart, ib., II. 105*).

iv. At *Papa Stronsay*, north-east part of the Orkneys, a plain upright stone with a cross incised, and one word above the cross, unintelligible (*Stuart, ib., I. 42*).

v. At *Bressay*, eastern part of the Shetlands, a stone with cross and elaborate ornamentation, and on the edges of it Oghams, interpreted by Dr. Graves thus—

BENRES MECCU DROI ANN

(Benrhe or the son of the Druid lies here).

CROSC NAHDFDADS DATR AN

(Cross of Nordred's daughter is here placed).

(*Stuart, ib., I. 94, 95*.)

II. *Monuments without inscriptions* abound in the localities above mentioned<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> A few uninscribed monuments exist, which may be so far of earlier than (characteristically) Pictish Christian date, as to belong to a semi-Roman time, i.e. to S. Ninian's southern Christian Picts of A.D. 400 to (say) A.D. 600: e. g.—

1. A cross near *Alloa*.

2. Stob's Cross (so called) near *Markinch*.

To which may be added—

3. At *Higb Auchinlary*, a cross, } both in  
4. At *Kirkcubright*, do. } Galloway.  
See *Stuart, Sculpt. Stones, &c., II. App. III.*  
p. xlviii.

There is an incised cross in S. Ninian's Cave in Galloway (like those in the Fife caves), which Mr. Stuart has recently discovered.



(b) *Perthshire*<sup>b</sup>: stones of a like character, at—

- i. *Meigle*, on the edge of Forfarshire, fragments of certainly two, probably more, very elaborately carved stones, with crosses; also of four others (*ib.*, I. 72-77, 93, 127, 132, II. 3-7).
- ii. *Kettins*, close to Cupar Angus (*ib.*, II. 8).
- iii. *St. Madoe's*, Carse of Gowrie (*ib.*, I. 55).
- iv. *Rossie Priory*, Inchtute, Carse of Gowrie (*ib.*, II. 99).
- v. *Dunkeld*, an elaborately ornamented pillar of gray sandstone, with many figures and heads; and a red sandstone pillar with a plain cross on it, of seemingly later date; both used as gateposts to the churchyard (*ib.*, I. 50, 51); also a fragment (*ib.*, II. 68); and another fragment of a different style from the Pictish (*ib.*, 16).
- vi. *Dunfallandy*, close to Killiecrankie, of black slate, with cross and symbols, and figure in relief (*ib.*, I. 47, 48).
- vii. *Dull*, close to Taymouth Castle, fragments, and three crosses with limbs (*ib.*, II. 16, 17).
- viii. *Abernethy*, a fragment only (*ib.*, I. 49).
- ix. *Forteviot*, at Bankhead, near Dupplin Castle, a beautiful cross with limbs; there were once two others, respectively half a mile north and half a mile south of it (*ib.*, I. 57, 58).
- x. *Gask*, the "Boar Stone" (*ib.*, I. 103, 104).
- xi. *Fowls Wester*, 2 miles E. of Crieff (*ib.*, I. 60).
- xii. *Crieff* (*ib.*, I. 65). See also Bishop Forbes's account of the bell of St. Fillan (*Soc. Antiq. Scotl.*, vol. VIII. Edinb. 1870).
- xiii. *Balquhider*, several stones, with crosses incised, on one an ecclesiastic with chalice; on another a Greek cross, with a human figure and a two-handed sword (*Stuart*, II. 67, 68).

<sup>b</sup> There is a part of a stone also at *Goodlieburn* near Perth, which once had upon it in relief a figure of our Lord, with the head surrounded by a glory. It is too fragmentary

to have an exact date assigned to it, but it looks late. See *Stuart, Sculpt. Stones*, II. App. III. p. xlvi.

(c) *Fifeshire* : stones of a like character, at—

- i. *Mugdrum*, near Newburgh, south shore of Firth of Tay, apparently once a cross with limbs (*ib.*, I. 52).
- ii. *S. Andrew's*, fragments elaborately carved, which have been forced into the shape of a cist, but appear to have been originally crosses; also a great number of fragments of crosses, &c. of an apparently later date, but none with symbols (*ib.*, I. 61-65, II. 9-11, 18).
- iii. *Crail* (*ib.*, I. 64).
- iv. *Between Crail and Sauchope*, the "Standing Stone of Sauchope," a pillar with cross incised (*ib.*, I. 59).
- v. *Near Kilrenny*, close to Anstruther, the "Skeith Stone," resembling that at Bressay (*ib.*, II. 124).
- vi. *Abercrombie*, on the Firth of Forth, two crosses, and fragments built into the church wall (*ib.*, I. 124, 125).
- vii. *Largo House*, half way between Crail and Kircaldy, N.W. of Abercrombie (*ib.*, I. 66).
- viii. *Scoonie*, at the mouth of the Orr, near Leven, animals, symbols, and Oghams (*ib.*, II. 12).
- ix. *Docton*, in Kinglassie, four miles north of Kircaldy (*ib.*, I. 53, 54).

Along or near the coast from S. Andrew's along the Firth of Forth to the mouth of the Orr.

There are also, to the south, in

- (d) *Linlithgowshire*, at (i.) *Abercorn*, a fragment of a similar character to the Saxon monuments at Hexham (*ib.*, I. 128). (ii.) *Aberlady*, in East Lothian, a like fragment (*ib.*, II. Pref. p. 46, note).

And, to the north, in

- (e) *Kincardineshire*, at (i.) *Fordoun* (S. Palladius' reputed place of burial), a stone with figures and symbols (*ib.*, I. 67).

A fragment of a character not Saxon, at *Liberton*, near Edinburgh (*ib.*, II. 77), may also be mentioned.

2. *North of the Mounth.*(f) *Aberdeenshire*: stones of a like character, at—

- |       |   |                                  |
|-------|---|----------------------------------|
| i.    | <i>Dunecht</i> , a few miles from Banchory, a stone with a cross incised within a circle ( <i>ib.</i> , II. 124).   | } Up the Dec.                    |
| ii.   | <i>Aboyne</i> , two stones with crosses ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 13).  |                                  |
| iii.  | <i>Migvie</i> , near Aboyne, a primitive rough stone with a cross interlaced, and symbols, and a man on horseback ( <i>ib.</i> , II. 78).   |                                  |
| iv.   | <i>Dyce</i> , on the Don ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 9).  | } Up the Don or its tributaries. |
| v.    | <i>Monymusk</i> , on the Don ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 8).  |                                  |
| vi.   | <i>Kildrummie Castle</i> , beautifully carved, but of late date ( <i>ib.</i> , II. 125).  |                                  |
| vii.  | <i>Chapel of Garioch</i> , the "Maiden Stone" ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 2). Also many stones with the Spectacle ornament &c. are in the valley of the Don or its tributaries, e.g. at Inverury, Kintore, &c., and one at Logie near Newton with Oghams ( <i>ib.</i> I. 3), and at Newton itself as above mentioned; all in the Garioch. |                                  |
| viii. | <i>Old Deer</i> , the monastery of SS. Columba and Drostan, near Peterhead ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 11).   | } N. E. of the county.           |

(g) *Banffshire*, at—

- i. *Mortlach*, on the Dullan, a tributary of the Spey (*ib.*, I. 14), which may be said to belong geographically to the Elgin group.

(h) *Elginshire*, stones of a like character in two localities, at—

- |      |   |                    |
|------|---|--------------------|
| i.   | <i>Elgin</i> , now in the cathedral, a granite (broken) cross elaborately ornamented ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 16).     | } Near Elgin.      |
| ii.  | <i>Duffus</i> , between Elgin and the sea ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 114).   |                    |
| iii. | <i>Drainie</i> , near Duffus, on the coast, fragments ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 129, 130).                              |                    |
| iv.  | <i>Rafford</i> , near Forres, known as "The Forres Stone" ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 18-21).                             | } On the Findhorn. |
| v.   | <i>Brodie</i> , above Forres, an elephant among the animals, which is not unfrequent ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 22, 23). |                    |
| vi.  | <i>Glenferness</i> , above Brodie, with elephants and interlaced ornamentation ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 24).           |                    |



[INSCRIBED AND OTHER CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN SCOTLAND.]

(i) *Ross-shire*: stones of a like character, in one locality, viz. the western or southern shores respectively of the Moray and Dornoch Firths, at—

- |      |   |                                     |
|------|---|-------------------------------------|
| i.   | <i>Rosemarkie</i> , south of the Cromarty Firth, a cross in two pieces, and fragments ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 105–107).               | } West shore of the Moray Firth.    |
| ii.  | <i>Nigg</i> , north of the Cromarty Firth ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 28, 29), representing the consecration of the Holy Eucharist.       |                                     |
| iii. | <i>Shandwick</i> , close to Nigg, a freestone obelisk with cross, magnificently carved ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 26, 27).               |                                     |
| iv.  | <i>Hilton in Cadboll</i> , close to Shandwick, a stone with ornaments of a Saxon character, but no cross ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 25). |                                     |
| v.   | <i>Tarbet</i> , a fragment beautifully carved ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 30).  | } South shore of the Dornoch Firth. |
| vi.  | <i>Edderton</i> ( <i>ib.</i> , I. 31, II. 129).   |                                     |

(k) *Sutherlandshire*, only two like stones—

- i. At *Golspie*, north coast of Dornoch Firth, near the Ross-shire cluster (*ib.*, I. 34), with Oghams.
- ii. At *Farr*, in the centre of the north coast, near Tongue (*ib.*, I. 35).

(l) *Caitness-shire*, also only two specimens, at—

- i. *Ulbster*, east coast a little south of Wick, with symbols (*ib.*, I. 40).
- ii. *Halkirk*, northwards, some way up the Thurso Water, an elaborate crossed stone (*ib.*, II. 79).

In addition to the above, rude crosses are found, inscribed within several caves, mostly on the shores of Fife, frequented no doubt by hermits in early times (*Stuart, ib.*, *Append. XIII. to Preface*).

### C. Inscribed and other Christian Monuments among the Scots of Dalriada.

A.D. 700–1000 (?).

I. The inscribed monuments of early date are very few.

- i. In *Hy*, a stone with an incised cross, and OR AR ANMIN EOGAIN (= a prayer for the soul of Eogain—*Stuart, Sculpt. Stones of Scotl.*, II. 65.)
- ii. In the same island, another, with OR DO MAIL FATARIC (= a prayer for Maelpatrick—*Stuart, ib.*, II. p. 31): referred by Dr. Reeves to Maelpatrick O'Banan, Bishop of Conner and Dalaradia, ob. A.D. 1174; but Mr. Stuart assigns an earlier date to both this and the preceding example. The name is a very common one.

[INSCRIBED AND OTHER CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN SCOTLAND.]

There are several other inscribed and very beautiful slabs and crosses, both in Hy and in the neighbouring islands, as e. g. Oronsay, but of a date much posterior to these and to the period with which we are here concerned, and running down to the 16th century.

II. Uninscribed monuments occur frequently in the islands and in Kintyre (besides many of later date), viz.:

1. *In the Islands.*

*Argyllshire.*

- i. *Hy*, two crossed stones, of Irish type, one called S. Martin's, another with a plain cross in Reilig Oran of the character of the Irish crosses ascribed by Dr. Petrie to the 9th century, and two early fragments (*Stuart, ib., II.*, plates 40, 41, 44-46, and p. 65).
- ii. *Islay*, fragments of carved pillar stones at Kilarrow and at Keils, two crossed stones at Kilchoman, and two elaborately carved stones with crosses of Irish type but probably 10th or 11th century at Kildalton (*ib.*, plates 35-37, 53).
- iii. *Eilanmore*, W. coast of South Knapdale, Kintyre; a carved pillar, once a cross with limbs, and a stone with a plain lined cross incised (*ib.*, plates 100, 103).
- iv. *Tiree*, a carved crossed stone at Kirkapoll (with Crucifixion) which looks of later date, and a very old carved stone with cross of more ancient appearance than those in Hy, besides many other fragments of the early Hy type (*ib.*, plates 48, 52).

*Inverness-shire.*

- v. *Canna*, a beautiful cross with limbs (*ib.*, plates 50, 51).
- vi. *Harris* (in the Hebrides), a stone with a plain lined cross incised (*ib.*, plate 103).

*Buteshire.*

- vii. *Bute*, a fragment at S. Calmag, Rothsay, fragments of an interlaced cross at Rothsay Castle, and three round-headed crosses of a Cornish type at S. Blane's, Kingarth (*ib.*, plates 56, 72, 73).
- viii. *Cumbræ*, at Millport, fragments of ten crosses like those at S. Blane's (*ib.*, plate 74).
- ix. *Arran*, at Kilbride, a primitive stone with cross like those in Cornwall (*ib.*, plate 122).

2. *On the mainland.**Mainland of Argyllshire.*

- i. *Kintyre*, at Kilchousland near Campbeltown, a fragment, and at Keils to the S. W. of North Knapdale, a beautiful cruciform pillar but apparently of later date (*ib.*, plates 56 and 32), also at Keils two slabs, and some inscribed monuments of apparently 11th or 12th century (*ib.*, plate 57).
- ii. *Kilmichael*, in Glassary near Lochgilphead, two crossed stones (*ib.*, plate 58), also an inscribed stone resembling those at Keils in Kintyre (*ib.*, plate 57).
- iii. *Keils* in Morven, N. coast of Sound of Mull, a cross with limbs, beautifully carved (*ib.*, plate 49).

On none of these monuments are there any of the symbols so common in Pictland, but which occur nowhere else, save in one place in Galloway, and on a slab found on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh.

D. In *Laodonia* or *Saxonia*, i. e. in the district from the Border northward to the Firth of Forth, which was occupied by the Angles from A.D. 547 (?) onwards, but which became subject to the Scottish King either A.D. 971 × 975, or more probably A.D. 1018, and consequently also, at the same time, part of (what was ultimately held to be) the diocese of S. Andrew's, there are no monuments belonging to the Saxon period, and answering in character to the Northumberland and Durham monuments, except the fragments at Abercorn and Aberlady, above mentioned: unless we include, under this head, that at Coldingham co. Berwick, close to S. Abb's Head, figured in *Stuart, Sculpt. Stones*, p. 63, plate 110.

## APPENDIX D.

ABBATS OF HY DURING THE PERIOD OF COLUMBITE PRIMACY<sup>a</sup>,

A.D. 563-849.

1. S. COLUMBA, A.D. 563-597<sup>b</sup>. [*Ann. Tigh.* a. 595, Quies Columcille in nocte Dominica Pentecosten V. Id. Juni anno peregrinationis sue XXXV., etatis vero LXXVII. So also *Ann. Innisf., Ult.* The *Ann. Clonmacn.* and *IV. Mag.* give the same day but a different year. That A.D. 597 is the correct year, see *Reeves's Adamnan*, pp. 309-312; *Lanigan, II.* 247; *Grub, I.* 67, n.<sup>c</sup>]
2. S. BAITHENUS, A.D. 597-600. [*Ann. Tigh.* a. 598, Quies Baethin Abbatis Ea anno LXVI. etatis sue. See however *Ann. Ult.*; *Adamn., I.* 2, 23, *II.* 46, *III.* 4; *Ann. Clonm.*; *IV. Mag. in an.* 595; and *Grub, I.* 70, n.<sup>c</sup>]
3. LAISREAN OF LASREN, A.D. 600-605. [*Ann. Tigh.* a. 605, Obitus Lasren Abbas Iea. So also *Ann. Innisf., &c.*]
4. FERGNA or VIRGNOUS, A.D. 605-623, a Briton [see above, vol. I. p. 122], miscalled a Bishop by *IV. Mag. in an.* 622. [*Ann. Tigh.* a. 621, Bass (= mors) Fergna Abbatis Hie. *Ann. Innisf.* and *Ult.* date this in 623.]
5. SEGHINE OF SEIGINE or SEGENIUS, A.D. 623-652. [*Ann. Tigh.* a. 652, Obitus Seghine Abbas Iea, i. filii Fiachna. So also *Ann. Ult.*; and see *Adamn., I.* 3, *II.* 4; and above, p. 108.]
6. SUIBHNE, A.D. 652-657. [*Ann. Tigh.* a. 657, Quies Suibnii mac Cuirthre Abbatis Iea. So also *Ann. Ult.* *Ann. Clonm.* and *IV. Mag.* give another year.]
7. CUIMINE AILBHE or CUMMENIUS ALBUS, A.D. 657-669. [The first biographer of S. Columba: *Ann. Tigh.* a. 669, Obitus Cumaine Ailbe Abbatis Iea. So also *Ann. Ult.*, *Ann. IV. Mag., in an.* 668.]
8. FAILBHE, A.D. 669-679. [See above, p. 109, under A.D. 692. *Ann. Tigh.* a. 679, Quies Failbe Abbatis Iea. So also *Ann. Ult.*, and see *Adamn., I.* 3.]
9. ADAMNANUS or ADOMNANUS, also EDHENNANUS, ENDANANUS, ODANĊDANUS, the Wise, A.D. 679-704. [Also = EUNAN, ONAN, OUNAN, ANNAN, THEWNAN (=St. Eunan), and called (erroneously) the first Bishop of Raphoe (*Reeves*,

[PRIMATE-ABBATS OF HY, A.D. 563-849.]

pp. 256, 257; *Lanigan*, III. 99, 100; *Ann. Tigh.* a. 704, Adamnanus LXVII. anno etatis sue in nonas kalendis Octobris Abbas Ie pausat. So also, but in an. 703, *Ann. Innisf., Ull., IV. Mag.*<sup>d</sup>; see however *Lappenberg, Anglo-Sax. Kings*, I. xxxvi. note, who argues for A.D. 705.]

10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Five (perhaps six) abbats, apparently displacing one another, owing to factions arising from the Easter dispute. [10. DUNCHADH, A.D. 707, principatum Iae tenuit (*Ann. Tigh., Ull.*, see also *Bæd. H. E.*, III. 4; and above, pp. 115, 117), and the same Dunchadh, mac Cindfaeladh, Abbas Ie, obiit A.D. 717 (*ib.*): but 11. CONAIN or CONAMHAIL, became abbat before A.D. 710; according to Dr. Reeves, in A.D. 704; for, A.D. 710, Conmael mac Abbatis Cillidara Iea pausat (*Ann. Tigh.*), and, same year, Conain mac Failbe Abbas Iae pausat (*Ann. Ull.*); also, in A.D. 712, Ceode Episcopus Iea pausat (*Ann. Tigh.*), who may perhaps have been abbat, but probably was only a Bishop residing in the abbey: and 12. DORBENE, A.D. 713, cathedram Jae obtinuit (*Ann. Tigh., Ull.*); and the same Dorbene, according to one entry in *Ann. Tigh.* (repeated by *Ann. Ull.*), V. mensibus peractis in primatu 50 kal. Novembris die Sabbati obiit, and according to another entry in the former annals, died A.D. 715, but the 28th October was a Saturday in A.D. 713, and not in A.D. 715:—however, 13. FAILCHU or FAELCU, A.D. 716, cathedram Columbæ LXXXVII. etatis anno in IIII. kl. Septembris (Vo. kal., *Ann. Ull.*) die Sabbati suscepit (*Ann. Tigh., Ull.*), and Aug. 29, A.D. 716, was a Saturday; and, A.D. 724, the same Faelchu, in both cases styled Mac Doirbeni or Dorbene, dormivit (*Ann. Tigh., Ull.*): and yet, 14. FEIDLIMIDH, A.D. 722, principatum Iae tenet (*Ann. Tigh., Ull.*), and did not die until A.D. 759. It looks as if Dunchadh, A.D. 707-716, and Faelchu, A.D. 716-724, were the abbats of the new or reforming side; and Conain, (perhaps Ceode,) Dorbene, and Feidlimidh, were the nominees of the others. The primacy over the Picts was lost during the incumbency of Faelchu.]

15. KILLENE FODA, or CILLENUS LONGUS, A.D. 724-726. [*Ann. Tigh.* a. 724, Cillenius Longus ei [Faelchu] in principatum Ie successit; and a. 726, Cillenius Longus abbas Ie pausat. So also *Ann. IV. Mag. in an.* 725.]

16. KILLENE DROICTEACH, or the Bridgemaker, A.D. 726-752. [*Ann. Tigh.* a. 752, Mors Cilline Droictigh ancorite Iea. So also *Ann. Ull., IV. Mag. in an.* 747, the latter calling him "Abb. Iae."]

(FAILBHE THE SECOND, A.D. 752-754, is inserted here by *Ann. IV. Mag.* But the earlier *Ann. Innisf.* make the name *Sleibne*, and Dr. Reeves omits him altogether, and puts *Sleibne's* succession A.D. 752.)

17. SLEIBNE or SLEBHINE, A.D. 752-767. [*Ann. Ull.* a. 767, Quies Sleibeni Iae. And see *ib.* a. 754, and *Ann. Tigh.* a. 754, 757, 758.]



[PRIMATE-ABBATS OF HY, A.D. 563-849.]

18. SUIBNE, A.D. 765-772. [*Ann. Ult.* a. 765, Suibne Abbas Iae in Hiberniam venit (where either *Suibne* is a mistake for *Sleibne*, or else the latter resigned in A.D. 765, or perhaps Suibne was elected coadjutor-abbat before his predecessor's death); *ib.* a. 772, Mors Suibne Abbas Iae.]

19. BREASAL MAC REGENI, A.D. 772-801. [*Ann. Ult.* a. 801, Bresal mac Regeni Abbas Iae anno principatus sui 31 dormivit. See also above, p. 117.]

20. CONACHTACH, A.D. 801, 802; "scriba selectissimus et Abbas Iae." See *Ann. IV. Mag.* a. 797.

21. CEALLACH, A.D. 802-814. [*Ann. Ult.* a. 814, Ceallach Abbas Iae finita constructione templi Cenindsa (Kells) reliquit principatum. He died in A.D. 815. See *Ann. Clonmacn., IV. Mag.*]

22. DIARMIT, A.D. 814-831 × 849. [*Ann. Ult.* a. 814, Diarmicius alumpnus Daigri pro eo (Ceallach) ordinatus est. He is mentioned also *ib.* a. 829, 831, and in *IV. Mag.* a. 816; but his death is not recorded, and A.D. 849 Indrecht is abbat. Blaithe's martyrdom happened A.D. 825.]

23. INDRECHT OR INNRECHTACH, (before) A.D. 849-854. [*Ann. Ult.* a. 849, Inrechtach Abbat of Hy goes to Ireland; *Ann. Innisf.* a. 854, he is "martyred" on his way to Rome by the Saxons.]

[Notices of subsequent abbats of Hy, no longer however primates of Scotland, and commonly styled coarbs, and that of other (Irish) abbeys (as Armagh, Kells, Kildare, Raphoe, &c.) in conjunction with Hy, occur regularly until A.D. 1099, and again after an interval of some half a century, down to A.D. 1203, at which date the last entry occurs respecting Hy in the Irish annals: see *Reeves's Adamnan*, pp. 407-413.]

<sup>a</sup> This list is mainly abridged from Dr. Reeves's *Add. Notes to Adamnan*, on the *Chronicles of Hy*, pp. 370 sq.

<sup>b</sup> In addition to the settlements mentioned above on p. 107, there is a list of dedications to S. Columba in Dr. Reeves's *Adamn.*, pp. 289-298, indicating missionary Columbite settlements, but not necessarily (and in some cases certainly not) cotemporary with S. Columba himself. They run completely round the coast (including the islands), from Largs and Bute, west, north, and east, to Forfarshire, and thence inland west to the Lennox. 1. In *Scotia*, where they are most numerous, they extend from Bute and Cantyre, through most of the islands (Islay, Oronsay, Colonsay, Mull, Canna, Tiree, S. Kilda, Skye and the islets on its coast, N. and S. Uist, Benbecula, Bèrnera,

Lewis); and one, Columbkil, on the northern skirts of the mainland Dalriada, at the head of Loch Arkeg: to which may be added Kilmacolm, and Largs in Renfrew, just south of the Clyde, in Strathclyde. Of these, S. Columba himself certainly occupied Skye (which was divided with him subsequently by S. Maelrubha: see *Adamn., V. S. Col. I.* 33, *II.* 26, and *Reeves ad loc.*) and Tiree; and probably most of the islands named. 2. In *Pictland*, beginning with Sanday and Hoy in the Orkneys, they are dotted along the coast at intervals, from a place near Tongue in Sutherland, Dirlet in Caithness, Clyne on the east coast of Sutherland, three or four places in Inverness-shire, Banff, and Nairn, to Loumay (and the abbey of Deer) in the N.E. of Aberdeenshire, three places on the Don, and rather more in Forfar-

[PRIMATE-ABBATS OF HY, A.D. 565-849.]

shire and Perth, including Dunkeld (which however was almost certainly not dedicated to S. Columba until about A.D. 850), and lastly Drymen in the Lennox. Two outlying dedications—Kirkcolm in Wigton, and S. Columba in Caerlaverock at the mouth of the Nith in Dumfries—belong probably to Irish influence there, of 9th or 10th centuries. Other Irish saints of the same period visited Scotland, but without permanently settling there: e.g. S. Finbar of Cork, patron saint of Dornoch; S. Brendan; the two S. Fillans; S. Ronan,

connected with the island of Rona; S. Flannan; (apparently) S. Cainnech; &c. (see *Reeves, Adamn., App. to Pref.* p. lxxiv.).

<sup>c</sup> The *Ann. Tigb.* must be corrected as respects the mention of Whitsunday. The evidence given by Dr. Reeves (as above) fixes the day and year to June 9, A.D. 597, which was not Whitsunday, but Trinity Sunday.

<sup>d</sup> For Adamnan's life and writings, and the churches dedicated to him, see Dr. Reeves's *Pref. to Adamnan's V. S. Columbæ.*

## APPENDIX E.

LIVES EXIST OF THE FOLLOWING SAINTS CONNECTED WITH THE EARLY SCOTTISH (DALRIAD) OR PICTISH CHURCHES, PRIOR TO A.D. 850.

1. *S. Servani* (*Serf*), Episcopi (a Scottish disciple of S. Palladius, according to the Aberdeen Breviary—came from Alexandria according to the legend in Skene, who himself conjectures him to have come with Boniface in the 8th century): one printed by *Skene, Chron.* 412–420, from a MS. of Bishop Marsh at Dublin, V. 3, 4, 16: another legend, in *Brev. Aberd. Pars Æstiv.* July 1, and in *Actt. SS.* July 1, vol. I. p. 57, 58. *S. Irchard* occurs as his cotemporary in the Aberdeen Breviary.

2. *S. Ternani*, confessoris et Episcopi (also a disciple of S. Palladius): in *Brev. Aberd. Pars Æstiv.* June 12. See also the *Liber de Arbuthnot*, pp. lxxii. sq.

3. *S. Boethii* (*Buitte*, or *Buti*, *Mac Bronaig* = *Bule of Monasterboice*, commemorated Dec. 7), Presbyteri (an Irishman who went to Italy, returned thence, and preached among other countries in those of the Picts and of Dalriada, died the year of S. Columba's birth, sc. A.D. 520 *Ann. Tigh.*, A.D. 519 in other Annals): extracts in *Skene, Chron.* 410, 411, from MS. Bodl. Rawl. B. 505.

4. *S. Columbæ*, Presbyteri et Abbatis (of Hy, A.D. 563–597): one, *auct. Cuminio Abb. Hyens.*, A.D. 657 × 669, in *Mabillon, Actt. SS. Ben. Sæc. I.*, I. 342, ed. Venet.; *Actt. SS.* June 9, vol. II. p. 185; *Colgan, II.* 325; *Pinkerton, VV. Antiq. SS. Scot.*, &c.; another, *auct. Adamnano Abb. Hyens.*, A.D. 679 × 704, in *Canisius, Antiq. Lectt.*, I. 678, ed. Basnage; *Messingham, Florileg. Insul. SS. seu VV. et Actt. SS. Hibern.* p. 141; *Surius, June 9, II.* 144, ed. 1617; *Colgan*, 336–372; *Actt. SS.* June 9, vol. II. p. 197; *Pinkerton* as above; and, finally, edited by Dr. Reeves, with notes, &c., *Dubl.* 1857. See also *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 62. Other lives, of later date, with various Appendices, are in *Colgan*, pp. 321, 389–492.

5. *S. Baitheni*, Abbatis (of Hy, A.D. 597–600): in *Actt. SS.* June 9, vol. II. p. 237: see *Hardy's Descr. Catal.*, I. 178.

6. *S. Aidani*, Episcopi (of Lindisfarne, A.D. 635–651, sent thither from Hy): in various forms, founded upon *Bæda*, one printed in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 4, the others in MS. See *Hardy, ib.*, 246, 247.

7. *S. Finani*, Episcopi (of Lindisfarne, A.D. 651-661, also sent from Hy): from the *Brev. Aberd.* and *Bæda*, in *Actt. SS.* Feb. 17, vol. III. p. 21. See also *Colgan, I.* 357; and *Hardy*, as above, 259.

8. *S. Adomnani* or *Adamnani*, Abbatis (of Hy, A.D. 679-704; see above, p. 135): an Irish Life, of which an extract is in *Skene, Chron.* 408, 409, from MS. Brussels No. 5101-4. See also *Actt. SS.* Sept. 23, vol. VI. p. 642; *Mabillon, Actt., SS. Ben. Sæc. III., IV.* 452, ed. Venet.; and *Hardy*, as above, 388.

9. *S. Bonifacii*, Episcopi (preached among the Picts in the time of Nectan about the beginning of the 8th century [see above, p. 116, note a], but his legend, which makes him Pope after Gregory the Great, and also end as Bishop of Rosemarkie, dates his death about the earlier half of the 7th century: probably he was in reality an Irishman, viz. *S. Cuiritin* or *Queretinus* [*Reeves, Culdees*, p. 45]): in *Brev. Aberd. Pars Hyem. Prop. SS.* fol. lxx., printed also in *Skene, Chron.* 421-423. See also *Actt. SS.* March 16, vol. II. p. 449.

10. *S. Blaithmaici*, Martyris et Abbatis (of Hy, but not abbat, probably president or prior under the joint Abbat of Kells and Hy, martyred A.D. 825 by the Danes, *Ann. Ult.*): auct. *Walafrid. Strabon. Abb. Augiensi* (i.e. of the Irish abbey of Reichenau, beginning of 9th century), in hexameter verse; in *Colgan, I.* 128; *Messingham, Florileg., &c.*, pp. 399-402; *Canisius, Lectt. Antiq., II.* ii. 201; *Actt. SS.* Jan. 19, vol. II. p. 236; *Mabillon, Actt. SS. Ben. Sæc. III., IV.* 439; *Pinkerton, Vitæ, &c.* 459; and see *Hardy*, as above, 497.

11. *S. Reguli* (*Rule*), Episcopi (a Greek from Patras, brought S. Andrew's relics to Pictland, where he preached the Gospel; in the 4th century according to his legend, but probably in the 8th century if at all: see above, p. 117; and Joseph Robertson, in *Quarterly Review*, LXXXV. p. 110: Dr. Reeves [*Culdees*, p. 34] identifies him conjecturally with S. Riaghail of Muic-inis in Ireland): *Historia Beati Reguli et Foundationis Eccles. S. Andreae*, from the Reg. of S. Andrew's, in *App. VII.* to *Pinkerton's Enquiry*, pp. 456 sq. Also, *Qualiter Acciderit quod Memoria S. Andreae Apostoli amplius in Regione Pictorum, quæ nunc Scotia dicitur, quam in cæteris Regionibus sit, &c.*, in *Pinkerton, ib., App. XII.* pp. 496 sq., and *Ussher, De Antiq. Brit. Eccl., VI.* 187-190. See also *Actt. SS.* Oct. 17, vol. VIII. pp. 175-180; and *Skene, Chron.* 138, 183, 375.

12. *S. Indrehti*, Martyris et Abbatis (of Hy, A.D. [before] 849-854, went to Ireland with S. Columba's relics A.D. 849 [*Ann. Ult.*], martyred by Saxons on his way to Rome A.D. 854 [*Ann. Innisf.*]): legend written by W. Malm., still in MS., abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 188; and *Actt. SS.* Feb. 5, vol. I. p. 689; which misdates the martyrdom as in the time of

## [LIVES OF SCOTTISH SAINTS.]

Ina of Wessex and therefore about A.D. 689, and locates it near Glastonbury, and makes Indrecht merely the son of an Irish King, and also to have been returning from Rome, but which probably is meant to refer to the Abbat of Hy. See also *Hardy*, as above, 338.

To these are to be added the legends in the *Brev. Aberdon.*, as e.g. of S. Baldred of East Lothian (7th century), S. Cainnech (*Albanice* Kenneth, who belongs rather to Ireland), S. Constantine (of Cornwall; see above in vol. I. pp. 120, 157), S. Drostan (*Actt. SS.* July 11, vol. III. pp. 198-200), S. Fergus, S. Kessog, S. Modanus (*Actt. SS.* Feb. 4, vol. I. p. 498), S. Molocus or Molonacus (Moluoc, or Lughaidh, of Lismore in Argyll, *ob.* A.D. 592), &c. A full list of Scottish Saints will be found in Bishop Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*. The great majority of those whose names occur in connection with Scotland, belong rather to Ireland, both by their birth and by their principal labours.



## PERIOD THE THIRD.

FROM THE PRIMACY OF DUNKELD, A.D. 849-906(?), AND THAT OF S. ANDREW'S FROM THE LATTER YEAR TO THE CONSECRATION OF TURGOT TO S. ANDREW'S, A.D. 1109.

A.D. 849-1109.

[A.D. 849-(about) A.D. 906. Primacy at Dunkeld instead of Hy during the first four reigns (Kenneth Mac Alpin to Aodh) after the union of Dalriada to Pictavia.

A.D. 878 x 896. King Cyric's (or Grig's) gift of "liberty to the Scottish Church."

c. A.D. 888. Norwegian Kingdom of Orkney and the Isles.

A.D. 906. Council of Scone. Primacy transferred to S. Andrew's about this time.

A.D. 908. Strathclyde united politically but not ecclesiastically to the kingdom of Alban.

A.D. 954 x 962. Edinburgh to the Pentland Hills becomes subject to Indulf King of Alban (*Skene, Chron.* 10), and therefore to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Alban or "of the Scots" (afterwards called of S. Andrew's).

c. A.D. 1000. The Orkneys converted to Christianity.

A.D. 1018. Laodonia ceded to Malcolm II. King of Scotia (*Sim. Dun., Hist. Dun., III.* 6, 5; *De Obsess. Dun., Tuysd.* 81; *De R. G. R. Angl. in an.* 1018), and transferred accordingly, ecclesiastically, from the see of Durham to the Scottish Bishop<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 1050. Pilgrimage of Macbeth King of Scotland to Rome.

A.D. 1063. Foundation of Morthlach as an Episcopal monastery (afterwards the see of Aberdeen).

A.D. 1070 x 1093. Fothadh, chief Bishop of Alban, said to have professed subjection to York.

A.D. 1070 x 1089. Reforms of Queen Margaret.

A.D. 1097. Hy as well as the Isles subject to Norway, and therefore under the Bishop of Man, and subject to the Norwegian Church, from this year until A.D. 1156.

A.D. 1109. Consecration of Turgot at York to the see of S. Andrew's.]

<sup>a</sup> According to Wallingford (p. 544) and Roger of Wendover (*I.* 416), Kenneth II., by gift of Eadgar and therefore A.D. 971 x 975, acquired at least part of Laodonia. And in that case, Malcolm II. either pushed on the boundary so as to include Teviotdale and the Merse (so Palgrave), or recovered the whole district after an intermediate loss of it (so

Freeman). In either case, the ecclesiastica jurisdiction of S. Andrew's did not at any time include Teviotdale, which remained subject to Durham until about A.D. 1100, and was then seized by Glasgow (see above, pp. 12, 15). See the whole (political) case stated at length in *Freeman, Norman Conquest, I.* 575 sq.

A.D. 854. *Martyrdom (so called) of Indrecht Abbat of Hy.*

ANN. INNISF., *in an.* 854. Indrechtai g hua [grandson] Finechta, Abbas Iae, hi mardochoid oc dul do Roim Saxanu [martyred on his journey to Rome by the Saxons].—ANN. ULT., *in an.* 854. Heres

[PRIMATES AT DUNKELD.]

Columbe Cille sapiens optimus 4 Id. Marcii apud Saxones martirizatur<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See also *O'Donovan, Annals of Ireland*, and above, p. 139. One Diarmaid was killed *Three Fragments, &c.*, p. 127, *Dubl.* 1860; with him (*O'Donovan, ib.*).

A.D. 860 × 863. *Council (so called<sup>a</sup>) of Forteviot under Donald King of Pictavia<sup>b</sup>.*

CHRON. PICT.—Dunevaldus frater ejus [sc. Kinadii] tenuit idem regnum [sc. Pictaviam] IIII. annis. In hujus tempore jura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdach fecerunt Goedeli cum Rege suo in Fothiurtha-baichth. [*Skene, Chron.* 8.]

<sup>a</sup> It is in Innes's list, but as hardly ecclesiastical in its subject-matter. Robertson (*Early Scotl.*, I. 41 n.) explains it as recognizing "the claims of Aodh Fin's descendants, the Mac Alpin family, to *Cain* and *Cuairt*" (dues so called) "over the provinces of the Picts;" which the annalists would have called the "Lex Aodh Fin."

<sup>b</sup> Kenneth Mac Alpin and his immediate successors are still called Kings of *Pictavia*, although their kingdom included Dalriada and the Dalriad Scots also. From Donald son of Constantine, A.D. 880, the title became King of *Albania*. That of King of *Scotia* begins with Malcolm II., A.D. 1003-1033. So *Skene, Chron.*, *Pref.*

A.D. 865, 873. *Primates, Abbats of Dunkeld, and Bishops<sup>a</sup>.*

ANN. ULT., *in an.* 865. Ceallach mac Aillello Abbas Cilledara et Abbas Ia dormivit in regione Pictorum . . . Tuathal mac Artguso primus Episcopus Fortrenn et Abbas Duincaillenn dormivit.—*IB.*, *in an.* 873. Flaithbertach mac Murcertaigh Princeps Duincaillden obiit.

<sup>a</sup> It appears by these extracts that the Abbat of Kildare (not a Columbite monastery) had held also the abbacy of Hy; and that the chief Bishop, styled Bishop of Fortrenn, was also Abbat of Dunkeld, and had nothing to do

with Hy. If, however, Tuathal was a Bishop, it looks uncertain whether Flaithbertach was so; "princeps" being ambiguous between Abbat and Bishop.

A.D. 878. *Northmen at Hy.*

ANN. ULT., *in an.* 878.—Scrin Coluimcille et aminna olchena du thiachtain do cum n—Erenn for teicheadh ria Gallaibh [the shrine of Columcille and all his reliquaries were brought to Erin in refuge from the Galls].

A.D. 878 × 896. *King Cyric's (or Grig's) gift of "liberty to the Scottish Church<sup>a</sup>."*

CHRON. PICT.—Grig Mac Dungal XII. annis regnavit, et mortuus est in Dundurn<sup>b</sup>, et sepultus est in Iona insula. Hic . . . primus dedit libertatem Ecclesie Scoticane, que sub servitute erat usque

[COUNCIL OF SCONE.]

ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum. [*Skene, Chron.* 151; also, from *Reg. S. Andr.*, *ib.* 174, and in *Innes, Critical Essay*, 801, 802.]

<sup>a</sup> Various explanations have been suggested of this enigmatic "gift" of King Cyric. Joseph Robertson (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, *Pref.* xix., and so also Mr. Stuart, *Pref. to Book of Deer*, pp. xcii-c) endorses a supposition of Mr. Skene's, that it means freedom from lay services, comparing the letter of Boniface to Cuthbert A.D. 745, the well-known but obscure gifts of Ethelwulf A.D. 854, the laws of the Northumbrian priests c. A.D. 950, the charters in the Book of Deer, &c. Mr. Skene, in the *Pref.* to his *Chronicles*, interprets it (less probably) of a restoration of influence to the Scottish or Columbite clergy; quoting an earlier Pictish Chronicle (*ib.* 8) to the effect that the Picts were "destroyed" by Kenneth Mac Alpin, "quia illi non solum Domini missam ac præceptum spreverunt, sed et in jure equitatis aliis equiparari noluerunt;" and adding the legend of S. Adrian or Odran, founder of the abbey of May, who came with a band of clergy to Fifeshire, as probably referring to some such revolution. The 13th-century *Chron. of Picts and Scots* (*Skene*, 204), also specifies the "servitude" to be "dez lays as usages de Picts." Robertson's *Early Scotl.*, following Pinkerton and Chalmers, connects the matter with the transfer of the primacy from Dunkeld to S. Andrew's;

which certainly took place about this period, but probably either in, or just prior to, A.D. 906, and which is connected with the parallel transfer of the civil capital from Forteviot to Scone.

That there was a council on the subject, and that it was held at Forfar, rests solely upon Boethius (*X.* p. 209); who gives also a series of privileges granted by it to the clergy, beginning with an exemption of all "sacerdotes a tributo et regis (ut dicunt) exactionibus, militiaque," also from the jurisdiction of the civil law courts, with a jurisdiction of their own in causes of faith, marriage, wills, &c., and ending with imposing an oath upon every King of Scotland at his coronation, to protect the liberties, &c. of the Church: all of which appears to have no better foundation than the one obscure sentence in the Chronicle.

<sup>b</sup> Formerly identified with Durrisdeer or Dunadeer in the Garioch, alleged to have been the capital city of the Picts in that district, viz. of the northern Picts (*Chalmers, Caledonia*, *III.* 7, p. 383, note I), but the *Prophecy of Berchan* (in *Skene, Chron.* 98) seems to prove (as Mr. Skene says) that it was really Dundurn (Dun d'Earn) on Loch Earn near S. Fillan's (*Skene, Pref.* cxxvi. n.).

A.D. 906<sup>a</sup>. *Council of Scone<sup>b</sup>, under Constantine son of Aodb, King, and Cellach, Bishop, of Alban<sup>c</sup>.*

CHRON. PICT.—In VI. anno Constantinus Rex [filius Edii] et Cellachus Episcopus leges disciplinasque fidei atque jura ecclesiarum et ewangeliorumque<sup>d</sup> pariter cum Scottis in Colle credulitatis prope regali civitati Scoan devoverunt custodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen, id est, Collis credulitatis. [*Skene, Chron.* 8; *W.*, *I.* 204.]

<sup>a</sup> The date depends on that of the beginning of Constantine's reign; and Donald his predecessor died A.D. 900 (*Ann. Ult.*): On the other hand, the oldest *Pict. Chron.* makes him resign the throne ten years before his death (*Skene, Chron.* 10—he died in the tenth year of his successor's reign), the later Chronicles however reducing this to five: and the *Chron. of Scots and Picts* (13th century), and indeed all the Pictish Chronicles, give forty years as the length of his reign, while the *Ann. Ult.* themselves date his death A.D. 952, thus

making his reign begin A.D. 903, and the council of Scone date A.D. 909. It does not seem, however, that there was any interval between Donald's death and Constantine's accession. And the date from the Irish annals is probably the more trustworthy. The forty years is probably a round number only.

<sup>b</sup> "Oppidum Fother occisum est a gentibus," in the reign of Donald, i. e. before A.D. 900: and in the third year of Constantine, i. e. A.D. 903, "Normanni prædaverunt Dundalden" (*Chron.* in *Skene*, 9). As the result

[S. COLUMBA STILL THE PATRON SAINT OF ALBAN.]

probably of these two facts, the civil capital, which had been at Forteviot, is now found to be at Scone; and Cellach, who was Bishop in the time of Cyric (*Fordun* and *Wynloun*), is found in connection with (not Dunkeld, but) S. Andrew's.

<sup>c</sup> For Cellach's designation, see below under A.D. 963, 1055.

<sup>d</sup> Boethius (X. p. 205) expands this into strict laws enforcing performance of their spiritual duties upon the clergy, under penalty of fine or degradation.

A.D. 909 [?]. *S. Columba still the Patron Saint of Alban.*

IRISH ANNALS, *fragments, in an.* 909.—As beg nach is na laithibhsi ro cuirsed Foirtrennaigh ⁊ Lochlonnaigh<sup>a</sup> cath. As cruaidh imurro ro cuirsiot fir Alban an cath so, uair baoi Columcille ag congnamh leo, uair ro ghuidhsoid go diochra e, uair ba he a n-apostol e ⁊ as trid ro ghabhsad creidemh. Uair fecht oile anuair ro baoi Imar Conung na giolla og ⁊ tainig d-inredh Alban, tri catha mora a lion, asedh da ronsad fir Alban eidir laoch ⁊ cleirech bheith go maidin i n-aoine ⁊ a n-iornaidhe ra Dia ⁊ ra Colamcille ⁊ eighme mora do denamh ris in Choimdhedh, ⁊ almsana iomhda bidh ⁊ edaig do thabhairt dona h-egalsaibh ⁊ do na bochtaibh ⁊ corp an Choimdhedh do chaithem allamhuibh a sagart ⁊ geallaidh gach maithiusa do ghenamh amail as ferr no ioralfaidis a celeirigh forra ⁊ comadh eadh ba meirge dhoibh i gcenn gach catha, bachall Colaimcille, gonadh aire sin adberas Cathbhuaidh fria o sin alle; ⁊ ba hainm coir, uair is minic rugsad-somh buaidh a ccathaibh le; amhail do ronsat iaram an tan sin dola a muinighin Colaimcille.

Almost at the same time, the men of Fortrenn and the Lochlann<sup>a</sup> fought a battle. Vigorously, indeed, did the men of Alban fight this battle, for Columcille was assisting them, for they prayed to him fervently, because he was their apostle, and it was through him they had received the faith. On a former occasion, when Imhar Conung<sup>b</sup> was a young man, he came to plunder Alban with three large battalions. What the men of Alban, both laity and clergy, did, was to remain until morning fasting and praying to God and to Columcille, and they cried aloud to the Lord, and gave many alms of food and clothes to the churches and to the poor, and to take the body of the Lord from the hands of the priests, and to promise to do every good as their clergy would order them; and they would have as their standard at the head of every battle the crozier of Columcille, for which reason it is called the *Cathbhuaidh*<sup>c</sup> from that time forth; and this was a befitting name for it, for they have often gained victory in battles by means of it, as they

## [COARBS OF COLUMCILLE.]

Do ronsaid an modh cedna an tan sa. Ra cuiriódh iaramh an cathsa go cruaidh feochair; rugsad na h-Albanaigh buaidh ⁊ cosgar; ro marbhaid imurro na Lochlonnaigh go h-iomdha ar maidhm forra ⁊ marbthar a righ ann. i. Oittir mac Iarnгна. As cian iarttain na ro saighsiod Danair na Lochlonnaigh orra, acht ro bui sidh ⁊ comshanadh doibh. [*Skene, Chron.* 405-407; *O'Donovan, Annals of Ireland, Fragm.*, pp. 229-231, *Dubl.* 1860; and *Reeves, Add. Notes to Adamn.* pp. 332-334; from *Fragments of Irish Annals, transcribed by Mac-Firbis from the Book of Gillananaemb Mac-Egan, MS. Brussels* 5301, date unknown.]

did afterwards at that time when they put their trust in Columcille. They acted in the same way on this occasion. This battle was afterwards fought fiercely and vigorously. The Albanich gained victory and triumph. The Lochlanns were slain in great numbers and defeated, and their King was slain, viz. Ottir, son of Iargna; and it was long after this until either Danes or Lochlanns attacked them, but they enjoyed peace and tranquillity. [*Skene, Chron.* 405-407.]

<sup>a</sup> Lochlanns = Norwegians. The story looks like a confused tradition of the battle of Corbridge-on-Tyne, A.D. 918, where the Jarl Ottir was one of the Northmen leaders. See

*Ann. Ult. in an.* 918.

<sup>b</sup> i. e. Ivor the King, slain by the men of Fortrenn A.D. 904 (*Ann. Ult.*).

<sup>c</sup> i. e. Battle-victory.

A.D. 927, 938. ANN. ULT., *in an.* 927. Maelbrighde mac Tornain, Comharba<sup>a</sup> Patricii et Columbæ-cille, felici senectute quievit (see also *O'Donovan*, as above, p. 242; and *Ann. IV. Mag., in an.* 908).—*IB.*, *in an.* 938. Dubtach Comharba<sup>a</sup> Coluimcille ⁊ Adomnani in pace quievit.—ANN. IV. MAG., *in an.* 935 [937]. Aongas mac Muircertaig, saoi, angoire, ⁊ tanaisi abbaid Iae, décc [Angus mac Muircheartach, a learned man, anchorite, and tanist abbat of Ia, died].

<sup>a</sup> These are the earliest entries of abbats of Hy as *coarbs* of Columba; and this in conjunction with other abbeys, as Armagh, and Raphoe. The usage is thenceforth

common. Maelbrighde was apparently the scribe of the Lambeth Gospels: see above in vol. I. p. 190, note.

A.D. 929. ANN. ULT., *in an.*—Caencomhrac mac Maeluidhir, abbas et Episcopus de Daire-Calgaigh [Derry], et procurator Legis Adamnani<sup>a</sup>, obiit. [and *IV. Mag., in an.* 927.]

<sup>a</sup> i. e. *Maor Cana Adbannain* = receiver of the dues payable to a portion of the Columbite

order: he was a monastic Bishop, not diocesan (*Reeves*).



[KELEDEI OF S. ANDREW'S AND OF LOCHLEVEN.]

A.D. 943. *Constantine, son of Aodh, King of Alban, becomes Abbat of the Keledei of S. Andrew's.*

CHRON. PICT.—[Constantinus] in senectute decrepitis baculum cepit et Domino servivit: et regnum mandavit Mael filio Domnail. [*Skene, Chron. 9.*]

CHRON. OF SCOTS AND PICTS.—Constantine mak Edha XL. annis regnavit et dimisso regno sponte Deo in habitu religionis abbas factus est in Keldeorum Sancte Andree, quinque annis<sup>a</sup> servivit ibi et mortuus est et sepultus. [*Id., ib. 151*; and similarly in later Chronicles, *ib. 174, 178, 205, 288, 301, 305.*]

ANN. ULTON., *in an.* 952.—Custantin mac Aeda Ri Albain moritur.

<sup>a</sup> So this, which is a 13th century Chronicle, and similarly all the later Chronicles: but the oldest Pictish Chron. (*Skene, 10*) makes Constantine die "in X. ejus [Malcolmi] anno sub

corona penitenti in senectute bona." He was buried at S. Andrew's instead of Hy, contrary to custom (*Chron. Pict.*).

Before A.D. 955. *The Keledei of Lochleven make over the island (theirs since A.D. 842) to the Bishop of S. Andrew's.*

REGIST. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—Brude filius Dergard, qui ultimus Regum Pictorum secundum antiquas tradiciones fuisse recolitur<sup>a</sup>, contulit insulam Lochleuine Deo omnipotenti et Sancto Servano et Keledeis heremitis ibidem commorantibus et Deo servientibus et servituris in illa insula. Et prefati Keledei dederunt locum cellule Episcopo Sancti Andree sub tali forma: quod Episcopus exhiberet eis victum et uestitum. Et ne ignoretur quis contulit Episcopo locum ibi, Ronanus monachus et abbas, vir admirande sanctitatis, primo concessit precario<sup>b</sup> locum ibi Episcopo, scilicet Fothath filio Bren<sup>c</sup>, qui nunc et tunc per totam Scociam fuit celebris et satis commendabilis uite. Prefatus Episcopus dedit benediccionem suam plenarie omnibus hiis qui observarent conuencionem istam et amicitiam initam inter Episcopum et Keledeos, et uersa vice dedit malediccionem suam omnibus Episcopis qui infirmarent et reuocarent prefatam conuencionem. [p. 113.]

<sup>a</sup> i. e. Brude VII., called by Fordun "Brude filius Feredech," who reigned one year, sc. A.D. 842, being Kenneth Mac Alpin's immediate predecessor. See *Reeves, Culdees*, p. 125.

<sup>b</sup> A "precaria" or "precarium" was a mode of quasi-alienation of Church (among

other) property, by one form of which the ownership was alienated (commonly with a view to protection at the hands of the alienee), the alienor retaining the usufruct, in whole or in part: see *Du Cange*, sub v. *Precaria*.

<sup>c</sup> See the next article for the date of this gift.

A.D. 963. ANN. IV. MAG., *in an.*—Fothadh<sup>a</sup> mac Brain scriba et Episcopus Insularum Albæ.

<sup>a</sup> Fothadh, "primus Episcopus Scottorum," and successor to Cellach, was expelled by King Indulf, and died eight years afterwards, according to the *Suppl. to Fordun*. He was expelled therefore about the date of Indulf's accession, A.D. 955. According to the Legend of S. Andrew (c. A.D. 1279), inserted in the *Reg. S. Andr.* (*Skene, Chron.* 190, 191), Robert (A.D. 1122) "in Episcopum Scottorum electus fuit: sic quippe, ab antiquo, Episcopi Sancti Andreæ dicti sunt, et in scriptis tam antiquis quam modernis inveniuntur dicti *Summi Archiepiscopi* sive *Summi Episcopi Scottorum* . . . Sic et nunc quoque in vulgari et communi locutione *Escop Alban*, id est, *Episcopi Albanæ*, appellantur. Sic et dicti sunt, et dicuntur per excellentiam ab universis Scottorum Episcopis, qui a locis quibus præsumt appellantur." The title in *Ann. Tigb.* and *IV. Mag.* a. 1055 is "*Epscob Alban*;" in *Ann. Ulst.* a. 1093 (of Fothadh), "*Ardepscob Alban*." And the natural translation of this, from the end of the 10th century, would be "Episcopus Scottorum." Fothadh, accordingly, is called "in Scotis summus Episcopus,"

in the inscription upon the silver cover of his Gospels (*Skene, Chron.* 190). And the title lasted into the 12th century. Simeon Dunelm. in one passage so calls Turgot (in *Twysd.* 237), A.D. 1109. So does also Turgot's own Profession (in *Stubbs*, ap. *Twysd.* 1713), if it can be trusted. The letter of Nicolas to Eadmer speaks of the "præsul S. Andreæ," at the same period, as called "summus pontifex Scotiæ." Robert, Bishop A.D. 1122 (*Reg. of S. Andr.* in *Skene*, 190), Ernald, Bishop A.D. 1158 or 1160 (*Reg. Prior. S. Andr.* 126, 128), and Richard, Bishop A.D. 1163 (*ib.* 12), are still styled, or style themselves, "Episcopus Scottorum." But on the other hand the title of Bishop of S. Andrew's is given to Turgot, not only by Simeon Dunelm. repeatedly, but by King Alexander (*Eadmer, Hist. Nov.*, V.); and to Eadmer by Archbishop Anselm (*ib.* IV.); and Bishops Robert and Ernald so call themselves (*Reg. P. S. A.* 124, 128); and naturally, after the complete establishment of the other local Bishoprics, it became the proper title, from the 12th century onwards. The *Archbishopric* dates from Aug. 17, A.D. 1472.

A.D. 965. *A lay (Keledean) Abbat at Dunkeld.*

ANN. ULT., *in an.*—Cath ettir fhiru Alban imoneitir ubi multi occisi sunt im Douchadh .i. Ab. Duincaillenn [Battle between the men of Alban among themselves, when many were slain about Duncan Abbat of Dunkeld].

A.D. 966–1011. ANN. IV. MAG., *in an.* 964. Finghin angcoire 7 Epscob Ia, deicc [Finghin anchorite and Bishop of Hy died].—ANN. ULT., *in an.* 978. Fiachra Aircinneach<sup>a</sup> Ia quievit.—*IB.*, *in an.* 980. Mugron Comharba Coluimcille<sup>b</sup> ittir Erenn 7 Albain [in Erin and Alba] vitam felicem finivit.—*IB.*, *in an.* 986. I Columcille do arcain do Danaraibh aidhci n-otlac coromarbhsat in Apaiddh 7 XV viros do Sruithibh na Cille [Hy of Columbkille plundered by the Danes on the night of the Nativity, and the Abbat and XV men of the learned of the Church slain].—ANN. IV. MAG., *in an.* 985 [986]. Maolciarain Ua Maighre, comharba Colaim Chille<sup>c</sup>, du dhul i ndergmhartra las na Danaraibh i n-Ath Cliath<sup>d</sup> [Maelciarain Ua Maighre, coarb of Columbkille, was cruelly murdered by the Danes of

[CHANGES AT HY.]

Atheliath<sup>d</sup>].—ANN. ULT., *in an.* 989. Dunchadh hua Robacan comhorba Columcille mortuus est. Dubdalethe comharba Patrâicc do gabhail comharbain Columcille a Comhairle fer n-Erenn ⁊ Albain [takes the corbeship of Columcille by the advice of the men of Erin and Alba].—IB., *in an.* 1007. Muredach mac Cricain do deirgin comarbus Columcille ar Dia-Ferdomnach i comorbus Columcille con a comairle fer n-Erenn isin aenach sin [Muredach son of Crecan resigns the corbeship of Columcille for the service of God. Ferdomnach elected to the corbeship of Columcille by the advice of the men of Erin at that fair, viz. of Taitan (so *IV. Mag.*)]—IB., *in an.* 1011. Muredach hua Crican comorba Columcilla ⁊ fer leighinne Ardmacha in Christo dormivit.

<sup>a</sup> The only mention of a Herenach of Hy (Reeves), i. e. of a lay warden of the Church lands, and commonly by this time hereditarily so. The *IV. Mag.* call him "Abbat."

<sup>b</sup> The *IV. Mag.* call him "Abbat, scribe, and Bishop, the most learned of the three divisions" (sc. Ireland, Man, and Alba).

<sup>c</sup> The *Ann. Innisf.* call him "Bishop of Hy."

<sup>d</sup> Dublin.

<sup>e</sup> i. e. Lector. The *IV. Mag.* call him "coarb of Columcille and Adamnan, a learned man, and Bishop, and Virgin, lector [ferleig-hind] of Armagh, and intended coarb of Patrick;" and add the day of his death, and that "he was buried with great honour and veneration in the great church of Armagh before the altar."

A.D. 967 × 971. CHRON. PICT.—Leot et Sluagadach exierunt ad Romam. [*Skene*, 10: in the reign of Culen.]

A.D. 970<sup>a</sup>. CHRON. PICT.—Maelbrigde Episcopus pausavit: Cellach filius Ferdalag regnavit. [*Skene*, 10.]

<sup>a</sup> The date is reckoned from Fordun and Wyntoun. Cellach is alleged (but only by

Fordun) to have been the first Scottish Bishop, "qui adivit Romam pro confirmatione."

A.D. 971 × 995. *Foundation of Brechin<sup>a</sup> by Kenneth son of Malcolm.*

CHRON. PICT.—Hic [Cinadius=Kenneth II.] est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino. [*Skene, Chron.* 10.]

<sup>a</sup> In King David's time certainly, and probably from its foundation, Keledean. See below in Appendix B. Dr. Petrie (*Eccles.*

*Archit. of Ireland*, p. 410) dates the well-known round tower, not at this date, but in A.D. 1020.

A.D. 977. *A Scottish Bishop named Beornhelm<sup>a</sup> on the side of the Secular Clergy at the Council of Calne.*

EADMER, *V. S. Dunstan*.—Illis autem huic vitæ subtractis, filii eorum, cupientes recuperare quæ perdiderant in parentibus suis<sup>b</sup>,

[FIRST NORTHMAN CHRISTIAN CHIEF.]

Scotiam miserunt, et inde quemdam prægrandis ut fama ferebat eloquentiæ virum, Bernelmum nomine, magno conductum pretio in tuitionem suæ causæ contra Dunstanum adduxerunt. Conglobati ergo sub uno clericorum filii Regem<sup>c</sup> atque Dunstanum apud villam quæ dicitur Kalne in quodam cœnaculo consistentes reperiunt, et armati rhetore illo qui suæ victoriæ spes maxima erat, antiquæ calumniæ coram eis jurgia promunt. [*Angl. S., II. 220.*]—So also, before Eadmer, OSBERN., *V. S. Dunstan.* [*ib. 112.*]

<sup>a</sup> Possibly an Irishman, but the Saxon name takes us rather to southern Scotland. Keledean sympathies with secular canons may perhaps have had something to do with the question (so *Grub, I. 231*).

<sup>b</sup> Sc. the "Clerici" of Winchester at the council of Winchester, A.D. 975. But it was

hardly the "filii," after a lapse of only two years. The commonly received history, however, of Dunstan's proceedings against the secular clerks, rests in its details upon very questionable evidence.

<sup>c</sup> Edgar.

A.D. 980. ANN. IV. MAG., *in an.* 979.—Amhlaoibh mac Siotriocca aird tigherna Gall Atha Cliath<sup>a</sup>, do dol co Hi dia oilithre ⁊ a eicc innte iar pennaind ⁊ deighbheithaidhe [Amhlaeibh son of Sitric, chief lord of the foreigners of Athcliath, went to Hy on his pilgrimage; and he died there, after penance and a good life.]

<sup>a</sup> This is the first evidence in the Irish annals to a Danish chief (as here, of Dublin) being a Christian (*O'Donovan ad loc.*).

A.D. 1003 × 1033. *Grant of Malcolm II. to the Monastery of Deer*<sup>a</sup>.

BOOK OF DEER.—Malcoloum mac Cinathá dorat cúit ríig íbbidbín acus inpett meic gobroíig acus dá dabég<sup>b</sup> uactáir rósábard [Maelcoluim son of Kenneth gave (the) King's share in Bidbin and in Pett meic gobroig, and two davochs<sup>b</sup> of upper Rosabard<sup>c</sup>]. [p. 93, ed. Stuart.]

<sup>a</sup> See *Stuart's Book of Deer, Pref. li.*

<sup>b</sup> A davoch = 416 Scottish acres or four ploughlands.

<sup>c</sup> Memoranda follow in the same place of two (among many) grants to the same abbey: one by Malcolm son of Malbride, Mormaer of Moray (ob. A.D. 1029), the other by

Malsnechte (ob. A.D. 1085), son of Lulach (ob. A.D. 1058), which Lulach was son of Gruoch, who married Macbeth for a second husband, and brought to him also (apparently) the mormaerdom of Moray. Consequently Moray must have reached east of the Spey at this period.

A.D. 1018. CHRON. OF THE SCOTS.—Ipse [Malcolm II.] etiam multas oblationes tam ecclesiis quam clero ea die<sup>a</sup> distribuit. [*Skene, 131.*]

<sup>a</sup> Sc. the day of the battle of Carham; as a result of which Malcolm acquired the Lothians. The council of Perth (reckoned as a Scottish council by Innes) and the laws of Malcolm Mac Kenneth, found in Boethius, are spurious.

For the foundation of the see of Morthlach, wrongly (as it should seem) attributed to Malcolm II., see below under Malcolm III., A.D. 1063.

A.D. 1026. ANN. IV. MAG., *in an.*—Maolruanaidh Ua Maol-doraidh, tigherna Ceniuil Conaill, do dhol tar muir dia oilitre [Mael-ruanaidh o'Maeldoraidh, lord of Cinel Conaill, went over the sea on his pilgrimage, sc. to Hy].

A.D. 1028 × 1055. REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—Maldunus Episcopus Sancti Andree contulit ecclesiam de Marchinke [Markinch, near Lochleven] cum tota terra honorifice et devote Deo et Sancto Servano, et Keledeis de insula Louchleven, cum prefata libertate. [p. 116.]

A.D. 1034. ANN. ULT., *in an.*—Mac Nia hua Uchtan fer leighinn Cennanusa do bathadh ac tiachtain a h-Albain ⁊ culebadh<sup>a</sup> Coluimcille ⁊ tri minna do mhinnaib Patraic ⁊ tricha fer impu [Macnia o'Uchtan, ferlegin or lector of Kells, drowned when coming from Alban, and the culebadh<sup>a</sup> of Columcille, and three of the reliquaries of Patrick, and thirty men with him].

<sup>a</sup> i. e. the *colobium* or tunic. See a full account of it in the *Add. Notes to Reeves's Adamnan*, pp. 321-323.

A.D. 1039 × 1054. *Grant by King Macbeth to the Keledei of Lochleven<sup>a</sup>.*

REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR. *Qualiter Machbet filius Finlach et Gruoch dederunt Sancto Servano Kyrkenes.*—Machbet filius Finlach contulit pro suffragiis orationum, et Gruoch filia Bodhe, Rex et Regina Scotorum, Kyrkenes Deo omnipotenti et Keledeis prefate insule Lochleuine, cum suis finibus et terminis. Hii enim sunt fines et termini de Kyrkenes et villule que dicitur Pethmokanne : de loco Moneloccodhan usque ad amnem qui dicitur Leuine, et hoc in latitudine. Item a publica strata que ducit apud Hinhirkethy, usque ad Saxum Hibernensium, et hoc in longitudine. Et dicitur Saxum Hibernensium, quia Malcolmus Rex filius Duncani concessit eis salinagium quod Scotice dicitur Chonnane. Et uenerunt Hibernienses ad Kyrkenes ad domum cuiusdam uiri nomine Mochan, qui tunc fuit absens, et solummodo mulieres erant in domo, quas oppresserunt uiolenter Hibernienses, non tamen sine rubore et uerecundia. Rei etiam euentu ad aures prefati Mochan peruento, iter quam tocius domi festinauit, et inuenit ibi Hibernienses in eadem domo cum matre sua. Exhortacione



[MACBETH'S PILGRIMAGE TO ROME.]

etenim matri sue sepius facta, ut extra domum ueniret, que nullatenus uoluit, set Hibernienses uoluit protegere, et eis pacem dare. Quos omnes prefatus uir, in ulcionem tanti facinoris, ut oppressores mulierum et barbaros et sacrilegos, in medio flamme ignis una cum matre sua uiriliter combussit. Et ex hac causa dicitur locus ille Saxum Hiberniensium. [p. 114.]

IB. *De libertate Kyrkenes collata a Rege Macbet filio Finlach et a Gruohc Regina.*—Cum omni libertate collata fuit villa de Kyrkenes Deo omnipotenti et Keledeis, absque omni munere et onere et exaccione Regis et filii Regis, vicecomitis et alicuius, et sine refecione pontis, et sine exercitu et uenacione, set pietatis intuitu et orationum suffragiis fuit Deo omnipotenti collata. [ib.]

<sup>a</sup> These records are the next in date after A.D. 955, which mention *Keledei* in Scotland. They are not charters, but (as usual) minutes of past grants, drawn up long after date: as is plain in the case of the first by the strange story inserted in it, which dates at some time subsequent to Malcolm Canmore, son of Duncan, King A.D. 1056–1093. Kirkness is a little

south of Lochleven. And Pethmokanne, it is to be supposed, is Portmoak, close by.

Another grant by Macbeth, of the “Villa de Bolgyne, heremitis de Lochleuin,” almost in identical terms with the second of those given above, is in the same Register of S. Andrew’s, p. 12.

#### A.D. 1045. *Lay (Keledean) Abbat of Dunkeld.*

ANN. TIGH., *in an.*—Cath etir Albancho araenrian cur marbadh andsin Crinan Ab. Duincalland ⁊ sochaighe maille fris .i. nae XX. laech [Battle between the Albanich on both sides, in which Crinan Abbat of Dunkeld was slain there, and many with him, viz. nine times twenty heroes].

A.D. 1050. MARIAN. SCOTUS [A.D. 1078], *in an.*—Rex Scotiæ Macbethad<sup>a</sup> Romæ argentum pauperibus seminando distribuit.

<sup>a</sup> The laws assigned to Macbeth in *Boethius*, XII. 250, and of which the ecclesiastical portion is partially printed in *Spelman*, I. 571, and *Wilkins*, I. 310, are almost certainly spurious. They are as follows:—

1. Christo initium ad prophandum iudicem non vocato, uocatum comparentemve non iudicato, sed ad sacros antistites remittito.

2. Decimam partem terræ nascentium pastoribus Ecclesiarum libere conferto, Deumque semper votis et oblationibus consuetis adorato.

3. Qui pontificis auctoritatem annum totum execratus contempserit, neque se interim reconciliari, hostis reipublicæ habetur; qui

vero duos annos in ea contumacia perseueraverit, fortunis omnibus multator.

\* \* \* \* \*

7. Nullus in prophanis rebus rei alicujus iudicium sibi dicendum, quem non Regia majestas constituerit, sumito: Regisque solius nomine ius omne administrator, conventus indicuntur, conciliaque convocantur.

\* \* \* \* \*

10. Si quis quempiam, cujus ipse sumptibus aut victu non alitur quotidiano, seu ad publicum conventum seu ad forum numdinasve comitatus ut assecla fuerit, capitis reus esto:

[BISHOP FOTHADH II.'S GIFT TO THE KELEDEI OF LOCHLEVEN.]

c. A.D. 1055. *A (Northman) Bishop of the Orkneys, sent by Adalbert Archbishop of Bremen*<sup>a</sup>.

ADAM. BREM., III. 70.—Preterea Thurolfum quendam posuit (Adalbertus) ad Orchadas. Illuc etiam misit Johannem in Scotia ordinatum, et alium quemdam Adalbertum cognominem suum. [p. 176, ed. Pertz.]

<sup>a</sup> Archbishop A.D. 1043-1070. Earlier in his Episcopate, "venerunt (ad Adalbertum) Islani, Gronlani, et Orchadum legati, petentes ut prædicatores illuc dirigeret, quod et fecit" (*ib.*, III. 23). The Orkneys are among the "insulæ quæ Hammaburfensem parrochiam respiciunt;" and Adalbert, "quamvis prius ab Anglorum et Scottorum Episcopis regeretur," yet, "iussu Papæ ordinavit Turolfum Episco-

pum in civitatem Blasconam, qui omnium curas ageret" (*ib.*, IV. 34, p. 209). So also the "Subscriptiones Episcoporum," in *Langebek*, III. 246. "Blascona" is unintelligible. Count Thorfin (ob. A.D. 1064) built his church in Orkney Mainland. And S. Magnus' church, built A.D. 1138, was at Kirkwall. See the *Vita S. Magni*, in *Pinkerton's VV. SS. Scot.*

A.D. 1055. ANN. TIGH., *in an.*—Maelduin mac Gillaodran Epscop Alban 7 ordan Gaedel o cleircib in Christo quievit [Mallduin son of Gillaodran, Bishop of Alban<sup>a</sup>, the giver of orders to the clergy, died in Christ.]

<sup>a</sup> See above under A.D. 963.

A.D. 1055 × 1059. REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—Tuadal Episcopus Sancti Andree contulit ecclesiam de Sconÿn [Scoonie, close to Markinch] prefatis viris religiosis [sc. Keledeis] devote et integre cum omni libertate et honore pro suffragiis oracionum. [p. 116.]

1059—1093. *Gift of Bishop Fothadh II. to the Keledei of Lochleven.*

REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—Modach<sup>a</sup> filius Malmýkel, uir piissime recordacionis, Episcopus Sancti Andree, cuius uita et doctrina tota regio Scotorum feliciter est illustrata, contulit Deo et Sancto Servano, et Keledeis heremitis apud insulam Louchleuen, in scola uirtutum ibidem degentibus, deuote et honorifice, cum prefatis libertatibus, ecclesiam de Hurkenedorath<sup>b</sup>. Iste sunt antike prestaciones et canones, quas prefate ecclesie soluebant antiquitus, scilicet triginta panes decoctos cum antiqua mensura farine ibi apposita, et triginta caseos quorum quilibet facit chudreme, et octo male de braseo, et derchede male et ... chedher male. [p. 117.]

<sup>a</sup> A mistake for Fothadh.

<sup>b</sup> i. e. Auchterderran, south-east of Lochleven.

A.D. 1063. *Morthlach erected by Malcolm Canmore into an Episcopal Monastery.*

REG. EPISC. ABERDON.—Anno Domini millesimo septuagesimo Malcolmus Rex Scotorum, filius Kenachi, duxit in uxorem beatam Margaretam Reginam.....Et anno regni sui sexto<sup>a</sup> fundata est sedes Episcopalis apud Morthlach, ut habetur in primo filio primi quaterni. Et processu temporis translata est sedes Episcopalis apud Aberdon<sup>b</sup>, per Daid filium suum Regem Scocie, et dotata, ut habetur in eodem folio. [*Innes in Pref. p. xvii.*]

IB.—MALCOLMUS REX SCOTTORUM, *omnibus probis hominibus suis, tam clericis quam laicis*, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse, et hac carta mea confirmasse, Deo et Beate Marie et omnibus Sanctis, et Episcopo Beyn de Morthelach, ecclesiam de Morthelach, ut ibidem construaturs sedes Episcopalis, cum terris meis de Morthelach; ecclesiam de Cloueth cum terra, ecclesiam de Dulmeth cum terra; ita libere sicut eas tenui, et in puram et perpetuam elemosynam: teste meipso apud Forfare, octauo die mensis Octobris anno regni mei sexto<sup>c</sup>. [p. 3.]

<sup>a</sup> Malcolm was crowned April 25, A.D. 1057. The first of the two extracts above given depends partly upon conjectural readings of Mr. Cosmo Innes; but the reference in it is, beyond dispute, to Malcolm Canmore (see *Innes, Pref.*).

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 1137 is the date of King David's charter, but the see was probably translated A.D. 1125. See below, under the year.

<sup>c</sup> That Malcolm III., and not (as *Fordun, IV. 44.* affirms) Malcolm II., founded Morthlach, see *C. Innes' Pref. to Chartul. of Aberdeen*, pp. xi-xviii. But the charter above given is, as it stands, of very questionable character. The foundation was apparently of an episcopal monastery, rather than of

an episcopal see; a diocese with jurisdiction over it not existing until David transferred the see to Aberdeen. Morthlach is in Banffshire, not far from the mouth of the river Spey. Cloveth, now Clova, was a small monastery dependent upon Morthlach. The original foundation of Morthlach is assigned to S. Moloc or Moluag of Lismore in Argyllshire; just as the neighbouring Celtic monastery of Turriff (close to the river Deveron, in Aberdeenshire, but on the borders of Banff) is assigned to S. Congan, who also began his Scottish labours in Argyllshire. See above, p. 107; and *Stuart's Book of Deer, Pref. cxxxiv. sq.*

A.D. 1065. ANN. IV. MAG., *in an.*—Dubhtach Albanach, ard anmchara<sup>a</sup> Ereann ⁊ Alban, decc i n-Ard Macha [Dubhtach of Alban, chief *anmchara*<sup>a</sup> of Ireland and Alba, died at Armagh].

<sup>a</sup> "Confessarius," or spiritual director. Dr. Reeves (*Add. Notes to Adamn.*, p. 401) wishes to identify him with S. Duthac of Ross,

usually dated in the 13th century, and commemorated in *Brev. Aberd. Pars Hyem.*, fol. 66.

A.D. 1070. *Foundation of Dunfermlin<sup>a</sup>, upon Queen Margaret's marriage.*

EXCERPTA E SCRIPTIS TURGOTI, No. IV.—Nuptiæ quidem factæ sunt non procul a sinu maris quo applicuit, et magnifice celebratæ, anno Domino millesimo septuagesimo, loco qui dicitur Dumfermelyn,

[ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC TO MARGARET QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.]

quem tunc temporis Rex habebat pro oppido. [ap. *Opp. Sym. Dun.*, I. 258, ed. Hinde, from *Fordun*.]

THEODERIC, *Vita S. Margaret. Reginae*, § IV.—Nobilem ibi [ubi nuptiæ celebratæ fuerant] ecclesiam in Sanctæ Trinitatis [Margareta] ædificavit honorem, ob animæ videlicet Regis et suæ redemptionem, atque ad obtinendam suæ soboli vitæ præsentis et futuræ prosperitatem. Quam ecclesiam diversa ornamentorum specie decoravit; inter quæ, ad ipsum sacrosanctum altaris ministerium, non pauca ex solido ac puro auro vasa fuisse noscuntur. . . . . Crucem quoque, incomparabilis pretii, imaginem Salvatoris habentem, quam auro purissimo et argento interlucentibus gemmis vestiri fecerat, ibidem collocavit. [*Ib.* 238, 239.]

\* The foundation charter by Malcolm, in *Chartul. of Dumfermylne*, p. 417 (from the Advocates' Lib.), is apocryphal: see Cosmo Innes, *Pref.* to that *Chartulary*, pp. xx., xxi. Either at first or under King David (*Fordun*, V. 48), Benedictine monks were introduced there. If at the former date, they were the first Benedictines in Scotland; but the latter date seems the more likely. See *Grub*, I. 190.

Every King of Scotland, from Kenneth Mac Alpin,—except Constantine, A.D. 952 (buried at S. Andrew's, where he was abbat), Culen, and Kenneth Mac Malcolm,—down to Malcolm Canmore, was buried at Hy (*Chron. Pict. &c.*, *Skene*, 151, 174, 204-209, 301).

Malcolm Canmore was buried at Tynemouth according to *Sim. Dun.* (*Twysd.* 218) and the later *Chronicles* (*ib.* 206, 302), but at Hy according to an earlier one (*ib.* 175). He was really buried at Tynemouth, and his body afterwards removed by King Alexander his son to Dunfermlin (*Fordun*, V. 25). Donald, son of Duncan, was buried at Dunkeld, but his bones were translated to Hy afterwards (*Skene*, 175). Edgar, Alexander I., David, Malcolm IV., were buried at Dunfermlin (*ib.* 175, 209); as had been also Queen Margaret; William at Arbroath, Alexander II. at Melrose. The Pictish King Bruide was buried at Hy (*Skene*, 409).

A.D. 1070 × 1089. *Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury to Margaret Queen of Scotland.*

LANFRANCUS INDIGNUS SANCTÆ CANTUARIENSIS ÆCCLESIAE ANTISTES, *gloriosæ Scotorum Reginae M[argaretæ]*, salutem et benedictionem.

Will be her spiritual father, although unworthy. Explicare non potest epistolaris brevitās quanta cor meum lætitia perfudisti, lectis litteris tuis quas mihi, Deo amabilis Regina, misisti. O quanta jucunditate

verba profluunt quæ Divino Spiritu inspirata procedunt! Credo enim non a te, sed per te dicta esse quæ scripseras. Revera per os tuum locutus est Ille Qui discipulis Suis ait, "Discite a Me quia mitis sum et humilis corde." De hac Christi disciplina processit, quod regali stirpe progenita, regaliter educata, nobili Regi nobiliter copulata, me hominem extraneum, vilem, ignobilem, peccatis involutum, in patrem elegis, teque mihi in filiam spiritualiter habendam precaris. Non sum quod petas, sed sim quia putas. Ne decepta remaneas, ora pro me ut sim dignus pater orare Dominum et exaudiri pro te. Ora-



[COUNCILS OF QUEEN MARGARET.]

tionum et benefactorum sit inter nos commune commercium. Parva quidem tribuo, sed multo majora me recepturum esse confido. De tunc igitur sim pater tuus, et tu mea filia esto.

Has sent to her brother Goldewin and two others. Mitto glorioso viro tuo et tibi, carissimum fratrem nostrum dominum Goldewinum, secundum petitionem tuam; alios quoque duos fratres, quia quod de servitio Dei et vestro fieri oportet, solus ipse per se explere non posset. Et rogo, multumque rogo, quatinus quod pro Deo et pro animabus vestris cœpistis, instanter et efficaciter perficere studeatis; et si possetis aut velitis opus vestrum per alios adimplere, multo desiderio vellemus hos fratres nostros ad nos redire, quia valde in officiis suis necessarij erant æcclesiæ nostræ. Fiat tamen voluntas vestra, et per omnia desideramus obædire vobis. [*Scala Chronica*, ed. Stevenson, Edinb. 1836, Notes, &c. p. 222, from MS. Cotton (probably Nero A. VII.); *Epist.* 61, ed. Migne.]

A.D. 1070 × 1089. *Councils under King Malcolm III. and Queen Margaret, to reform abuses in the Scottish Church.*

THEODERIC, *V. S. Margaret.*, cc. 8, sq.—Cum enim contra rectæ fidei regulam et sanctam universalis Ecclesiæ consuetudinem multa in gente illa fieri [Margareta] perspexisset, crebra concilia statuit, ut quoquo modo valeret, ad veritatis viam errantes, Christo donante, reduceret. Quorum conciliorum illud cæteris principalius esse constat, in quo sola cum paucissimis suorum contra perversæ consuetudinis assertores “gladio Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei,” triduo dimicabat. Crederes alteram ibi Helenam residere, quia, sicut illa quondam Scripturarum sententiis Judæos, similiter nunc et hæc Regina convicerat erroneos. Sed in hoc conflictu Rex ipse adjutor et [ei?] præcipuus residebat, quodcunque in hac causa illa jussisset dicere paratissimus et facere. Qui quoniam perfecte Anglorum linguam æque ac propriam noverat, vigilantissimus in hoc concilio utriusque partis interpres extiterat.

1. Beginning of Lent.

Igitur regina, præfatione præmissa, ut qui cum Catholica Ecclesia in una fide uni Deo servirent, ab eadem Ecclesia novis quibusdam et peregrinis institutionibus discrepare non deberent, primum proposuit Quadragesimale Jejunium legitime non observare, quia hoc non cum sancta ubique Ecclesia [a feria quarta<sup>a</sup>] in Capite Jejunii [sed sequenti septimana] feria secunda, consueverant inchoare. Contra illi, Jejunium, inquirunt,



quod agimus, Evangelica auctoritate, quæ Christi narrat jejunium, per sex ebdomadas observamus. At illa, Longe, ait, in hoc Evangelio discordatis: legitur enim ibi Dominum quadraginta diebus jejnasse, quod manifestum est vos non facere. Nam cum per sex ebdomadas sex Dominici dies a jejuniis abstrahuntur, triginta tantum et sex dies ad jejunandum remanere noscuntur. Non ergo Evangelica auctoritate quadraginta, sed triginta et sex dierum constat vos observare jejunium. Restat itaque, ut quatuor diebus ante Quadragesimæ initium jejunare nobiscum incipiatis, si Dominico exemplo quadraginta dierum numero abstinentiam observare volueritis: alioquin contra ipsius Domini auctoritatem et totius sanctæ Ecclesiæ vos soli repugnabitis traditionem. Hac illi perspicua veritatis oratione convicti, deinceps, sicut sancta ubique solet Ecclesia, sacrorum jejuniorum cœperunt inchoare solemnia.

2. Non-celebration of the Holy Eucharist upon Easter Day.

Aliud quoque proponens, regina jussit, ut ostenderent, qua ratione die sancto Paschæ secundum morem sanctæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ sacramenta Corporis et Sanguinis Christi sumere negligerent. Respondentes illi, Apostolus, inquit, de his loquens ait, "Qui manducat et bibit indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit." Unde quia nos peccatores recognoscimus, ne judicium nobis manducemus et bibamus, ad illud mysterium accedere formidamus. Quibus regina, Quid igitur? inquit, Omnes, qui peccatores sunt, sacrosanctum mysterium non gustabunt? Nemo ergo illud sumere debet, quia "nemo sine sorde peccati, nec infans cujus est unius diei vita super terram<sup>b</sup>." Si autem nemo illud percipere debet, cur Domino dicente clamat Evangelium, "Nisi manducaveritis Carnem Filii Hominis, et biberitis Ejus Sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis." Sed plane sententiam, quam de Apostolo profertis, secundum patrum intellectum aliter necesse est intelligatis. Non enim omnes peccatores sacramenta salutis "indigne" sumere deputat. Cum enim dixisset, "Judicium sibi manducat et bibit," addidit, "Non dejudicans Corpus Domini," hoc est, non separans illud in fide ab escis corporalibus, judicium sibi manducat et bibit. Sed et ille, qui absque confessione et pœnitentia cum suorum inquinamentis scelerum ad sacra mysteria accedere præsumpserit, ille, inquam, judicium sibi manducat et bibit. At nos, qui, multis ante diebus, facta peccatorum confessione, pœnitentia castigamur, jejuniis attenuamur, elemosynis et lacrymis a peccatorum sordibus abluimur, in die Resurrectionis Dominicæ ad Ejus mensam in Catholica fide acce-

[COUNCILS OF QUEEN MARGARET.]

dentes, Carnem et Sanguinem Agni immaculati Jhesu Christi, non ad iudicium, sed ad peccatorum sumimus remissionem, et salutarem percipiendæ beatitudinis æternæ præparationem. His ab ea perceptis, respondere nihil potuerunt, atque agnita deinceps Ecclesiæ instituta in mysterii salutaris perceptione observaverunt.

3. Barbarous customs in the Mass. Præterea in aliquibus locis Scottorum quidam fuerunt, qui contra totius Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, nescio quo

ritu barbaro, missas celebrare consueverant; quod regina, zelo Dei accensa, ita destruere atque annihilare studuit, ut deinceps qui tale quid præsumeret, nemo in tota Scottorum gente appareret.

4. Labour on the Lord's Day. Solebant quoque neglecta Dominicorum dierum reverentia ita illis sicut et aliis diebus quibusque terreni operis insistere laboribus; quod non licere ratione pariter et auctoritate ipsa ostendebat. Dominicum, inquit, diem propter Dominicam, quæ in eo facta est, resurrectionem, in veneratione habemus, ut in eo servilia opera jam non faciamus, in quo nos a servitute diaboli redemptos novimus. Hoc etiam B. Papa Gregorius affirmans dicit: "Dominico die a labore terreno cessandum est, atque omnimodo orationibus insistendum, ut, si quid negligentiae per sex dies agitur, per diem Resurrectionis Dominicæ precibus expietur." Idem quoque Pater Gregorius quendam propter opus terrenum, quod die Dominico fecerat, districta increpatione feriens, eos, quorum hoc consiliis egerat, duobus mensibus excommunicatos esse decrevit. His sapientis reginæ rationibus contraire non valentes, ita postmodum reverentiam Dominicorum dierum ejus instantia observarunt, ut nec onera quælibet his diebus quisquam portare, nec alius alium ad hoc auderet compellere.

5. Marriage with stepmothers and with brothers' widows. Illicita etiam novercarum conjugia, similiter et uxorem fratris defuncti fratrem superstitem ducere, quæ ibi antea fiebant, nimis ostendit execranda, et a fidelibus velut ipsam mortem devitanda.

6. Divers other abuses. Multa quoque alia, quæ contra fidei regulam et ecclesiasticarum observationum instituta inoleverant, ipsa in eodem concilio damnare et de regni sui finibus curavit proturbare. Universa enim quæ præposuerat, ita sanctæ Scripturæ testimoniis atque sanctorum patrum corroboravit sententiis, ut contra hæc nil omnino respondere valerent; quin potius deposita pertinacia, rationi acquiescentes, universa libenter implenda susciperent. [ed. Hodgson Hinde, in *Append. III. ad Opp. Sym. Dun.*, I. 243-245; also in *Pinkerton*,

*VV. SS. Scot.*, and quotations in *Robertson, Stat. Eccl. Scot.; W., IV.* 791, 792, from MS. Cotton, Tiberius D. III. no. 45: also in *Actt. SS. Jun., II.* 330 c.]

<sup>a</sup> Hinde leaves this blank, and reads *scilicet* xxii-xxiv. note. That the author was *not* for *sed sequenti*. Turgot, afterwards Bishop, see *Pref. to Hinde's*

<sup>b</sup> Job xiv. 4, 5. LXX.

*Sym. Dunelm.*

<sup>c</sup> See *Robertson, Stat. Eccl. Scot., Pref.* pp.

A.D. 1070 × 1093. *Hy restored by Queen Margaret.*

ORDERIC. VITALIS, *Hist. Eccl. lib. VIII.*—Huense cœnobium, quod servus Christi Columba tempore Brudei Regis Pictorum filii Meilocon construxerat, sed tempestate præliorum cum longa vetustate dirutum fuerat, fidelis regina reædificavit, datisque sumptibus idoneis ad opus Domini monachis, reparavit. [vol. III. pp. 398, 399, ed. Le Prevost.]

A.D. 1070 × 1093. *Hermits in Scotland in the time of Queen Margaret.*

THEOD., *V. S. Margar. Regin.*, § ix.—Quo tempore in regno Scottorum plurimi, per diversa loca separatis inclusi cellulis, per magnam vitæ districtiōnem, in carne, non secundum carnem, vivebant: angelicam enim in terris conversationem ducebant. In his regina [Margareta] Christum venerari, diligere, suoque crebrius adventu et alloquio visitare, atque illorum se precibus satagebat commendare. Et cum non impetrare posset, ut ab ea terrenum aliquid vellent accipere, petebat obnoxius, ut ei aliquid eleemosynæ vel misericordiæ faciendum dignarentur præcipere. Nec mora: quicquid illorum voluntatis erat, devota implevit, vel pauperes ab egestate recreando, vel quosque afflictos a miseriis quibus oppressi fuerant relevando. [ed. Hinde, 247.]

A.D. 1072. *Compact between Lanfranc and Archbishop Thomas I. of York, at the Council of Windsor, assigning to York the primacy over Scotland<sup>a</sup>, among other provisions.*

\* \* \* Subjectionem vero Dunelmensis, hoc est, Lindisfarnensis Episcopi, atque omnium regionum a terminis Lichfeldensis Episcopi, et Humbræ magni fluvii, usque ad extremos Scotiæ fines; et quicquid ex hac parte prædicti fluminis ad parochiam Eboracensis Ecclesiæ jure competit, Cantuariensis Metropolitanus Eboracensi Archiepiscopo ejusque successoribus inperpetuum obtinere concessit, &c. [*W.*, I. 325: also from *W. Malm., G. P. A., lib. I.*, in *W.*, IV. 786; see the entire record below in its place.]

## [FOTHADH'S ALLEGED PROFESSION TO ARCHBISHOP THOMAS OF YORK.]

<sup>a</sup> The one shadow of pretence for York primacy over Scotland, was the provision of Gregory the Great in his letter to S. Augustin,—that after Augustin's death there should be two primates, respectively at London and at York, each with twelve suffragans,—coupled with his assignment of all the British Bishops, which would have been meant to include the whole island, Scotland and all, to the jurisdiction of Augustin, and so onwards, in their due shares, to his two successors that were to be. The compact above made is the first hint of the actual putting forward of such a

claim. The absence of a metropolitan and of diocesan organization in Scotland at the time, rendered it more plausible and more feasible; especially when circumstances tended to sever Scotland from Irish influence and to lead it to look up to the Anglo-Norman Church. And the existence of the Saxon dioceses, that once included nearly all Scotland south of Forth and Clyde, with Trumwin's brief episcopate over Picts, and Wilfrid's claim (at Rome) to represent among others the Pictish Church,—helped to lend it some shred of apparently historical foundation.

A.D. 1072 × 1093. *Fothadh Bishop of the Scots said to have professed subjection to the See of York.*

STUBBS, *Actt. Pontiff. Ebor.*—Ad hunc Thomam<sup>a</sup> consilio et imperio Regis Scottorum Malcholmi et Reginæ Margaretæ venit Foderoch Episcopus Sancti Andree de Scotia, et transgressionem suam confitens, eo quod a Scottis ordinatus fuerat cum ab Eboracensi metropolitano jure consecrari debuerit, professionem ipsi Archiepiscopo Thomæ suisque successoribus fecit, scriptamque legit et tradidit, quæ sic incipit—Ego Foderoch Scottorum Episcopus in sede Sancti Andree Apostoli, &c. Ipse etiam Episcopus Federoch jubente eodem Archiepiscopo Thoma in Eboraco ecclesias dedicavit. [*Twysd.* 1709: also *verbatim* in Bodl. MS. Digby 140, a 13th century MS., but ending with Archbishop Thurstin, and therefore probably written originally in the early part of the 12th.]

<sup>a</sup> Thomas I., A.D. 1070–1100. Fothadh was Bishop A.D. 1059–1093. And Malcolm Canmore was King A.D. 1058–1093, and married Margaret probably A.D. 1070. Fothadh's alleged profession therefore falls necessarily between A.D. 1070 and 1093. But the compact of A.D. 1072 probably suggested, and preceded, any efforts of Archbishop Thomas to obtain rule over the Scottish Church. That Thomas did make such efforts

seems implied in King Alexander's words to Ralph of Canterbury—that Lanfranc (the Canterbury claim being admitted by Alexander when he wrote the letter) “ad tempus Thomæ Eboraci Archiepiscopi illud relaxaverat.” And Fothadh may have been induced by Queen Margaret to make some kind of concession to York. But the authority for the story is, in this particular case, that of a partizan.

A.D. 1073, July × Nov. *Pope Gregory VII. to Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury.* (Extract.)

\* \* \* Tuam vero fraternitatem ..... admonemus, quatinus ..... inter omnia et præ omnibus nefas quod de Scotis audivimus, videlicet quod plerique proprias uxores non solum deserunt sed etiam vendunt, omnibus modis prohibere contendat: ad hæc enim Apostolica te auctoritate fultum esse volumus, ut non solum in Scotis hoc scelus, sed etiam in aliis, si quos in Anglorum insula tales esse cognoveris,

[BOUNDARIES OF S. ANDREW'S AND DURHAM.]

..... penitus extirpare non differas. \* \* \* [*Mon. Gregor.* p. 521, ed. Jaffé; *Labb. Conc. X.* 306, 307.]

<sup>a</sup> Whether this is meant to apply to Scotch or Irish, is not quite clear; probably (judging by Anselm's similar letter to "Muriadachus Rex Hibernorum," *Epist. III.* 147, and by other letters of like tenour and period) the

latter. Yet *Scoti* in the end of the 11th century, seems to indicate Scotland. See also Gregory's letter to the Brétons, of Aug. 28, A.D. 1074.

A.D. 1073 × 1100. *Melrose and Jedburgh still subject to Durham ecclesiastically, although politically subject to Malcolm III. of Scotland and his successors.*

SIM. DUNELM., *Hist. Dun.*, III. 22.—Sed cum Regi Scottorum Malcolmo, ad quem locus iste [Mailrosense monasterium<sup>a</sup>] pertinebat, eorum (Aldwini scilicet et Turgoti<sup>b</sup>) ibi conversatio innotuisset, graves ab illo injurias pertulerunt et persecutiones, pro eo quod, Evangelicum præceptum servantes, jurare illi fidelitatem noluerunt. [p. 45, *Twysd.*]

Id., *Hist. Contin.*, in an. 1072.—Eadulfus cognomento Rus, qui postea ducem se exhibuit eorum qui Walcherum Episcopum occiderunt, ipseque dicitur sua illum interfecisse manu: sed mox et ipse, a femina occisus, sepultus est in ecclesia apud Geddeverde: sed post a Turgoto, quondam Priore Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ et archidiacono<sup>c</sup>, talis inde spurcicia projecta. [*I.* 91, ed. Hinde.]

<sup>a</sup> Burned by Kenneth of Scotland A.D. 850 (*Skene, Chron.* 299): still belonging to Lindisfarne A.D. 854 (*Sim. Dun., Hist. Recapit.*, I. 68, Hinde), as did also at the same time Jedburgh, and as far north as Edinburgh (*Id.*, *ib.*): and similarly A.D. 875, since the relics of S. Cuthbert rested there among other places (*Orig. Paroch. Scotl.*, I. 280): still belonging to S. Cuthbert and Durham down to about A.D. 1100, as above, but nearly destroyed ("a solitude," see next note), and dependent upon Durham or the subordinate Coldingham Priory until King David obtained it, about A.D. 1126 × 1136, in exchange for Berwick (Charter in *Raine's North Durham, Append.*

no. XVIII., and so also *Fordun*).

<sup>b</sup> Successively Priors of Durham, but at this time in retirement at Melrose ("once a monastery, now a solitude," *Sim. Dun.*, as above). Aldwin came to Northumbria A.D. 1073 (*Sim. Dun., Hist. Dun. Eccl.*, IV. 3), went to Melrose a little later, then to Wearmouth, and in A.D. 1083 to Durham.

<sup>c</sup> It looks as if this piece of discipline had been exercised by Turgot whilst he was Prior of Durham, and if so, A.D. 1088 × 1108: but since the Bishops of Glasgow claimed Teviotdale from about A.D. 1100, it was probably before that year. See above, pp. 12, 15.



[BISHOP OF THE ORKNEYS CONSECRATED AT YORK.]

A.D. 1073<sup>a</sup>. *Ralph I. Bishop of the Orkneys consecrated at York by Thomas Archbishop of York.*

1. A.D. 1073. *Thomas I. Archbishop of York to Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Send two of your suffragans to assist me in consecrating a Bishop of the Orkneys at York, March 3. *Piissimo et sanctissimo Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo, totius quoque Britannie summo pastori, Lanfranco, THOMAS, fidelis suus, et nisi præsumptuosum sanctitati suæ videatur, EBORACENSIS ECCLESIAE ARCHIEPISCOPUS, cœli portas Petri vice justis et injustis juste aperire et claudere. Ecce, pater sanctissime, filius tuus ad te clamat; sed magis, filia, Eboracensis videlicet Ecclesia, ad eam, cui dispositione Divina præsides, Ecclesiam, tanquam ad maternum recurrens sinum, pie postulat, ut ex abundantia maternarum deliciarum reparetur inopia suarum se deserentium, immo longe et inter barbaras nationes positarum virium. Siquidem venit ad nos quidam clericus, quem misit Paulus Comes cum literis sigillatis de Orchardum partibus, significans in eis Episcopatum suæ terræ eidem clerico se concessisse. Ac ille antecessorum tuorum ordine custodito postulat a nobis Episcopum se consecrari. Cui, quod juste petit, injuste denegare non possumus. Precamur ergo, nobis duos Episcopos dirigat Paternitas vestra, quorum fulti orationibus et auxilio tantæ rei sacramentum canonice compleamus. Illa autem procul arceatur suspicio, quam nuperrime nobis noster frater et co-Episcopus subintulit Remigius, me scilicet inposterum quæsiturum Dorcestrensis vel Wigornensis Episcopi hac de causa subjectionem: dico enim coram Deo me nunquam hoc facturum. Si placet igitur sanctitati vestræ, ut juxta petitionem nostram nobis facere dignemini, locum Eboracum, tempus 5 nonas Martias, nobis immutabiliter constituimus, et vobis significamus. Ergo vivas et valeas et spiritualibus incrementis usque quaque proficias. [W., I. 362, from MS. Cott. Vesp. E. IV. fol. 204 b.]*

<sup>a</sup> The second of the letters here given is dated in MS. Cott. Vesp. E. 4 (used by Wilkins) as in A.D. 1073, *Indict. XI.*, which would be the right indiction, and in which year also the 3rd March, the day specified in the first of the letters, fell on a Sunday. The *Addit.* to the

A. S. C. give the "seventh year" of Lanfranc, which (the question relating to March 3) would be A.D. 1077; in which year March 3 was not a Sunday, and the indiction would be wrong. Consequently Wilkins is probably right in dating the transaction in A.D. 1073.

[BISHOP OF THE ORKNEYS CONSECRATED AT YORK.]

2. A.D. 1073. *Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury to Wulstan Bishop of Worcester and Peter Bishop of Chester.*

Go to York to assist Arch-  
bishop Thomas  
in consecrating  
a Bishop of the  
Orkneys.

LANFRANCUS GRATIA DEI SANCTÆ DOROBERNENSIS  
ECCLESIAE ARCHIEPISCOPUS, *venerabilibus fratribus Wlstando  
Wigornensi et Petro Cestrensi Episcopis*, salutem. Insinuavit  
nobis venerabilis frater noster Thomas, Eboracensis  
Archiepiscopus, advenisse de Orchadum insulis ad se  
quendam clericum, quem in Episcopatum ipsius terræ, præcipiente et  
insinuante Paulo Comite, testatur esse electum. Et quia ex antiquo  
more sui juris est præfatarum insularum præsules consecrare, petit a  
me, ut mittam sibi de nostris suffraganeis duos, qui tantæ rei sacra-  
mentum cum eo valeant celebrare. Rogantes itaque præcipimus, et  
præcipientes rogamus, quatenus, omni excusatione summtota, illuc  
eatis, ut ex nostro præcepto secum quod justum est in tanto rei mys-  
terio compleatis. Non enim decet, ut qui sacrandus in hanc terram  
venit, et cum omni humilitate sacrari se postulat, inopia adiutorum a  
tanto regno non sacratus abscedat. Terminum hujus consecrationis  
lator vobis præsentium indicabit. Et ne forte solliciti sitis, putantes  
quod vel ipsi vel successores ejus hac occasione super Ecclesias vestras  
jus prælationis quandoque conentur arripere, literas quas ipse mihi  
transmisit, fraternitati vestræ, solitudinem de futuro gerens, curavi  
transmittere. Quas, et has, quas vobis transmittito, in archivis Ecclesi-  
arum vestrarum ob memoriam futurorum servatum iri præcipio.  
[*W.*, I. 362, from MS. Cott. Vesp. E. IV. fol. 204 a.]

3. ADDIT. AD ANGLO-SAX. CHRON., *in an.* 1077.—Hoc quoque  
anno<sup>a</sup> misit ei [Lanfranco] litteras Thomas Archiepiscopus Eboracensis,  
in quibus rogavit ut sibi mitterentur duo Episcopi ad  
consecrandum clericum quendam, qui ei litteras de Horgadis insulis  
detulit ut ipsarum insularum Episcopus consecraretur. Cujus peti-  
tioni Lanfrancus annuens, mandavit Wlstando Wigornensi et Petro  
Cestrensi Episcopis, ut Eboracam irent, et cum Thoma tantam rem  
complere satagerent. [p. 387, ed. Thorpe, from MS. CCCC. 173.]

<sup>a</sup> sc. the 7th year of Lanfranc.

4. STUBBS, *Actt. Pontiff. Ebor.*—Orchadensium etiam electum Ro-  
dolphum idem Archiepiscopus [Thomas I.] sacrauit, facta, lecta, et  
tradita professione, quæ sic incipit, In aspectu Dei et hujus Ecclesiæ,

[BISHOPS OF MAN AND THE ISLES.]

Ego Rudolphus, &c. [Twysd. 1709. And so also *verbatim* in Bodl. MS. Digby 140<sup>a</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> Paul Thorfinnson was Earl of the Orkneys A.D. 1046–1099, according to Johnstone (*Antiq. Celto-Scand.* p. 294). The Orkney Bishops sent from Hamburg from the middle of the 11th century were missionary Bishops—"Nulli Episcopo certa sedes" (*Adam. Brem.*

*II.* 16); and probably there was a vacancy in A.D. 1073, inasmuch as this first Ralph was sent for consecration by the Orkney Earl himself, and the line of Northman diocesan Bishops does not begin until about A.D. 1102 (see below, p. 167).

Before A.D. 1079<sup>a</sup>. *Bishops of Man and the Isles.*

CHRON. MANN.—Hi fuerunt Episcopi qui Episcopalem Cathedram in Mannia susceperunt a tempore Godredi Crouan et aliquanto tempore ante. Primus exstitit, antequam Godredus Crouan regnare cœpisset, Roolwer (*Hrölfr*) Episcopus, qui jacet apud ecclesiam Sancti Machuti. Multi quidem a tempore beati Patricii, qui primus fidem Catholicam prædicasse fertur Mannensibus, exstiterunt Episcopi; sed ab ipso sufficit Episcoporum memoriam inchoasse. Sufficit, dicimus; quod qui vel quales ante ipsum Episcopi exstiterunt, penitus ignoramus, quia nec scriptum invenimus nec certa relatione seniorum didicimus. Post Roolwer exstitit Willelmus Episcopus. Post Willelmum in diebus Godredi Crouan Hamondus, &c. [pp. 28, 29, ed. Munch.]

<sup>a</sup> Godred's probable date is A.D. 1079–1095. And the Episcopates of Hrölfr and William probably take us back to the beginnings of Northman Christianity in Man and the Isles. The dates however are uncertain; since Wimund (Hamondus) was not consecrated before A.D. 1109 (see below under that year).

A.D. 1093. SIM. DUN., *Hist. Contin. in an.*—Ecclesia nova Dunelmi est incepta tertio Idus Augusti feria quinta, Episcopo Willelmo et Malcholmo Rege Scottorum<sup>a</sup> et Turgoto Priore ponentibus primos in fundamento lapides. [I. 103, 104, ed. Hinde; see also *Fordun*, V. 25, from *Turgot*, *ib.* 261.]

<sup>a</sup> This is regarded as doubtful by Mr. Hodgson Hinde (*ad loc.*), on the ground that Simeon does not mention it in his History of the Church of Durham. Malcolm's sons however were closely connected with Durham.

And his own English leanings make it probable that he himself was so as well. And the *Cbron. de Mailros*, hardly however an independent witness, also (*in an.*) asserts the same fact.

A.D. 1093. ANN. ULT., *in an.*—Fothudh<sup>a</sup> Ardepscob Albain in Christo quievit.

<sup>a</sup> The last Celtic Primate of the Scots.

[GRANTS OF SCOTTISH KINGS TO DURHAM AND TO COLDINGHAM.]

A.D. 1093 × 1107. *Grant to the Keledei of Lochleven by Ethelred son of Malcolm and Margaret*, “Abbas de Dunkellden, et insuper Comes de Fyf” (*Reg. Prior. S. Andr.* 115, 116).

A.D. 1094. *Grant of Duncan King of Scotland to Durham*<sup>a</sup>.

*Carta Dunecani filij Regis Malcolomb, de Tynningham, Aldeham, Scuchale, Cnole, Hatherwyk, et servicio de Brokesmuth, dat. Sancto Cuthberto cum soca et saca.*

EGO DUNECANUS, FILIUS REGIS MALCOLUMB, CONSTANS HEREDITARIE REX SCOTIE, dedi in elemosina Sancto Cuthberto et suis seruitoribus Tiningham, Aldeham, Scuchale, Cnolle, Hatheruuich, et de Broccesmuthe omne seruitium quod inde habuit Fodanus Episcopus<sup>b</sup>: et hec dedi in tali quietantia cum saca et soca, qualem unquam meliorem habuit Sanctus Cuthbertus ab illis de quibus tenet suas elemosinas. Et hoc dedi pro me ipso et pro anima patris mei et pro fratribus meis et pro uxore mea et pro infantibus meis. Et quoniam uolui quod istud donum stabile esset Sancto Cuthberto, feci quod fratres mei concesserunt. Qui autem istud uoluerit destruere, uel ministris Sancti Cuthberti aliquid inde auferre, maledictionem Dei et Sancti Cuthberti et meam habeat. Amen.

Crux Dunecani Regis ✠		Scribtoris Grentonis ✠	
Accard ✠	Ulf ✠	Malcolumb ✠	Eadgari ✠
Hermer ✠	Ælfric ✠	Vuiget ✠	
Heming ✠	Teodbold ✠	Earnulf ✠	

[*Raine's North Durham, Append. p. 1.*]

<sup>a</sup> For the genuineness of this charter see *Raine, North Durham*, pp. 374-376. The lands granted were part of the endowment of the see of S. Andrew's, to which they again

reverted; probably when Duncan's usurpation of the Scottish throne came to an end.

<sup>b</sup> Fothadh II., ob. A.D. 1093.

A.D. 1097 or 1098. *Foundation of the Priory of Coldingham as a cell of Durham by Edgar King of the Scots*<sup>a</sup>.

*Carta Edgari de Suinton in dotem Ecclesie de Coldingham.*

EADGAR REX SCOTORUM, omnibus per regnum suum Scottis et Anglis, salutem. Sciatis me ad dedicationem uenisse ecclesie Sancte Marie apud Coldingham, que quidem dedicatio ad Dei laudem et ad meum placitum grata omnibus et accepta honorabiliter est adimpleta. Et ego eidem ecclesie super altare obtuli in dotem et donaui uillam

[KING MAGNUS OF NORWAY CONQUERS HY.]

totam Swintun cum diuisis, sicut Liulf habuit; liberam et quietam inperpetuum habendam ab omni calumpnia, et ad uoluntatem monachorum Sancti Cuthberti disponendam; pro animabus patris et matris mee, et pro salute anime mee, et fratrum et sororum meorum. Donauit etiam monachis XXIII. animalia ad restaurandam illam eandem terram. Et constitui eandem pacem in Coldingaham eundo et redeundo et ibidem manendo, que seruatur in Eiland et in Northā<sup>b</sup>. Insuper etiam statui hominibus in Coldingamscire, sicut ipsi elegerunt et in manu mea firmauerunt, ut unoquoque anno de unaquaque carruca dimidiam marcā argenti monachis persoluant.

Testibus Ælfw<sup>o</sup>, Oter, et Thor Longus, et Ælfric pincerna, et Algaro presbitero, et Osberno presbitero, et Cnut<sup>e</sup> Carl š., et Ogga, et Lesing, et Swein Ulfkiñ š., et Ligulf de Bebbanburce, et Uhtred Eilaues sune, et Uuiæt hwite, et Tigerne. [*Raine's North Durham, Append. p. 2.*]

<sup>a</sup> The Saxon nunnery that previously existed at Coldingham (*Bæd. H. E., IV. 19, 25*) had been destroyed by the Danes, and, like the Saxon Melrose, had ceased to exist. Other grants of King Edgar to Durham are given by Raine (*ib.*). Among the rest are the well-known two, which speak of the kingdom of Scotland, as well as of Lothian, as held of William of England by Edgar. The later in date of the two is commonly affirmed to be a forgery. And Raine's arguments for the earlier fail to establish any distinction in its favour, as compared with the other. The important words are—"Edgarus filius Malcolmi Regis Scottorum totam terram de Lodoneio et regnum Scotie dono domini mei Willelmi Anglo-

rum Regis et paterna hereditate possidens, consilio prædicti domini Regis W. et fidelium meorum," in the first of the two: and in the second, "Edgarus Dei gratia Rex Scottorum, &c., Sciatis nos ex licentia Willelmi Regis Anglie superioris domini regni Scotiæ." See also Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*. The Pref. to the *National MSS. of Scotland*, Part I. pp. xiii-xx., holds the former of the two to be genuine, but simply to admit that Edgar holds *Lothian* of the English crown; which certainly is not the true extent of the words as they stand.

<sup>b</sup> Islandshire and Northumbria; see *Raine's North Durham*.

A.D. 1097. SNORRO, *in an.*—Magnus Rex Norwegiæ<sup>a</sup> classem suam appulit ad insulam sanctam; ubi omnibus hominibus necnon omnium incolarum bonis pacem concessit et securitatem. Perhibent eum templum Columbæ minus aperuisse, ingressumque non esse Regem; sed obserata mox janua, edixisse ne quis adeo esset audax, ut in ædem istam sacram introiret: cui mandato postea obtemperatum fuit. [*ap. Johnstone, Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 252.*]

<sup>a</sup> Hy would henceforth have been claimed as belonging to the see of Man and the Isles. While the Irish Columbite body would also still regard it as properly belonging to them. It ceased to be Norwegian, and became part of the dominion of Somerled, A.D. 1156 (*Chron. Mann.*). And in A.D. 1164 (see

below under that year) Irish Church people are found again in connection with it. For upwards of half a century from A.D. 1097, with the exception of the obit of an abbat A.D. 1099, it is not mentioned in the Irish Annals (*Reeves, Adamn., Add. Notes, p. 410*).



[POPE PASCHAL II. DECLARES SCOTLAND SUBJECT TO THE SEE OF YORK.]

A.D. 1101. *Pope Paschal II. to the Bishops of Scotland, Suffragans of York.*

PASCHALIS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus Eborac. Metropolis suffraganeis per Scotiam*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Noscit dilectio vestra venerabilem fratrem nostrum Gerardum<sup>a</sup> Herefordensem quondam Episcopum in Eborac. metropolim per omnipotentis Dei gratiam nos promovisse; cui ex Apostolice sedis liberalitate palleum privilegiumque concessimus. Unde mandamus precipientes, ut ei deinceps tanquam vestro Archiepiscopo debitam obedientiam exhibeatis. [*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. I. fol. 50; and in *Dugd.*, VI., P. III. p. 1187, no. liv.]

<sup>a</sup> Translated to the see of York on the Epiphany, A.D. 1101. There had been no Bishop at S. Andrew's since A.D. 1093, when Fothadh II. died. Nor was there any diocesan Bishop at all in Scotland in A.D. 1101 (unless possibly in Dunkeld and Moray), although there may perhaps have been one in Glasgow.

But both Eadmer (see below, p. 171) and the *Addit. ad A. S. C.* (p. 387, ed. Thorpe) speak of "Scottorum Episcopi," in reference to York consecrations, respectively at A.D. 1108 and at A.D. 1079. And doubtless there were many Bishops there not diocesan.

A.D. 1101 × 1108 (*prob.* 1101). *Roger Bishop of the Orkneys consecrated at York*<sup>a</sup>.

STUBBS, *Actt. Pontiff. Ebor.*—Ipse [Gerardus Arch. Ebor.] etiam Rogerum Rodolfi successorem Orcadensium ordinavit Episcopum, accepta ab eo prius professione, quæ sic incipit, Ego Rogerus Orchadensis Ecclesiæ sanctæ nunc ordinandus Episcopus, &c. [*Twysd.* 1710.]

<sup>a</sup> "Fuit Vilhelmus primus Orcadum Episcopus annos sexaginta sex" (*Vita S. Magni*). And this William died A.D. 1168 (*Ann. Isl.*). With him, and therefore (if these dates can be trusted) A.D. 1102, begins a line of Northman diocesan Bishops of Orkney, apparently continuous (v. *Torfaeus, Hist. Orkad.*), and lasting into the 15th century, and indeed as long as the Orkneys continued to belong to Norway.

The contemporary York Bishops, so long as they were continued, viz. the above-named Roger and the second Ralph (A.D. 1109 × 1114 to after 1144), were obviously not asked for, and not received, by the Earls and people of the Orkneys. Roger went there (see Anselm's letter to Haco, above given): Ralph II. apparently did not even do that.

A.D. 1102 (?). *Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury to Haco Earl of the Orkneys*<sup>a</sup>.

Aid, and be subject to, the Bishop that has been sent to you. ANSELMUS GRATIA DEI ARCHIEPISCOPUS CANTUARIENSIS, *Haconi Comiti Orcadensium*, salutem et benedictionem Dei. Audio quia propter indigentiam doctorum, minus quam expedit, populus qui sub vestra potestate est, cognoscat et colat Christianam religionem. Sed gaudeo quia,

[RIVAL BISHOPS OF THE ORKNEYS.]

referente Episcopo quem nunc per gratiam Dei habetis, didici quia prudentia vestra libenter suscipit verbum Dei, et consilium quod pertinet ad salutem. Hac igitur fiducia mitto strenuitati vestræ litteras monitionis meæ, quatenus se studiose committat prædicationi et doctrinæ ejusdem Episcopi; et quantum in vobis est studeatis ut populus vester hoc ipsum faciat. Nihil enim facere potestis unde magis remissionem peccatorum et vitæ æternæ gloriam adipisci valeatis, quam si populum vestrum ad cultum Christianæ religionis, monendo, et quibuscunque modis potestis, vobiscum attrahatis. Quod efficaciter, Deo dante, implere poteritis, si, quemadmodum supra dixi vobis, vos devota et sancta humilitate et pura voluntate Episcopo vestro subditis. Si vos consilio nostro et exhortationi, Deo inspirante, acquiescere volueritis, oro Deum omnipotentem, ut ipsa vos et totum populum vestrum Sua gratia dirigat et protegat, et Suam benedictionem et absolutionem et orationes humilitatis meæ ex corde vobis mando. Omnipotens Deus sic vos faciat vivere in hoc sæculo, ut in futuro jungamini beato angelorum consortio. Amen. [*Epist. IV.* 92: also, from *MS. Cott. Claud. A. XI.* 1576, in Stevenson's notes to the *Scala Chronica*, pp. 234, 235.]

<sup>a</sup> The Bishop on whose behalf this letter was sent, was almost certainly Roger, consecrated between A.D. 1101 and A.D. 1108. And as Anselm was in exile A.D. 1103-1106, and the letter was written shortly after Roger's consecration although after the receipt of letters from him from the Orkneys, the time before the exile seems a slightly more likely date for

it than the time after. Haco died A.D. 1110 according to Johnstone's dates, *Antiq. Cælo-Scand.*

A Bishop of the Orkneys in connection with York is mentioned by Eadmer (as quoted on p. 171) in reference to A.D. 1108 or 1109, but without naming him.

A.D. 1104. SIM. DUN., *Hist. Contin. in an.*<sup>a</sup>—"Corpus Sancti Cuthberti Episcopi, ob quorundam incredulitatem abbatum, pontificante Rannulfo Episcopo, ostensum est; et a Radulfo Sagiensi abbate, postmodum Hrofensi Episcopo" et deinde Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, "et a fratribus Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ, certo indicio incorruptum inventum est," et ita flexilibus artubus, ut magis dormienti quam mortuo similis videretur, "præsente Alexandro Comite, postea Scottorum Rege," et multis aliis, post annos depositionis suæ CCCC. et XVIIJ., et V. menses, et XIJ. dies, qui est annus quintus Henrici Regis, et Episcopatus Ranulfi sextus. [ed. Hinde, pp. 105, 106.]

<sup>a</sup> The words marked as quotations are from *Flor. Wig.* Hoveden also (*I.* 162) repeats them from *Sim. Dun.*, and a little more fully; in that he adds, before "certo indicio," the

words "cum capite Sancti Oswaldi Regis et Martyris, Sanctique Bedæ, multorumque sanctorum reliquiis."

[ARCHBISHOP ANSELM TO ALEXANDER KING OF THE SCOTS.]

A.D. 1107. CHRON. OF PICTS AND SCOTS.—Edgar . . . mortuus in Dunedin<sup>a</sup> et sepultus in Dumferline. [*Skene*, 175.]

<sup>a</sup> This and Queen Margaret's death in Edinburgh Castle A.D. 1093, seem the earliest mention of Dunedin in connection with Scottish royalty.

A.D. 1107<sup>a</sup>. *Alexander King of the Scots to Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury*: [asking his prayers for his brother Edgar: v. Anselm's letter printed below.]

<sup>a</sup> Edgar, Alexander's brother and predecessor, died January 8, A.D. 1107 (*Sim. Dun.*, *Twysd.* 230).

A.D. 1107. *Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury to Alexander King of the Scots.*

Congratulates  
him on his  
accession.

*Alexandro gratia Dei Scotorum Regi*, ANSELMUS SERVUS ECCLESIE CANTUARIENSIS, salutem, et fideles orationes, et benedictionem Dei, et suam, quantum valet. Gratias agimus Deo, et gaudemus ego et tota congregatio Ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis, quia Deus vos in regnum paternum hæreditario jure post fratrem vestrum sublimavit, et quia vos moribus dignis regno decoravit. Pro fratre vestro, qui sancte vivendo meruit ut de hac vita bono fine misericordia Dei transiret, sicut pro dilecto dilectore nostro, secundum petitionem vestram, oramus et orabimus ut Deus animæ illius gloriæ Suæ cum electis Suis gaudium æternum tribuat, et æternam beatitudinem concedat. Scio quia celsitudo vestra meum amat et desiderat consilium. In primis igitur oro Deum ut Ipse vos Sancti Sui Spiritus gratia sic dirigat, et in omnibus actibus vestris consilium attribuat, ut ad regnum cœleste post hanc vitam vos perducatur. Nostrum autem consilium est ut timorem Dei et bonos ac religiosos mores, quos in adolescentia et ab infantia cœpistis habere, Ipso adjuvante a Quo accepistis, studeatis tenere. Tunc enim bene Reges regnant cum secundum voluntatem Dei vivunt, et serviunt Ei in timore; et cum super seipsos regnant, nec se vitiis subjiciunt, sed illorum importunitatem constanti fortitudine superant. Non enim repugnant in Rege virtutum constantia et fortitudo regia. Quidam enim Reges, sicut David, et sancte vixerunt, et populum sibi commissum cum rigore justitiæ et pietatis mansuetudine, secundum quod res exigit, rexerunt. Sic vos exhibere ut mali vos timeant et boni vos diligant, et ut vita vestra semper Deo placeat, semper mens vestra vindictam malorum et præmium bonorum post hanc vitam memoria retineat. Omnipotens Deus vos et omnes actiones vestras

[CONSECRATION OF TURGOT TO S. ANDREW'S.]

Protect the  
brethren, whom  
Anselm has sent  
to Scotland at  
King Edgar's  
request.

nulli alii quam Suæ piæ dispositioni committat. De  
fratribus nostris quos in Scotiam secundum voluntatem  
fratris vestri, qui de labore hujus vitæ, sicut credimus, ad  
requiem transivit, misimus, benignitatem vestram rogare  
necesse non putavimus, quia bonam voluntatem vestram  
non ignoramus. [*Epist. III. 132.*]

A.D. 1107 × 1124. *Foundation and endowment of a parish church in the parish of Edenham (near Kelso in Roxburghshire) by Thor the Long and King Edgar.*

*Domino meo karissimo Davidi Comiti, THOR OMNINO SUUS, salutem. Sciatis, domine mi, quod Eadgarus Rex frater uester dedit mihi Ednaham desertam, quam ego suo auxilio et mea pecunia inhabitaui, et ecclesiam a fundamentis fabricaui, quam frater uester Rex in honorem Sancti Cuthberti fecit dedicari, et una carucata terre eam dotavit. Hanc eandem ecclesiam, pro anima ejusdem domini mei Regis Eadgari, et patris et matris uestre, et pro salute uestra, et Regis Alexandri, et Mathildis Regine, Sancto predicto et Monachis eius dedi. Vnde uos precor, sicut dominum meum karissimum, ut pro animabus parentum uestrorum, et pro salute uiuorum, hanc donationem Sancto Cuthberto et Monachis sibi in perpetuo seruituris, concedatis. [National MSS. of Scotland, Part I. No. XIV. p. 11.]*

A.D. 1107, *June 20, Turgot Prior of Durham elected, and A.D. 1109, Aug. 1, consecrated, to the see of S. Andrew's by Thomas II. Archbishop of York, with reservation of the rights of both sees in respect to the question of the primacy of York over Scotland.*

I. FLOR. WIG., *in an.*—Ipso eodem die (sc. in kalendis Augusti, die Dominica) Turgodum, Dunholmensem Priorem, ad Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ de Scottia, qui dicitur Cenrimunt, consecravit. [*II. 60.*]

II. SIM. DUN., *Hist. Reg. Angl. in an.* 1074.—Anno Episcopatus Ranulfi [of Durham, A.D. 1099] VIII., impetrante Alexandro Rege Scottorum, ab Henrico Rege Anglorum assumitur [Turgotus] ad Episcopatum Ecclesia Sancti Andreæ in Scotia: in qua est sedes primatis totius gentis Scottorum. Sed per annum et eo amplius dilata est ejus ordinatio propter dissensiones Eboracensis Ecclesiæ atque Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ Scotiæ. Illa namque ordinationem et subjectionem primatis Scottorum sibi ex quodam quasi jure exigit, ista

[CONSECRATION OF TURGOT TO S. ANDREW'S.]

vero e diverso affirmat ex nullo antiquitatis vel consuetudinis jure aliquid se debere. Sed ne diutius pastore [viduata] vacillaret Ecclesia, rogatus a Rege Scottorum Rex Henricus præcepit, ut Eboracensis Archiepiscopus Thomas junior hunc sine ulla subjectionis exactione consecraret, salva utriusque Ecclesiæ auctoritate<sup>a</sup>, ut postea, ubi et quando et a quibus ratio exigeretur, debitus finis controversiam utriusque partis dirimeret. Veniens ergo sic consecratus Scotiam, &c. [ed. Hinde, I. 96.]

Id., *ib. in an.* 1107.—Turgotus, Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ Prior, ad Episcopatum Scottorum eligitur<sup>b</sup>. [*Ib.* 106.]

Id., *ib. in an.* 1109.—Ipso eodem die [scil. 3 kal. Aug. die Dominica<sup>c</sup>] Turgotum Dunelmensem Priorem ad Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ de Scotia qui dicitur Cenrimunt [Thomas Eboracensis Archiepiscopus] consecravit. [*Ib.*, *Twysd.* 232.]

<sup>a</sup> Stubbs, the York chronicler of the 14th century, alleges that Turgot professed subjection to York, and this without mention of any reservation. His statement also is *verbatim* that of the *Digby MS.* 140, which could not have been composed much later than the time of Simeon himself. But it is the statement in both cases of a partizan of York, and can scarcely outweigh the more probable assertion of Simeon in the text.

<sup>b</sup> Simeon (*Twysd.* 207, 237) reckons Turgot's episcopate as lasting precisely 8 years 2 months and 10 days, and dates his death, twice over, in A.D. 1115. Consequently he must have been elected as early as at least the

middle of A.D. 1107; which agrees with the year given by Simeon in the text. And King Alexander, writing to Ralph of Canterbury, dates his death Aug. 31: which, if assumed to be (as it clearly was) in A.D. 1115, gives June 20, A.D. 1107, for the precise day of his election.

<sup>c</sup> Aug. 1, A.D. 1109, was a Sunday: July 30 was not. The number "iii" is more likely to be miswritten than the day of the week. And probably the words "in kalendis" in *Flor. Wig.*, have been changed by copyists or by a misprint into "iii kal." in *Simeon*. It stands "in kalendis" in Hoveden also (*I.* 167), and in the *Cbron. de Mailros*.

III. EADMER, *Hist. Nov. IV.*—Inter hæc [A.D. 1108] electus est ab Alexandro Rege Scotiæ et clero et populo monachus quidam Dunelmensis, nomine Turgodus, ad Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ de Scotia. Cujus consecratio dum ultra quam expediret demoraretur, tum propterea quia Thomas Eboracensis Ecclesiæ antistes electus necdum fuerat consecratus, tum propter quædam alia quæ longum est enarrare, Ranulfus Dunelmensis Episcopus proposuit eundem electum in præsentia ipsius Thomæ apud Eboracam consecrare, associatis sibi Episcopis Scotiæ et Orcadarum insularum. Verum quia id præter consensum et auctoritatem Cantuariensis Episcopi rite fieri non posse sciebat, mandavit ei de negotio per militem quendam, et ut ejus consiliò et concessione sacraretur, deprecatus est. Ad quæ scripsit ei epistolam hanc:

ANSELMUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS CANTUARIE *Ranulfo Episcopo Dunelmensi salutem.* Mandastis mihi per quendam militem, Scollandum nomine,



quod volebatis ut electus Episcopus Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ de Scotia sacra-retur, et hoc volebatis fieri meo consilio et mea concessione. Sed hoc nec debet nec potest canonice fieri ab eodem electo Archiepiscopo, nec ab alio per illum, priusquam ipse fiat Archiepiscopus canonica consecratione. Quapropter nec consulo nec concedo, immo interdico, ne fiat ante consecrationem ejusdem electi Archiepiscopi, nisi a me, si forte hoc necessitas exegerit. Vale.

Post hæc Anselmus, considerans Thomam Episcopalem suam benedictionem non ita expetere sicut debebat, scriptam hanc epistolam ei direxit:—

ANSELMUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS CANTUARIENSIS amico suo *Thomæ, electo Archiepiscopo Ecclesiæ Eboracensi*, salutem. \* \* \* \* Præterea audi-vi quod vos priusquam consecremini facere vultis ut electus Episcopus Sancti Andreæ de Scotia apud Eboracam consecratur. Quod nec vos facere debetis, nec ego concedo; sed omnino interdico ne fiat, aut de illo aut de aliqua persona quæ in regimen animarum debet provehi ab Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, quia non pertinet ad vos dare vel concedere alicui regimen aut curam animarum, quia nondum accepistis. Valet.

Ad illam scripta est epistola hæc:—

*Dilectissimo patri et venerabili domino Anselmo, sanctæ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo*, THOMAS EBORACÆ METROPOLI ELECTUS, licet indignus, salutem et amicæ fidelitatis obsequium.

\* \* \* \* De electo Episcopo Sancti Andreæ de Scotia, quod audistis, rumores sunt quibus credere non oportet. Facile est ergo interdici, quod ut fieret non a me excogitatum est. \* \* \* \* [ed. Selden, pp. 97, 98.]

IV. STUBBS, *Actt. Pontif. Ebor.*—Accepto igitur pallio Archiepiscopus [Thomas II.] missam celebravit, et Turgotum, qui fuerat Prior Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ, Episcopum Sancti Andreæ de Scotia præsentî Cardinali<sup>a</sup> consecravît. Qui ei professionem fecit et scriptam tradidit, quæ sic incipit, Ego Turgotus Scotorum Episcopus, &c. [*Twysd.* 1713. And also the *Bodl. MS. Digby* 140.]

<sup>a</sup> Cardinal Ulric, sent by the Pope with the pall for Archbishop Thomas.

A.D. 1109. ANN. ULT., *in an.*—Oengus hua Donnallan, prim Anmchara samhtha Coluimcille [Oengus o'Donnallan, chief confessor of the community of Columcille.]

## APPENDIX A.

CHIEF BISHOPS OF ALBAN OR OF THE SCOTS\*, (before) A.D. 896-1109.

[A.D. 849-(before) 896, Primacy probably in the Bishop-Abbats of Dunkeld: see above, p. 143.]

1. CELLACH, (before) A.D. 896-(before) A.D. 942: Bishop in the time of King Cyric (*Fordun*, IV. 17), who died A.D. 896; "the Bishop," as Constantine was "the King," viz. of the Scots, at the Council of Scone A.D. 906 (*Chron. Pict.*, *Skene*, 8); called "Bishop of Kilreymonth," i. e. S. Andrew's, by Fordun (as above); who wrongly puts Fothadh before instead of after him ("primus ut reperi," speaking of Fothadh; but the Pictish Chronicle making Cellach Bishop in A.D. 906, and the *Ann. IV. Mag.* dating Fothadh's death A.D. 962, prove Wintoun right in reversing the order).

2. FOTHADH I., (before) A.D. 942-962: "son of Bran, scribe and Bishop of the islands of Alba" (*Ann. IV. Mag.*, in an. 961); received the isle of Lochleven by a "precarian" grant from the Keledei there, A.D. 942 (see above, p. 147); expelled eight years before his death by King Indulf, therefore A.D. 954; died A.D. 962 (*Ann. IV. Mag.*). The silver case for the Gospels preserved at S. Andrew's was inscribed with a Latin couplet with his name as "Scottis summus Episcopus" (*Legend. S. Andr.* in *Skene*, 190, *Fordun*, &c.).

3. MAELBRIGID I. (*Chron. Pict.*), MALISIUS I. (*Fordun*, *Wintoun*), A.D. 962-970; a disciple of S. Duthac, according to *Fordun* (*Suppl. VI.* 24), who foretold that he would be "Episcopus Scottorum;" Bishop eight years (*Fordun*, *ib.*); "Maelbrigid Episcopus pausavit, Cellach filius Ferdalag regnavit," in the reign of King Culen (killed A.D. 970), (*Chron. Pict.*, *Skene*, 10).

4. CELLACH II., A.D. 970-995; "filius Ferdlager, qui fuit primus qui adivit Romam pro confirmatione, et post confirmationem vixit XXV. annis" (*Fordun*, *Suppl. VI.* 24).

[CHIEF BISHOPS OF ALBAN, A.D. 896-1109.]

5. MAELMOR or MALMORE.	{	A.D. 995-1025; the latter date being determined by the joint duration of the next two episcopates (of Alwyn and Malduin), viz. 30 years, together with the known date of Malduin's death, viz. A.D. 1055. Wintoun places Malisius II. before Maelmor. There is no evidence to determine which order is the correct one.
6. MALISIUS II., probably MAEL- BRIGID II.		

7. ALWYN, A.D. 1025-1028, Bishop three years (*Fordun, Wintoun*).

8. MALDUIN, A.D. 1028-1055: "son of Gilla-Odran, Bishop of Alban (Epscob Albain), giver of orders to the clergy" (*Ann. Tigh.*, in an. 1055); Bishop 27 years (*Wintoun*); gave Markinch to the Keledei of Lochleven (*Reg. Prior. S. Andr.* 116); died A.D. 1055 (*Ann. Tigh.*, in an.).

9. TUATHAL, TUTHALD (in *Fordun*), A.D. 1055-1059; Bishop four years (*Fordun*): gave Scoonie to the Keledei of Lochleven (*Reg. Prior. S. Andr.* 116).

10. FOTHADH II. (miscalled *Foderoch*, by Stubbs, *Actt. Pontiff. Ebor.*, and *Modach*, in *Reg. Prior. S. Andr.* 117), A.D. 1059-1093: "Ardepscob Albain" (*Ann. Ull.*, in an. 1093); "filius Malmykel" (*Reg. Prior. S. Andr.* 117); gave Auchterderran to the Keledei of Lochleven (*ib.*); alleged by Stubbs (as above) to have professed subjection and acted as suffragan, A.D. 1072 x 1093, to Thomas I. Archbishop of York; died A.D. 1093 (*Ann. Ull.*, in an.). The last Celtic Primate.

[*Interregnum*, A.D. 1093-1109: filled by Fordun (*Suppl. VI.* 24) with the names of *Gregorius*, *Cathre*, *Edmar*, and *Godric*, who all "obierunt electi." Wintoun omits them. And the first and third look like a confusion with Gregory, who witnessed the Scone charter of A.D. 1115, and who was probably Bishop of Moray, and with Eadmer, respectively. Pope Paschal's letter of A.D. 1101 (see above) names no one.]

11. TURGOT, a Saxon by birth, and Prior of Durham, elected June 20, A.D. 1107, consecrated Aug. 1, A.D. 1109, at York, with reservation of the rights of either see, as "Bishop of S. Andrew's" (the delay being mainly due to disputes between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York), died A.D. 1115. See above, pp. 170-172.

<sup>a</sup> For their proper title, see above, p. 148, note <sup>a</sup>.

## APPENDIX B.

*KELEDEI (vulgo "CULDEES") IN SCOTLAND, c. A.D. 800—c. A.D. 1150.*

(Not extinct however until the middle of the 14th century.)

Keledei: what they were. I. "*Keledeus*" = *Servus Dei* (according to the more probable derivation), and at first merely an Irish appellation for a monk (*Céle-dé*), is first found as the name of a monk of a special and more strict rule, differing however in no way whatever from the doctrine or ordinary discipline of the then Church, at Tamhlacht near Dublin under S. Maelruain, ob. A.D. 792<sup>a</sup>. It occurs first, in Scotland, and in a like special sense, either at Dunkeld before A.D. 820, if Constantine were the founder of the Church there (other authorities name Kenneth and A.D. 849), or at Lochleven before A.D. 842 (see above, pp. 118, 147). It is applied to hermits in the latter of these two places, but at Dunkeld, S. Andrew's, and Glasgow, to a conventual body (usually a prior<sup>b</sup> and twelve monks), but described in the last two cases as living in separate abodes: akin to the secular canons of Chrodegang of Metz cir. A.D. 757; regulated by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 817.

Keledei in Scotland. II. *Keledei* are found in Scotland, certainly, at the following places:—

i. At \**Glasgow*, according to Jocelin's *V. S. Kentegerni* (see above, pp. 28, 29), but there is no evidence as to when they came there; and it is against all probability to suppose (as Jocelin does) that they were established by S. Kentegern himself. They had disappeared before David's restoration of the bishopric in A.D. 1119. Henry of Silgrave (see below) speaks of *Canonici Seculares* there.

ii. At \**Dunkeld*, from its foundation, according to Dean Mylne (see below), i. e. from either before A.D. 820 or before A.D. 849 (A.D. 729 is an obvious error in Mylne, who wrote in the end of the 15th century, corrected by the name and date of the founder whom he names), according as we prefer the evidence of the Pictish Chronicle or of the Register of S. Andrew's. King David A.D. 1127 established there a body of canons (*Canonici Nigri* or of S. Augustin) and a Bishop; but the Dunkeld *Keledei*, although no doubt displaced, survived for a considerable period, being mentioned in

## [KELEDEI (CULDEES) IN SCOTLAND.]

Henry of Silgrave's catalogue A.D. 1272 (see *Reeves, Culdees*, 30), as co-existing there with *Canonici Nigri*.

iii. At *Lochleven*, where is the earliest certain record of them in Scotland, viz. A.D. 842 (see above, pp. 118, 147), which proves however that they must have been established in the island some time previously. The last record of them there under the name of *Keledei* is A.D. 1248, but David made them into Canons Secular A.D. 1144 × 1150.

iv. At *\*S. Andrew's*, first mentioned A.D. 943, when King Constantine became their (probably lay) abbat (see above, p. 148); but established there, not at its first foundation, but some time subsequently (see the *Hist. Eccl. S. Andr.* as quoted below), and therefore probably early in the 9th century: last mentioned A.D. 1332; co-existing there with *Canonici Nigri* from A.D. 1144, and so also Henry of Silgrave, but finally superseded by those Canons after a long struggle, which began in A.D. 1144.

v. At *\*Brechin*, founded by Kenneth son of Malcolm, A.D. 971 × 995 (see above, p. 149), and probably for *Keledei* (who were then still, so to say, the fashion in the matter of Scottish monastic foundations), inasmuch as King David, when establishing the episcopal see A.D. 1124 × 1130, found *Keledei* there, and left them in possession. They are last mentioned by name A.D. 1219 × 1222, and were supplanted by Dean and Canons before A.D. 1248. They are however in Henry of Silgrave's list A.D. 1272.

vi. At *Abernethy*, founded by King Nectan, but by which of the Kings so called is uncertain; Fordun and (in effect) Dean Mylne, however, fixing it to c. A.D. 600, but giving two slightly varying dates: the seat of the Pictish primacy for three episcopates prior to A.D. 849 (*Fordun, IV. 12*): first known as of *Keledei*, A.D. 1093 × 1107 (see *Reeves, Culdees*, 127, 128); and transferred to Canons A.D. 1272.

vii. At *Hy*, which is in Henry of Silgrave's list, but the solitary record of *Keledei* there dates A.D. 1164 (*Ann. Ult.*), and is of a subordinate section only of the ecclesiastics of the island.

viii. At *Monymusk*, on the Don, in Aberdeenshire; founded or (more probably) restored by Malcolm Canmore A.D. 1080, and affiliated to [the *Keledei* of] *S. Andrew's*: *Keledei* there A.D. 1170; still so called A.D. 1214 × 1234, but with an alternative of "Canones;" styled, absolutely, "Prior et Conventus Ordinis S. Augustini," A.D. 1245.

ix. At *Muthill*, not far from Dunblane in Perthshire: earliest record A.D. 1178, latest A.D. 1214.

x. At *\*Lismore*, in Argyllshire, an Irish foundation of S. Moluoc or Lughaidh, ob. A.D. 592; which became, c. A.D. 1200, the see of the new diocese of Argyll, taken out of that of Dunkeld. It is only known from Henry of Silgrave's list to have been Keledean, but there is no evidence as



## [KELEDEI (GULDERG) IN SCOTLAND.]

to how or when it became so; and a Dean and Canons were certainly there A.D. 1249, 1251.

x. At \**Dornoch*, in Sutherlandshire, the see of the diocese of Caithness, known to have been at some time or other Keledean from Henry of Silgrave's list, but *Keledei* had disappeared there either before or during Bishop Gilbert's episcopate c. A.D. 1222.

xii. At \**Dunblane*, in Perthshire, an old Irish foundation of probably Columban times, S. Blean's mother being said to have been daughter of King Ardair, known to have been Keledean at some time or other from Henry of Silgrave's list only.

xiii. At \**Rossmarkie*, in Ross-shire; also an old Irish foundation, viz. of S. Boniface (see above, pp. 116, 140), but of later date than Dunblane: known likewise to have been Keledean at some time or other from Henry of Silgrave's list. It had ceased to be so A.D. 1224, but whether from the time of King David's foundation of a bishopric there, no evidence exists to show.

xv. At *Monifieth*, in Forfarshire, where *Keledei* are once mentioned, viz. in A.D. 1242, but as having existed in the previous generation.

*Keledei* are also said to have existed at *Scone* (so *Buchanan*), *Monrose*, *Abirky*, *Dull*, *Ecclusburg*, and elsewhere in Scotland, but there is no evidence of records to the fact, however probable it may be in itself. No doubt many Keledean institutions existed, of which no record happens to have been preserved.

It follows from the facts thus stated, that the original Irish monastic institutions introduced into Scotland, whether by S. Columba or by other fellow-workers of that time, were not Keledean;—that Keledean institutions began there about A.D. 800, as either new foundations, or in the lapse of years engrafted on older ones;—that these foundations followed a like course of deterioration with the similar Irish, and with the Celtic Welsh, monasteries;—that partly by their own decadence, but perhaps more through English ecclesiastical influence (which began with Malcolm and Margaret, and culminated under King David), they, with the other monasteries of an Irish type, were either transformed, or destroyed, by a revolution beginning about the middle of the 12th century, being principally converted into the monastic order nearest akin to them, viz. Augustinian canons;—and that by the middle of the 14th century they had disappeared altogether, even in name.

It will be seen likewise by this list, and by the names in it marked by an asterisk, that (even omitting Glasgow, where the *Keledei*, if they ever existed, had wholly disappeared, possibly in the general wreck of Church institutions

## [KELEDEI (CULDEES) IN SCOTLAND.]

there, prior to King David's earldom of Cumbria) all the Bishoprics, found or established by King David, except only Moray and Aberdeen,—and, in addition, the later Bishopric of Lismore or Argyll,—were created out of Keledean foundations; and, further, that in each such case, except only (for a time) Brechin,—and again with the addition of the other non-episcopal Keledean institutions,—*Keledei* were superseded, after more or less of a struggle, by (usually) Canons. It is easy therefore to perceive how such a transformation of abbatial jurisdictions into a regular system of diocesan episcopacy, and this under the (eventual) primacy of S. Andrew's, could be naturally, although not accurately, described by a Durham chronicler of a later period, as follows:—"Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCVIII, ..... electus fuit Turgotus Prior Dunelmensis in Episcopum Sancti Andreæ, &c. In diebus illis totum jus Keledeorum per totum regnum Scotiæ transivit in Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ<sup>a</sup>." It is to be added also, that the change then effected was also a change from old Celtic foundations to new ones of the Anglo-Norman type, together with a large influx of English monks: analogous to the contemporaneous change which transformed or destroyed the older British monasteries in Wales.

<sup>a</sup> The authorities for this and the list that follows are taken from Dr. Reeves, *On the Culdees*, Dublin, 1864.

<sup>b</sup> Called sometimes abbat, e. g. twice at S. Andrew's; but in many cases the abbat and prior became distinct offices, the latter the spiritual superior, the former a lay hereditary lord of the Church lands.

<sup>c</sup> A list of Celtic Scottish monasteries, in part Keledean, in part merely (so to say) Irish, will be found in Mr. Joseph Robertson's article on *Scottish Abbeys and Calbedrals*, *Quarterly Review*, LXXXV.; and a brief list from it in *Grub*, I. 243.

<sup>d</sup> Quoted in *Selden's Pref. to Twysden's X. Scriptores*, p. vi.

What *Keledei* became.

III. Special asceticism was the original character of the Keledean rule. Special laxity, after the natural course of monastic orders, and in this case no doubt coloured more highly by national and ecclesiastical antipathies, became their character by the 12th century. But the particular Keledean laxity appears to have been, that, precisely like their Irish and Welsh congeners, they gradually lapsed into something like impropiators (to use the modern term), married, and transmitting their Church endowments as if they had been their own to their children, but retaining, at any rate in most cases, their clerical office; although the abbats, as e. g. at Dunkeld and Abernethy, became in some cases mere lay lords of the Church lands thus misappropriated, leaving a prior to be the spiritual superior. The councils under Queen Margaret (see above, pp. 156-158) may serve to indicate the extent and character of their divergence, in common with the rest of the Scottish Church, from the then approved English type. It is needless, after Dr. Reeves's exhaustive essay, to notice the groundless theories which in modern times polemics and ignorance

[KELEDEI (CULDEES) IN SCOTLAND.]

combined have invented respecting them. The following accounts, drawn up however (as Dr. Reeves rightly reminds the reader) by opponents, the first of them in the middle of the 12th century, the second in the end of the 15th, will serve to show what they became before their downfall. And the list which follows supplies the evidence for the existence of many of them.

1. *Extract from the Register of S. Andrew's, drawn up A.D. 1144 × 1153.*

HIST. ECCLES. S. ANDR. — Sublatis vero a presenti vita Sanctis quorum supra mentionem fecimus, qui cum reliquiis beati Apostoli advenierant [sc. Regulus and his companions], et eorum discipulis atque imitatoribus, cultus ibi [in regia urbe Rymont] religiosus deperierat, sicut et gens barbara et inculta fuerat. Habebantur tamen in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ, quota et quanta tunc erat, tredecim<sup>a</sup> per successionem carnalem, quos Keledeos appellant, qui secundam [sic] suam æstimationem et hominum traditionem magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta patrum vivebant. Sed et adhuc similiter vivunt, et quædam habent communia, pauciora scilicet et deteriora, quædam vero propria, plura scilicet et potiora; prout quisque ab amicis suis aliqua necessitudine ad se pertinentibus, videlicet consanguineis et affinibus, vel ab iis quorum animæ charæ<sup>b</sup> sunt (quod est animarum amici), sive aliis quibus libet modis, poterit quis adipisci. Postquam Keledei effecti sunt, non licet eis habere uxores suas in domibus suis<sup>c</sup>, sed nec alias de quibus mala oriatur suspicio mulieres. Personæ nihilominus septem<sup>d</sup> fuerunt oblationes altaris inter se dividentes, quarum septem portionum unam tantum habebat Episcopus, et Hospitale unam; quinque vero reliquæ in quinque cæteros dividebantur, qui nullo<sup>e</sup> omnino altari vel ecclesiæ impendebant servitium, præterquam peregrinus [sic] et hospites, cum plures quam sex adventarunt, more suo hospitio suscipiebant, sortem mittentes quis quos vel quot reciperet. Hospitale sane semper sex et infra suscipiebat. Sex [leg. sed] quod nunc, donante Deo, postquam in manum Canonicorum devenit, omnes suscepit eo advenientes. Personæ autem supra memoratæ redditus et possessiones proprias habebant, quas, cum e vitæ [sic] decederent, uxores eorum, quas publice tenebant, filii quoque vel filiæ, propinqui vel generi, inter se dividebant: nihilominus<sup>f</sup> altaris oblationes cui non deserviebant: quod puduisset dicere, si non libuisset eis facere. Nec potuit tantum auferri malum usque ad tempus fœlicis memoriæ Regis Alexandri, sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ specialis amatoris, qui et Ecclesiam beati Andreæ Apostoli possessionibus et redditibus ampliavit, multisque et magnis muneribus cumulavit, libertatibus et consuetudinibus quæ sui regii muneris erant, cum regali possessione donavit. Terram etiam quæ *Cursus Apri*<sup>g</sup> dicitur, quam, cum allatæ fuissent reliquiæ beati Andreæ Apostoli, Rex Hungus, cujus

## [KELEDEI (CULDEES) IN SCOTLAND.]

supra mentionem fecimus, Deo et sancto Apostolo Andreæ dederat, et postea ablata fuerat, ex integro instituit, eo nimirum obtentu et conditione ut in ipsa Ecclesia constitueretur religio ad Deo deservendum. Non enim erat qui beati Apostoli altari deserviret, nec ibi missa celebrabatur nisi cum Rex vel Episcopus illo advenerat, quod raro contingebat. Keledei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo<sup>h</sup> celebrabant. Cujus donationis regiæ testes multi sunt superstites. Quam donationem et Comes David frater ejus concessit, quem Rex heredem destinaverat, et in regno successorem, sicut est hodie. [*Regist. Prior. S. Andr.*: printed in *Append. to Reeves's Culdees*, 106–109, and elsewhere.]

<sup>a</sup> “Twelve brethren and a Prior, as at Monymusk” (*Reeves*).

<sup>b</sup> = Annchura, the Irish expression for confessor or spiritual adviser, latinized here into (what appears to have been really the derivation of the word) *anima cara*, or in the plural “*animæ charæ*” (*Reeves*). See above on pp. 154, 172.

<sup>c</sup> i. e. not in their official residences, while upon duty; as expressly in the Dunkeld record of Dean Mylne (given below). So Reeves, and the matter is plain from the remainder of the passage.

<sup>d</sup> i. e. Seven besides the Keledei, the Bishop being one, and the Hospital (= place of guests, a nearly invariable adjunct of all Culdee institutions) representing another. Their office had become nearly a sinecure, and themselves

laymen; the Keledei discharging the offices of the Church, and being as it were vicars to the seven (or rather five) as rectors. The revenues of the seven persons were it appears transferred, bit by bit, to the new body of Canons established by Bishop Robert in the time of King David.

<sup>e</sup> Reeves wishes to correct into “nullum.”

<sup>f</sup> = immo etiam, according to Reeves.

<sup>g</sup> Cursus Apri = Mucros or *Nemus Porcorum*, the earliest name for S. Andrew's. See Reeves's note.

<sup>h</sup> Probably after some (Irish) peculiarities, like those which the “Saxon” party headed by Queen Margaret condemned in that Queen's councils, or those which at the same period were denounced by the like influence in Ireland itself. See above, p. 157.

## 2. *Extract from Dean Mylne's Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld.*

MYLNE, *Vitæ Dunkeld. Eccles. Episcoporum* [c. A.D. 1485].—Scrip-  
tum me de vestræ sedis initio, oportet primo retexere qualiter Constan-  
tinus Pictorum Rex tertius, divo Columbæ totius tunc regni patrono de-  
votus, monasterium insigne super ripam fluminis Tayensis, in locis illis quæ  
nunc occupatis vos, reverende pater, pro orto orientali, et vos Alexander pro  
mansione de Creif, in ejusdem divi Columbe honorem ad Sancti Adamnani  
instantiam construxit et dotavit, circa annos Domini septingentos viginti  
novem, post constructam ecclesiam de Abernethi ad annos ducentos viginti  
sex, novem menses et sex dies, at, ut aliorum est opinio, ducentos quadra-  
ginta quatuor. In quo quidem monasterio imposuit vires religiosos, quos  
nominavit vulgus Kelledeos, aliter Colideos, hoc est, colentes Deum;  
habentes tamen secundum Orientalis Ecclesiæ ritum conjuges, a quibus dum  
vicissim ministrarunt abstinebant; sicut postea in Ecclesia beati Reguli,  
nunc Sancti Andreæ, consuetum tunc fuit. Sed dum placuit Altissimo totius  
Christianæ religionis Moderatori, crescenteque principum devotione et  
sanctitate, David Rex sanctus, junior filiorum Malcolmi Canmor Regis et



## [KELEDEI (CULDEES) IN SCOTLAND.]

Sanctæ Margaretæ Reginae, mutato monasterio, in ecclesiam cathedralem erexit; et repudiatis Kelledeis, Episcopum et Canonicos instituit, seculareque collegium in futurum esse ordinavit, circa annos Domini mille centum et viginti septem. Primus tunc Episcopus illius pro tempore monasterii abbas, et Regis postea consiliarius, erat. [pp. 4, 5, ed. Bannatyne Club, Edinb. 1831.]

3. *Catalogue of Religious Houses, at the end of the Chronicle of Henry of Silgrave, c. A.D. 1272, so far as it relates to Scotland* [from *Cott. MS. Cleopat. A. XII. fol. 56*]<sup>a</sup>.

## LAUDIAN.

Abatia Newbotle S. <sup>b</sup> Marie .	Monachi Albi . .	[David, A.D. 1140.]
Abbatia Maylros S. Marie .	Monachi Albi . .	[David, A.D. 1136.]
Abbatia Dreyeburgh S. . .	Canonici Albi . .	[David, or Hugh de Moreville, A.D. 1150.]
Abbatia Kelzho S. Marie .	Monachi Nigri de Tyrun.	[Kelso, David, A.D. 1128.]
Abbatia Rokesburgh S. . .	Canonici Nigri .	[See note <sup>a</sup> .]
Abbatia Caldestream S. . .	Moniales Nigræ .	[Earl Cospatrick, before A.D. 1166.]
Abbatia Edeneburgh S. . .	Canonici Nigri .	[David, A.D. 1128.]
Abbatia Goddewrthe S. . .	Monachi Nigri .	[See note <sup>a</sup> .]
Prioratus Goldingeham S. .	Monachi Nigri .	[Edgar, A.D. 1097 or 1098.]
Prioratus Hadintone S. . .	Moniales Albæ .	[Countess Ada, A.D. 1178.]
Prioratus Suthberewik S. .	Moniales Albæ .	[David, A.D. 1124 × 1153.]
Prioratus Northberewik S. .	Moniales Nigræ .	[Malcolm Earl of Fife, A.D. 1216.]
Prioratus Eccles S. . . .	Moniales Albæ .	[Earl Cospatrick, A.D. 1154 or 1155.]

## IN SCOCIA.

Episcopatus Sancti Andree .	Canonici Nigri, Keldei.	
Abbatia Dunfermelin S. Trinitatis.	Monachi Nigri .	[Malcolm Canmore, A.D. 1070.]
Abbatia Streuelin S. . . .	Canonici Nigri .	[Cambuskenneth, David, before A.D. 1147.]
Prioratus de May: de Readinge.	Monachi Nigri .	[Granted by David to Reading, A.D. 1124 × 1153; transferred to S. Andrew's by Bishop Wishart, c. A.D. 1273.]
Prioratus in Insula S. Columbe.	Canonici Nigri .	[Inchcolm, Alexander I., A.D. 1123.]
Abbatia de Lundres S. . .	Monachi Nigri de Tyron.	[Lindores in Fife, David Earl of Huntingdon, A.D. 1178 × 1198.]



## [KELEDEI (CULDEES) IN SCOTLAND.]

Prioratus de Pert S. . . .	Moniales Nigræ .	[See note <sup>a</sup> .]
Abbatia de Scone S. . . .	Canonici Nigri .	[Alexander I., A.D. 1115.]
Prioratus de Nostinot S. . .	Canonici Nigri .	[? Restennot, a cell of Jedburgh.]
Abbatia de Cupre . . . .	Monachi Albi .	[Malcolm IV., A.D. 1164.]
Abbatia Aberbrothoc . . . .	Monachi de Tyron	[William I., A.D. 1178.]
Episcopatus Dunkeldre S.	Canonici Nigri, Colukille.	
Episcopatus de Brechin . . .	Keledei.	
Episcopatus de Aberde <sup>c</sup> . . .	[blank].	
Episcopatus de Mûreue <sup>c</sup> . . .	Canonici Seculares.	
Prioratus de Hurtard . . . .	Monachi Nigri de Dunferml.	[Urquhart in Moray, David, A.D. 1124.]
Abbatia de Kinlos . . . .	Monachi Albi.	[In Moray, David, A.D. 1150.]
Episcopatus de Ros . . . .	Keledei.	
Episcopatus de Glascu . . . .	Canonici Seculares.	
Abbatia Sancti Kinewini . .	Monachi de Tyron	[Kilwinning, Hugh de Moreville, A.D. 1140.]
Episcopatus de Galeweye . .	[blank].	
Abbatia de Candida Casa . .	Monachi Albi . .	[Whitherne, Fergus of Gallo-way, A.D. 1125 x 1160: see above, p. 25.]
Abbatia M [blank] . . . .	Monachi Nigri.	
Episcopatus de Dublin [=	Keledei.	
Dumblane.]		
Episcopatus de Katenesio . .	Keledei.	
Episcopatus de Argiul . . . .	Keledei.	
Abbatia in Insula [=Hy] . .	Keledei.	

<sup>a</sup> Printed also in Stevenson's notes to the *Scalacronica*, pp. 241, 242. See an account of it in *Reeves, Culdees*, p. 32. It is given here as supplying the only evidence to the Keledean character of several of the institutions mentioned in it. But it seems to refer to "a state of things anterior to its own date" (*Reeves*); it is obviously very incomplete, even as a list of foundations of what may be called King David's era; and, except in the case of Bishoprics, it omits all mention of monasteries of Irish date and type, as e.g. Deer and Turriff. There seem also to be mistakes in it. E.g. in respect to Roxburgh, where was a *Franciscan* monastery from about A.D. 1235; and Jedburgh, which belonged to

*Augustinian Canons*; and Perth, where was a Dominican monastery, founded A.D. 1231, but no nunnery. See Spotiswood (*Religious Houses, &c.*). The founders' names, and the dates, have been added in [ ]. All of them, with one exception, and setting aside the three cases which appear to be errors, fall within the period between Malcolm Canmore and William the Lion, A.D. 1070-1178.

<sup>b</sup> The S. is followed, here and throughout, by an unintelligible mark of abbreviation. The writer evidently intended to add, but in most cases did not know, the name of the Saint to whom each monastery was dedicated.

<sup>c</sup> A letter is erased in each of these places.

## APPENDIX C.

LIVES OF SCOTTISH SAINTS, A.D. 850-1150.

1. *S. Adriani* (= Odran, according to Skene), Episcopi et Martyris (founder of a monastery in the island of May off the coast of Fife; called Bishop of S. Andrew's; martyred with his companions, Stolbrand, Geodrianus, Caius, &c. by the Danes c. A.D. 870); from *Brev. Aberdon.* in *Actt. SS.* March 4, *I.* 326-328; *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 1: and see *Stuart's Records of the Priory of the Isle of May*, Edinb. 1868.

2. *S. Cadroë*, Abbatis (of Metz, but previously Prior of Walciodorus [Wassor in Lorraine]; son of Faiteach a Scotchman of royal lineage; preached in Scotland during the reign of Constantine son of Aodh [A.D. 900-943], before he went abroad; the only [Albanian] Scottish missionary on the Continent recorded; ob. c. A.D. 978): one, *auct. anon.*, in *Colgan, I.* 494; another, *auct. Reimanno sive Ousmanno*, a contemporary monk of Gorz, in *Mabill. Actt. SS. Ben. Sæc. V., VII.* 482; *Actt. SS.* March 6, *I.* 474-481; and fragments in *Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist., VI.* 483, 484.

3. *S. Kennochæ*, Virginis (ob. A.D. 1007); from *Brev. Aberdon.*, in *Actt. SS.* March 13, *II.* 338.

4. *S. Margaretæ*, Reginæ (ob. A.D. 1093); one by Ailred of Rievaulx (ob. A.D. 1166), abridged in *Surius*, June 10, *II.* 167 sq., ed. 1617; and *Pinkerton, VV. SS. Scot.* 371 sq.: another by Theodoric, confessor to the Queen, commonly but questionably assigned to Turgot afterwards Bishop of S. Andrew's (see *Pref.* to Hinde's ed. of *Sim. Dunelm.*), in *Pinkerton, ib.*, 301 sq.; *Actt. SS.* June 10, *II.* 328-340; *Appendix to Hinde's Sim. Dunelm., I.* 234-254. See also *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 225.

5. *S. Magni*, Comititis (of the Orkneys, martyred there A.D. 1106 [?]), in *Pinkerton, VV. SS. Scot.* 385 sq.: also from *Brev. Aberdon.*, in *Actt. SS.* April 16, *II.* 439-441.

6. *S. Davidis*, Regis [A.D. 1124-1153], Eulogium (ex *Ailred. Riev. Geneal. Reg. Angl., Twysd.* 347 sq.), in *Pinkerton, VV. SS. Scot.*, 439 sq.

7. *S. Walthevi* (or *Waltheni* or *Walleni*), Abbatis (of Melrose, chosen Bishop of S. Andrew's A.D. 1159 [sc. on the death of Bishop Robert,

[LIVES OF SCOTTISH SAINTS, A.D. 850-1150.]

A.D. 1158 *Chron. S. Crucis*, A.D. 1159 *Chron. de Mailros*], but refused to accept the office; ob. A.D. 1159), *auct. Jordano vel Joscelino Monacho Furnesiensi*, in *Actt. SS.* Aug. 3, *I.* 241. See also *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 293.

[There is also a legend of *S. Dubac* of Ross, in *Brev. Aberdon.* and in *Actt. SS.* March 8, *I.* 799, 800, who is commonly placed in the 13th century, but is conjecturally identified by Dr. Reeves (*Adamn. V. S. Col., Add. Notes*, p. 401) with Dubhtach Albanach, ob. A.D. 1065 (see above, p. 154): and an article *De S. Colmoco seu Colmo, Episcopo in Scotia*, ob. A.D. 1000, in *Actt. SS.* June 6, *I.* 761.]

## APPENDIX D.

### SEPULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

Christian inscriptions in the Isle of Man are wholly Runic and of Norwegian date and origin, although abounding, says Professor Munch, in "grammatical errors," which arise no doubt from a strong admixture of Celtic elements, while "perhaps one half of the names occurring in them" are not Norwegian but Gaelic.

The following list is from Professor Munch's notes to his edition of the *Chron. Manniæ* (Christiania, 1860, pp. xx-xxiv.); the first two, marked A, being of a different character, and "perhaps even of a different period," from those marked B. The transliteration, and the translation, are those of Professor Munch, aided by Messrs. Cumming and Worsaae.

#### A. 1. On a cross at *Kirk Michael* :—

MAL LUMCUN RAISTI CRVS pANA EFTER MAL MVRV  
FVSTRA SINA TOTER TVFCALS OS AþISL ATI [= Mallumkun  
erexit crucem hanc post Malmuram educatricem suam, filiam Dugaldi, quam  
Adislus habuit (i. e. in matrimonio)].

#### A. 2. On a fragment of a cross at *Kirk Onchan* :—

\* \* \* ITRA ES LAIFA FUSTRA CVpAN SVN ILAN [the  
first two words unintelligible; the third, LAIFA, probably the accusative  
case of LEIFI, a proper name; the last four words=educatorem bonum,  
filium malum].

#### B. 1. On a cross at *Ballaugh* :—

pORLIBR pIVTVLB SVN RAIST CRVS paNA AIFTIR VB  
SVN SIN [=Thorleifus Thjodulfi (Thiostulfi) filius erexit crucem hanc  
post Ubbonem (Ulfum) filium suum].

#### B. 2. On a cross at *Kirk Braddan* :—

VTR RISTI CRVS paNa AFT FRaCA FAþVR SIN IN pVR-  
BIAVRN \* \* \* [= Ottarus (Gautus) erexit crucem hanc post  
Franconem patrem suum, sed Thorbjornus \* \* \*].

[SEPULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ISLE OF MAN.]

B. 3. On a second cross at *Kirk Michael* :—

MAIL BRICTI SVNR ꝥACANS SMIP RAISTI CRVS ꝥANA  
FVR SALV SINA SIN BRVCVIN CAVT CIRPI ꝥANa AVC ALA  
IMAVN [=Mælbrigidus filius Athacani fabri erexit crucem hanc pro anima  
sua (peccatrice<sup>a</sup>) ; Gautus fecit hanc (sc. crucem) et omnes in Mannia].

<sup>a</sup> This word is purely conjectural.

B. 4. On a third cross at *Kirk Michael* :—

\* \* \* ꝥANA AF VFAIC FAVPVR SIN IN CAVTR CIRPI SVNR  
BIARNAR CVBCVLI [= (omitting the last word, as inexplicable)  
\* \* \* hanc (sc. crucem) post Ufeigum patrem suum, sed Gautus fecit,  
filius Björnönis \* \* \* ].

B. 5. On a fourth cross at *Kirk Michael* :—

\* \* \* CRVS ꝥAN AFTIR, and separately, \* \* \* CRIMS INS  
SVARTA [= \* \* \* crucem hanc post \* \* \* Grimi nigri].

B. 6. On a fifth cross at *Kirk Michael* :—

\* \* \* SVAC RAISTI CRVS ꝥAN EFT RVMVN \* \* \* NT  
[= \* \* \* Svangus erexit crucem hanc post Romundum \* \* \* ].

B. 7. On a sixth cross at *Kirk Michael* :—

IVALFIR SVNR PVRVLF SINS RAVPA RISTI CRVS ꝥANA  
AFT FRIPV MYPVR SINa [=Joalfus filius Thorulfi Rufi erexit crucem  
hanc post Fridam matrem suam].

A second inscription, too faintly scratched to be deciphered, is at the foot  
of this cross.

B. 8. On a second cross at *Kirk Braddan* :—

\* \* \* R aSCITIL VILTI I TRICV AIPSOARA SIIN [= \* \* \*  
quem Ascatillus decepit in treuga, consacramentalem suum].

B. 9. On a cross at *Kirk Andreas* :—

SaNTVLF EIN SVARTI RAISTI CRVS ꝥaNA AFTIR ARIN  
BIAVRC CVINV SINA [= Sandulfus niger erexit crucem hanc post  
Arinbjargam uxorem suam].

B. 10. On a cross at *Tynwald Hill* :—

\* \* \* INaIRVIR RAIST RVNAR ꝥAER AFTIR \* \* \*  
[=Inairvir (a proper name, but incompletely written) sculpsit literas hasce  
post \* \* \* ].



[SEFULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ISLE OF MAN.]

B. 11. On a cross at the *Vicarage of Jurby* :—

\* \* \* RV SVN IN aNAN RAITI FAIRpVR IAL \* \* \*  
 [= \* \* \* ræ filium, sed aliam (crucem) erexit Fairthurus Jal \* \* \* ].

B. 12. On a third cross at *Kirk Braddan* :—

pVRLABR NEACI RISTI CRVS paNA AFT FIAC SVN IN  
 BRVPVR SVN IABRS [= Thorlavus Neaki erexit crucem hanc post  
 Fiac filium (suum) sed fratris filium Jabri].

B. 13. On a second cross at *Kirk Onchan* :—

(a) On the top, \* \* CRVS \* \* [= \* \* crucem \* \* ]. (b) Lower  
 down, \* \* ISVCRIST [= Jesu Christ.]. (c) Below on the right arm,  
 pVRIp RAIST RVNAR [= Thurida sculpsit literas]. (d) On the other  
 side, below on the right arm, \* \* \* SVN RASTI AFTIR SVN SINA  
 MVRIBLV [= (conjecturally) \* \* \* filius erexit (crucem) post uxorem  
 suam Muriellam]. (e) Below, on the left arm, VCICAT ASVIR  
 ApICRIT AM \* \* \* Np [which is given up as unintelligible, and  
 conjectured to be perhaps Gaelic].

## PERIOD THE FOURTH.

YORK CLAIM OF SUPREMACY OVER THE SCOTTISH CHURCH: AND  
FORMATION OF THE SCOTTISH DIOCESES. . A.D. 1109-1188.

[A.D. 1109-1115. Failure, retirement, and death, of Turgot, the first English Bishop of S. Andrew's, consecrated at York.

Before A.D. 1115. Foundation of sees of Moray and Dunkeld.

A.D. 1115. Augustinian Canons at Scone.

A.D. 1119-1126. Thurstin Archbishop of York renews the claim to the metropolitan-ship of Scotland.

A.D. 1120-1122. Failure and retirement of Eadmer, sent from Canterbury to be Bishop of S. Andrew's.

A.D. 1124-1153. Foundation of the sees of Brechin and Dunblane. Period of the superseding of the Scottish (or Irish) monastic rules by the introduction of the various monastic orders of the Western Church.

A.D. 1125. Legatine Council of Roxburgh under John of Crema. See of Aberdeen probably founded.

A.D. 1128. Consecration of Robert an Englishman to the see of S. Andrew's, at York, but with all rights reserved.

Before A.D. 1130. Sees of Caithness and of Ross founded.

A.D. 1138. Legatine Council at Carlisle.

A.D. 1144. Commencement of the gradual suppression of *Keledei*, chiefly by converting them into Augustinian Canons.

A.D. 1154. Bull of Anastasius IV., subjecting the sees of the Nordreys and Sudreys (i. e. of the Orkneys, and of Man and the Isles) to Trondhjem, as against both Bremen and York.

A.D. 1155. Claim of York over Scotland still maintained by Pope Adrian IV.

A.D. 1156. Hy again Irish, yet still claimed apparently by the see of Man (as, afterwards, by that of Argyll).

A.D. 1160. Ernald Bishop of S. Andrew's consecrated at S. Andrew's by the Papal Legate.

A.D. 1164. Attempted legatine council under Roger of York at Norham.

A.D. 1165. Richard Bishop of S. Andrew's consecrated at S. Andrew's by Scottish Bishops.

A.D. 1174. December, Treaty of Falaise.

A.D. 1175. Bulls of Pope Alexander III.; and Aug. 17, Conference at York.

[RETIREMENT AND DEATH OF TURGOT BISHOP OF S. ANDREW'S.]

A.D. 1176. Jan. 25. Council of Northampton. The Legate Vivian's Council of Edinburgh.

A.D. 1178-1188. Disputed election to the see of S. Andrew's.

A.D. 1188. March 13. Bull of Clement III. declaring the Scottish sees dependent on no one, save immediately upon the Apostolic See.]

A.D. 1109-1115. *Failure, retirement, and death, of Turgot, the first English Bishop of S. Andrew's.*

SIM. DUN., *De G. R. A.*—Veniens ergo (Turgotus) sic consecratus Scotiam, cum causis emergentibus digne non posset Episcopale officium exercere, Romam ire disposuit, ubi consilio et iudicio domini papæ Paschalis vitam suam transigeret. Sed ne id ad effectum perduceret, invalescentibus inter ipsum et Regem causis, præ angustia spiritus decidit in melancholiam. Unde, accepta licentia remorandi ad tempus Dunelmi propter infirmitatem, vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli venit ad Weremutham, ubi quondam ab Aldwino habitum monachi susceperat; ubi mane ut poterat Missa celebrata, ad sanctum Cuthbertum proficiscitur, ibique in lectum decedens, modo lentis modo nimiis præparatur febribus ad exitum, et hoc per duos menses et quatuor dies. Instante autem hora exitus, cum diceret sicut poterat orando, "In pace factus est locus Ejus et habitatio Ejus in Syon," et, "Laudate Dominum in sanctis Ejus," intra manus fratrum suorum animam exhalavit II. kalendas Aprilis<sup>a</sup>, feria tertia, hora tertia; anno episcopatus ejus VIII<sup>o</sup>. transacto, impetrato munere a Deo quod sedulo rogaverat ut apud sacrum Cuthberti corpus animam redderet. Sepultus est autem in capitulo. Cujus corpus interpositum corpus Walcheri Episcopi habet ad austrum, Willelmi Episcopi ad Aquilonem. Obiit autem anno ab Incarnatione Dominica MCXV. [*Twysd.* 207, 208.]

<sup>a</sup> See note <sup>a</sup>, on p. 191.A.D. 1109 × 1114. *Wymund Bishop of Man and the Isles consecrated by Thomas II. Archbishop of York<sup>a</sup>.*

CHRON. MANN.—Post Willelmum in diebus Godredi Crouan Hamondus filius Iole Mannicus genere Episcopalem suscepit cathedram. [p. 29, ed. Munch.]

STUBBS, *Actt. Pontiff. Ebor.*—Wymundum quoque Insularum Episcopum idem Thomas (II.) ordinavit, qui ei professionem scriptam

[EARLIEST DIOCESAN BISHOPS IN SCOTLAND.]

tradidit, quæ sic incipit, Ego Wymundus Sanctæ Ecclesiæ de Schid, &c. [*Twysd.* 1713.]

<sup>a</sup> Godred Crovan's dates are A.D. 1079 (?)—1095. The chronology therefore of the Man Chronicle, which is generally inexact, must be corrected by the statement of the York writer represented by Stubbs. For Wymund Mac Aulay's later and very curious history, see *Gul. Neubrig.*, I. 14, and *Matt. Paris*. He was a Cistercian of Savigny, from which abbey Furness was founded A.D. 1126; and deserted his see

(to become a pretender to the Scottish crown) A.D. 1130 × 1139, if the letters of King Olaf given below, recommending Nicolas of Furness to (apparently) Archbishop Thurstin, are rightly referred to the time of that Archbishop. The Earl of Murray, whose son Wymund claimed to be, was killed A.D. 1130. "Schid" = Skye, of which island Wymund was a presbyter.

A.D. 1109 × 1114. *Ralph (II.)*,<sup>a</sup> *Bishop of the Orkneys, consecrated by Archbishop Thomas II. at York.*

STUBBS, *Act. Pontiff. Ebor.*—Radulphum etiam urbis Eboracensis presbyterum in ecclesia S. Petri ab Orcadensibus electum idem Thomas (II.) Orcadum insularum ordinavit Episcopum, qui ei professionem fecit et scriptam tradidit, quæ sic incipit, Ego Radulfus Orcadensis sanctæ Ecclesiæ, &c. [*Twysd.* 1713.]

<sup>a</sup> Radulfus Novellus (Ralph Nowel) was at York at the consecration of Robert of S. Andrew's A.D. 1128; was sent by Archbishop Thurstin as his "suffragan" to the army that fought the battle of the Standard A.D. 1138, and made a stirring harangue on the eve of the battle (*Jo. Hagulst.*, *Ric. Hagulst.*, *Athr. Rieual. De Bello Standardii*, *H. Hunt.*, *Hoveden*, *Brompton*, &c.). A.D. 1143 (in *Sim. Dun.* it is 1144), with the abbats of

S. Mary's at York, and of Whitby, he represented the Bishop of Durham at the council of Winchester which assented to the election of William Fitzherbert to the see of York (*Sim. Dun.*, *Hist. Contin. in an.* 1144, *Twysd.* 273). There is no evidence that he ever actually went to the Orkneys. See the letters of Calixtus II. A.D. 1119–1124, and Honorius II. A.D. 1125, below.

Before A.D. 1115. *Foundation of the sees of Moray and of Dunkeld*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The foundation charter of Scone Abbey is witnessed by "Gregorius Episcopus," and "Cormac Episcopus," and by no other Bishops, S. Andrew's being then vacant. A grant of Alexander to Scone, A.D. 1124, is attested by Robert "elect of S. Andrew's" (elected A.D. 1124, in which year also King Alexander died) and by Gregory and Cormac, but Gregory is here designated "Episcopus de Moravia." And King David's charter to Dunfermlin (A.D. 1128) is witnessed by Robert of S. Andrew's,

John of Glasgow, Cormac Bishop of Dunkeld, Gregory of Moray, and Macbeth of Ross. See *Lib. de Scon*, pp. 3, 4; *Lib. de Dunfermlyn*, pp. 3, 4. It seems to follow that the sees of the great northern Mormaerdom of Moray, and of the great lay and hereditary abbey of Dunkeld, existed before A.D. 1115. Dean Mylne dates the foundation of Dunkeld A.D. 1127, and attributes it to King David (see above, p. 181).

A.D. 1115<sup>a</sup>. *Foundation of Augustinian Canons at Scone by Alexander I. and Sibilla his Queen.*

CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.*—Canonicis tradita est ecclesia de Scon.

<sup>a</sup> A.D. 1114 according to Fordun (V. 37). Robert the prior and his companions came

from the English monastery of S. Oswald's near Pontefract. The foundation charter is in

[ALEXANDER KING OF THE SCOTS TO RALPH ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.]

*Lib. de Scon*, pp. 3, 4. That the church belonged to *Keledei* previously, is asserted by Buchanan, and is not improbable. But so far as the evidence goes, the transfer might well have been from clergy who were simply

Scottish and Columbite, and not *Keledei* at all: as in the parallel case of Dunfermlin, transferred probably by David from simply Scottish monks to Benedictines.

A.D. 1115. *Alexander I. King of the Scots to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Help us to a successor to Turgot of S. Andrew's, since the Pope or the Archbishops of Canterbury have always consecrated the Bishops of that see<sup>a</sup>. EADMER, *Hist. Nov. V.*—*Domino. et Patri charissimo Radulfo, venerabili Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo*, ALEXANDER, DEI MISERICORDIA REX SCOTORUM, salutem et devotæ fidelitatis obsequium. Notificamus vobis, benignissime pater, quod Episcopus Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ Apostoli, dominus videlicet Turgodus, II. Kal. Septembris migravit a seculo. Unde valde contristamur tanto solatio destituti. Requiritur ergo vestræ [paternitatis] consilium et auxilium, sicut confidimus in vobis, ut secundum Deum talem substituere valeamus, qui nos et gentem nostram per Deo placitam conversationem regere et docere utiliter sciat. Petimus etiam, ut recordari dignemini, quid vobis jam quadam vice suggessimus de Episcopis Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ; quod in antiquis temporibus non solebant consecrari nisi ab ipso Romano pontifice, vel ab Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi; hocque tenuimus, et per successiones temporum ex auctoritate ratum habuimus, quousque dominus Lanfrancus Archiepiscopus, nescimus quo pacto, absentibus nobis et nostris, Thomæ Eboraci Archiepiscopo illud ad tempus relaxaverat. Quod omnino, vestra, si placet, auctoritate suffulti, ut amplius sic remaneat, non concedimus. Nunc igitur, si ad id nobis nostræque Ecclesiæ reparandum vestrum adjutorium sperare debemus, quod humillimis votis desideramus et petimus, secreto nobis certitudinem dignis vestris apicibus remandare curate. Valete. [ed. Selden, p. 117; *W.*, I. 393.]

<sup>a</sup> The value of such historical statements, probably put into the mouth of the King by a clerical scribe, may be tested by this assertion; which, it need hardly be said, is literally and wholly the reverse of the facts; and, further, the very reverse of Alexander's own

statements to Eadmer five years afterwards. According to Simeon, Turgot died "II. kal. Aprilis." But this was a Wednesday in A.D. 1115; the "II. kal. Sept." was a Tuesday; and Simeon himself specifies that Turgot died "feria tertia." See Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* I. 786.



A.D. 1119. Nov. 20. *Beauvais. Pope Calixtus II. to the Scottish Bishops, suffragans of York.*

Go to your metropolitan for consecration, viz. to Thurstin Archbishop of York.

CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *universis per Scotiam Episcopis [Ebor.] Ecclesiæ suffraganeis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Gravis quædam et periculosa in vestris partibus dicitur vigere præsumptio,—ut, videlicet, metropolitano et aliis coepiscopis inconsultis, alter ab altero in Episcopum consecratur. De qua nimirum præsumptione quid magna synodus In cena [*leg. Nicena*] diffinierit, ex quarto ejus capitulo diligenter attendite. Ait enim, Episcopum convenit maxime quidem ab omnibus qui sunt Episcopis ordinari; si autem hoc difficile fuerit aut propter instantem necessitatem aut propter itineris longitudinem, tribus tamen omnimodis in id ipsum convenientibus, absentibus quoque pari modo decernentibus et per scripta consentientibus, tunc ordinatio celebretur. Firmitas autem eorum quæ geruntur per unamquamque provinciam, metropolitano tribuatur Episcopo. Et infra, capitulo sexto, illud generaliter clarum est, quod si quis [*contra*] metropolitani sententiam fuerit factus Episcopus, hunc magna synodus definivit Episcopum esse non oportere. Et Laodi[c]ensis concilii capitulo,—[Metropolitani sententia], et eorum Episcoporum qui circumcirca sunt, provehantur ad ecclesiasticam potestatem. Item in secundi Cartaginensis Concilii capitulo XXXVIII.,—Forma antiqua servabitur, ut non minus quam tres sufficiant, qui fuerint a metropolitano destinati ad Episcopum ordinandum. Item Anicius papa, universis Episcopis Galliarum scribens, dicit, Comprovinciales Episcopi, si necesse fuerit, a tribus jussu Archiepiscopi consecrari possunt. Et Innocentius, Victorio Roth[om]agensi Episcopo,—Extra conscientiam metropolitani Episcopi nullus ordinare præsumat Episcopum, ne furtivum beneficium præstitum videatur. Apostolica igitur auctoritate præcipimus, ut nullus deinceps in Ecclesiis vestris in Episcopum nisi a metropolitano vestro Ebor. Archiepiscopo aut ejus licentia consecratur. Porro fraternitati vestræ præcipiendo mandamus, ut venerabili fratri nostro Turstino per Dei gratiam tanquam beati Petri manibus in Eboracensem Archiepiscopum consecrato, omni occasione seposita, canonicam obedientiam deferatis; sicut temporibus Gerardi ejusdem Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopi a domino prædecessore sanctæ memoriæ Paschale Papa mandatum est. Obedientes vos monitis nostris misericordia Divina custodiat, et ad

[CALIXTUS II. TO THE BISHOPS OF DURHAM, ORKNEYS, GLASGOW, AND SCOTLAND.]

vitam perducatur æternam. Data Belvacii XII. Kalendas Decembris.  
[*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, I. 50 b.]<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Thurstin was consecrated to York by Pope Calixtus at Rheims Oct. 19, A.D. 1119.

A.D. 1119. Nov. 20. *Beauvais. Calixtus II. to the Bishops of Durham, the Orkneys, Glasgow, and Scotland, suffragans of York.*

Obe<sup>y</sup> Thurstin  
Archbishop of  
York as your  
metropolitan. CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus, R[adulfo] Dunelmensi, R[adulfo] Orcadensi, F[obanni] Glesguensi, et universis per Scotiam Episcopis, Eboracensis Ecclesie suffraganeis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ad hoc, disponente Deo, sedis Apostolice cura nobis commissa est, ut Ecclesiarum omnium sollicitudinem gerere debeamus. Eapropter Divine destinationi uestre metropolis Eborac. Ecclesie paterna benignitate compassi sumus; et venientem ad nos venerabilem fratrem T[urstinum] ipsius electum benigne suscepimus; atque in Archiepiscopum, cooperante Domino, consecra[ui]mus. Pallei quoque insigne, pontificalis videlicet officii plenitudinem, secundum consuetudinem Apostolice sedis ei concessimus. Non enim fratribus nostris rationabile visum est, ut pro illa confratris nostri R[adulfi] Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi querimonia vacare diucius Eboracensis debeat Ecclesia; precipue cum frater idem frequenter ab Apostolica sede commonitus nullam ei in causa hac voluerit reverentiam exhibere. Vestre igitur fraternitati presentium litterarum auctoritate precipimus, ut predictum fratrem nostrum T[urstinum] tanquam metropolitanum vestrum diligere et honorare attentius procuretis; eique in posterum, omni occasione seposita, debitam obedientiam et reuerentiam deferatis. Data Belvacii XII. kalend. Decembris. [*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. I. fol. 51; and in *Dugd. Mon.*, VI. 1187, no. lv.]

A.D. 1119. *Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury to Pope Calixtus II.*<sup>a</sup>  
(Extracts.)

Bishops of all  
the "Britains"  
subjected by  
Pope Gregory  
to Augustin. \* \* \* \* Interea post decessionem Paulini provincia Northanhimbrorum religione fluctuabat et fide. Quocirca, rogatu Deo-dilecti Regis Oswaldi, Scotorum Episcopi beate memoriæ Aidanum consecratum antistitem in Angliam transmiserunt, qui primus in Lindisfarnensi insula sedem Episcopalem accepit; tempore vero sequenti, mutatis rebus, qui tunc Episcopus Lindisfarnensis, nunc dicitur et est Dunelmensis. Post quem itidem Scoti usque ad quatuor viritim Episcopos ad eandem insulam direxerunt. De

[RALPH OF CANTERBURY TO POPE CALIXTUS II.]

quibus Scotis prætereundum non est, quia juxta decretum beati patris Gregorii suffraganei erant Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi. In illa namque sæpedita epistola<sup>b</sup>, postquam de distinctione Londoniensis et Eboracensis Episcopi, unde movetur tanta contentio, satis actum est, beatus Gregorius ad Augustinum ita subjungit dicens, “Tua vero fraternitas non solum eos Episcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per Eboracæ Episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Britanniae sacerdotes, habeat, Deo Domino nostro Jesu Christo auctore, subjectos.” Et idem in Responsonibus<sup>c</sup> ad eundem ita, “In Galliarum Episcopis nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus, Britanniarum vero omnes Episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur.” Britannias siquidem pluraliter appellat, propter diversas ejusdem insulæ provincias et linguarum divisiones. Beda namque, cum Britanniae qualitatem describeret<sup>d</sup>, “Hæc,” inquit, “insula in præsentī, juxta numerum librorum quibus Lex Divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum videlicet, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum, quæ meditatione Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis.” Idem in tertio ejusdem Historiæ libro<sup>e</sup>, “Denique,” inquit, “omnes nationes et provincias Britanniae, quæ in quatuor linguas, id est, Britonum, Pictorum, Scotorum, et Anglorum, divisæ sunt, in ditionem Oswaldus accepit.” Et sæpenumero idem in eodem volumine evidenter distinguit inter Scotos qui Britanniam, et illos qui incolunt Hiberniam. Episcopos igitur Scotiæ beatus Gregorius suffraganeos deputavit Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ: illos sane duntaxat illa Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate decernens, qui ante beati Augustini adventum in Angliam et olim conversis Britonibus et Scotis instituebantur antistites; de quibus, ut ibi legitur, plurimis Augustinus in exordio Episcopatus sui convocavit ad colloquium suum, fraterna admonitione suadens, &c. &c. \* \* \* Et de Laurentio successore Augustini Beda ita subsequitur dicens<sup>f</sup>, “Denique,” inquit, “non solum novæ quæ de Anglis erat collecta Ecclesiæ curam gerebat, sed et veterum Britanniae incolarum, necnon et Scotorum qui Hiberniam insulam Britanniae proximam incolunt, populis pastorem impendere sollicitudinem curabat.” Quam videlicet pastoralis curæ sollicitudinem nunquam postea Cantuariensis Ecclesia tam universæ Britanniae quam Hiberniæ beneficio simul et primatu impendere cessavit; nisi modo, quando a novis et omnium veterum acutissimis

[RALPH OF CANTERBURY TO POPE CALIXTUS II.]

Eboracensis Ecclesiæ doctoribus omnia in aliud et melius corriguntur. \* \* \* \* Theodorus . . . ab ipso Papa eligitur, consecratur, et . . . non solum Doroberniæ sed, sicut Beda sæpenumero memorat<sup>g</sup>, totius Britanniæ Archiepiscopus destinatur. \* \* \* Habet, inquit, (Archiepiscopus Eboracensis) Lindisfarnensem, qui et Dunelmensem, habet Glasguensem (suffraganeos). Excepto, inquam, interim hoc Normannorum tempore, fatemur plane quia tempore priori nunquam Eboracensis Archiepiscopus aut Lindisfarnensem suffraganeum habuit nec Glasguensem. . . . At vero Glasguensi breviter intimandum, quod est antiquorum Britonum Episcopus, quos beatus pater Gregorius singulatim Episcopo Cantuariensi subjectos fore decrevit. Cujus videlicet Ecclesiæ Episcopus, sicut a majoribus natu illorum traditur, usque ad hæc Normannorum tempora vel ab Episcopo Scotorum vel Gualensium Britonum consecrari solebat. \* \* \* \* Is itaque (Thomas junior, Archiepiscopus Eboracensis) quendam Britonem Glasguensi Ecclesiæ ordinavit Episcopum, quæ jam pene præter memoriam non habuerat Episcopi solatium. De quo Episcopo sciendum, quia, sicut prædictum est, si antiquorum Britonum Episcopus est, secundum beati patris Gregorii decreta Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ suffraganeus est; quodsi forte propter provinciarum viciniam, licet mutato et loco et populo, idem Pictorum Episcopus debet putari, nihilominus Ecclesiæ Cantuariensi suffragatur, utpote institutus et creatus a Theodoro Archiepiscopo, sicut Beda testatur<sup>h</sup>. Veruntamen (sicut in gestis sanctorum virorum, Columbæ videlicet presbyteri et abbatis, qui Beda referente ante adventum beati Augustini in Britannia primus Scotorum et Pictorum populis Christum prædicavit, et venerabilis Cantugerni Episcopi, qui primus Glasguensi Ecclesiæ præfuit, invenitur) non iste est Candidæ Casæ Episcopus, quem Theodorus instituit, sed unus de illis antiquis Britanniarum Episcopis fuit, qui (sicut sæpe dictum est) singulatim beatus Gregorius Ecclesiæ Cantuariensi subjugavit. \* \* \* [*W.*, I. 398, 399, 400, 402, from MS. Cott. Domitian A. V. 2. *Twysden, Decem Scriptores*, 1735-1748.]

<sup>a</sup> This lengthy letter, written apparently a short time after Thurstin's consecration, belongs as a whole to the Church of England in relation to the dispute between Canterbury and York. The extracts here given, which incidentally assert the claim of Canterbury over Scotland, rest it entirely upon that which was indeed its sole pretence, viz. on Gregory the Great's grant to S. Augustin, and upon the assertion that "Britanniæ" includes Scotland

and Ireland. Eadmer (*Hist. Nov.*, V.) in his disputes with Alexander of Scotland alleges the same ground (so to call it).

<sup>b</sup> See below, in vol. III. p. 29.

<sup>c</sup> See below, in vol. III. p. 22.

<sup>d</sup> *Bæd. H. E.*, I. i.

<sup>e</sup> *Bæd. H. E.*, III. vi.

<sup>f</sup> *Bæd. H. E.*, II. iv.

<sup>g</sup> *Bæd. H. E.*, IV. xvii.

<sup>h</sup> *Bæd. H. E.*, IV. xii.



[POPE CALIXTUS II. TO THE KINGS OF NORWAY.]

A.D. 1119 × 1124. *Pope Calixtus II. to the Kings of Norway, Eistein and Sigurd.*

Receive the Bishop of the Orkneys, elected, and duly consecrated at York<sup>a</sup>, with kindness. CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis in Christo filiis Aistano et Siwardo Norwegiæ Regibus*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ab ipso fidei Christianæ principio Ecclesiæ Dei per principum munificentiam in temporalibus excreverunt, et Dominus quidem honorificantes Se honorificabit, et eorum potentiam habundancius dilatabit. Ea propter, filii in Christo charissimi, dilectionem vestram literis Apostolicis visitantes, rogamus vos, et admonemus in Domino, ut filium nostrum Orcadensem Episcopum, canonice ut accepimus electum, et a metropoli sua Eboraca secundum Ecclesiæ consuetudinem<sup>b</sup>, benigne suscipiatis, ab injuria defendatis, et in Episcopatu suo manere quietius faciatis. [*Reg. Ebor., P. I. fol. 50, and in Dugd., Mon. VI. iii. p. 1186, no. xlv.*]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 190; and the letter of Pope Honorius A.D. 1125.<sup>b</sup> So in MS.

A.D. 1120. *Alexander I. King of the Scots to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>a</sup>.*

Send Eadmer to be consecrated to the long vacant see of S. Andrew's. EADMER, *Hist. Nov. V.*—ALEXANDER, DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORUM, *Radulpho, reverendo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, et cum reverentia diligendo*, salutem. Audita prosperi adventus vestri in Angliam jamdiu a me desiderati manifesta relatione, de incolumitate ac prosperitate vestra congaudens, Summoque Protectori gratias inde referens, cum temporalium undique occupatio curarum iter meum, ut vestra ad præsens valeam frui præsentia, impediât, tam literarum designatione quam legatorum relatione animi mei affectum vestræ bonitati cupio manifestare. Tantæ etenim discretionis personæ fretus consilio, bonum propositum peroptime ad boni operis effectum (Deo annuente) non dubito me posse perducere. Vestram igitur latere nolo excellentiam, Ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ in regno meo existentem, jamdiu pastoralis cura destitutam, Dei et vestræ benignitatis providentia pastore idoneo desiderantem me velle consolari. Quocirca vestræ pietatis depono clementiam, ut quamdam personam a plerisque mihi laudatam, Eadmerum scilicet monachum, si vobis idonea visa fuerit, ut pontificali inthronizetur dignitate, mihi liberam concedatis. Verens enim Summum Pastorem me graviter



[ELECTION OF EADMER TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

offendisse, cum gregem Suum negligentia mea aliisque forsan criminibus impredientibus pastoris penuria desolatum et a tramite veritatis in pluribus exorbitatum diu permiserim, filiali etiam timore timens in hac re Eum amodo offendere, ad vestræ fontem discretionis recurro, ut pristinæ memor existens dilectionis inter nos habitæ, me filium vestrum paterno affectu spiritualiter jamdiu a vobis adoptatum vestri munimine consilii in hac re tueamini. Vale. [ed. Selden, p. 130; *W.*, I. 394.]

\* Sent to Archbishop Ralph immediately upon his return from abroad, Jan. 4, A.D. 1120, by the hands of "quidam honorati et strenui viri," scil. "Monachus et Prior Ecclesiæ Dunfermelinæ, Petrus nomine, clerici duo," and "unus miles" (*Eadmer, ib.*). Fordun's *Supplement* misdates Eadmer's election to S.

Andrew's A.D. 1117. Possibly negotiations may have been going on before A.D. 1120. But Eadmer (as above) takes pains to note, that "nec per se nec per quemlibet hominem unquam de ipso negotio aliquo modo apud quemquam egisse." Ralph had been abroad since just after August A.D. 1116.

A.D. 1120. *Canterbury. Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury and the Convent of Canterbury to Henry I. King of England.*

Permit Eadmer to go to Scotland, and to be consecrated Bishop of S. Andrew's.

EADMER, *Hist. Nov. V.*—*Henrico, Regi Anglorum, charo domino suo ac summo honore venerando, FRATER RADULPHUS, SANCTÆ CANTUARIENSIS ECCLESIAE INDIGNUS SACERDOS, ET TOTUS CONVENTUS EJUSDEM ECCLESIAE, salutem et orationes et fidelia obsequia.* Notum facimus sublimitati vestræ Alexandrum, Regem Scotorum, cum consensu cleri et populi regni sui, legatos suos ad nos misisse, et consilium curæ pastoralis ad opus Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ a nostra Ecclesia expetiisse. Considerantes ergo eorum justam petitionem, et tam Divini amoris reverentiam quam sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ utilitatem attendentes, laudandis desideriis pium præbuimus assensum. Concessimus ergo juxta petitionem eorum personam Ecclesiæ nostræ ab eis denominatam, domnum Eadmerum, quem a pueritia disciplinis ecclesiasticis sublimiter institutum, et sanctis moribus decenter ornatum, ad officium sacerdotale omnino scimus idoneum. Vestram igitur venerabilem sublimitatem submisso corde deposcimus, ut vestræ celsitudinis pia voluntate atque auctoritate, et illorum Deo digna petitio, et super tam necessario Ecclesiæ Dei negotio nostræ humilitatis concessio, roboretur. Omnipotens Deus sublimitatem vestram ad honorem Suum et munimen Ecclesiæ Suæ per longa tempora incolumem custodire, et post temporale regnum dignitate perennis regni sublimare, dignetur. [ed. Selden, p. 131; *W.*, I. 394, 395.]

[ELECTION OF EADMER TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

A.D. 1120. *Rouen. Henry I. King of England to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Your request about Eadmer is granted. EADMER, *Hist. Nov. V.*—HENRICUS, REX ANGLORUM, *Radulpho Archiepiscopo Cantuariæ*, salutem. Volo et concedo, ut monachum illum, unde Rex Scotiæ te requisivit, liberum ei concedas ad consuetudinem terræ suæ in Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ. Teste Everardo de Calna apud Rotomagum. [ed. Selden, p. 131; *W., I.* 395.]

A.D. 1120. *Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury to Alexander I. King of the Scots<sup>a</sup>.*

Eadmer is sent according to your request. Send him back as soon as possible to be consecrated. EADMER, *Hist. Nov. V.*—*Caro domino et amico intimo Alexandro, Dei gratia Regi Scotorum*, RADULPHUS ARCHIEPI-SCOPUS, salutem et orationes. Gratias Deo innumerabiles referimus, Qui ad cognoscendum atque petendum quæ debebatis, remotis nebulis, mentis vestræ oculos aperuit. Gratias nihilominus generalitati vestræ, qui petitionibus vestris legitimis nos vobis ex amicis amicissimos, ex familiaribus familiarissimos et junctissimos, reddidistis. Licet enim ipsis petitionibus quasi oculum aut dexteram a corpore nostro avellere quærat, laudare tamen habeo justum desiderium vestrum, et in quantum potero, secundum Deum illi obtemperare. Volens quidem, et si pace Dei et vestra potest dici, invitus assentior bonæ vestræ voluntati: volens vero, quia Dei voluntati, Quem in hoc facto præsentem atque propitium conspicio, resistere non audeo, nec cor vestrum in nos amari-care; invitus autem, quod quasi solus, et patris consolatione ac relevatione assidua, et filii sapientis consilio et auxilio, in infirmitate nostra ac ætate destituor. O sapientis viri consilium (si nos eo non spoliaretis et cum spoliatis), qui tantum virum, tam famosum, tam Ecclesiæ Dei utilem, vita et moribus et litteris Divinis, et, si opus fuerit, secularibus a pueritia instructum, terræ vestræ consilio præesse in his, quæ ad Deum pertinent, satagatis. Si alius ex partibus longinquis quod petitis peteret, pro certo sciatis, non paterer elongari a nobis cordis nostri arcanum; sed vobis nihil est secundum Deum, quod abnuere velimus. Mittimus ergo ad vos personam, quam petitis, et omnino liberam, ut a vobis certius discat, si ad honorem Dei et sanctæ matris, Cantuariensis videlicet Ecclesiæ, spectet petitio vestra. Caute igitur et cum consilio tractate quod agitis, quia sunt

[ELECTION OF EADMER TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

multi qui libenter sacrationem istius disturbarent, et si valerent, disturbando cassarent. Proinde nostrum esset consilium, ut quam citius ad nos remitteretur sacrandus, ne dilatione quod timemus interveniat vel quod nollemus. Salutat vos conventus fratrum Ecclesiæ nostræ, vere fideles vestri et omnino ad servitium vestrum parati. In commune autem rogamus, ut ita vos habeatis erga fratres nostros, qui in regno vestro sunt, ut Deus vobis inde gratias habeat, et nos. Valet. [ed. Selden, pp. 131, 132; *W.*, I. 395.]

<sup>a</sup> Sent with Eadmer.

A.D. 1120. *June 29. Election of Eadmer to the Bishopric of S. Andrew's. Beginning of September, he takes possession of the see. A.D. 1121, he returns to Canterbury.*

I. CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.* 1121<sup>a</sup>.—Edmundus Cantuariensis monachus præcedenti anno ad Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ in Scotia electus deposita intentione regendi Episcopatus ad locum suum revertitur. [ed. Fulman, 164.]

EADMER, *Hist. Nov. V.*—Veniens itaque frater ipse (Eadmerus) in Scotiam, mox tertio die adventus sui, illo qui fuit dies festivitatis gloriosissimorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, suscipit, eligente eam clero et populo terræ, et concedente Rege, pontificatum Sancti Andreæ Apostoli Chenrimuntensis. Quæ res ita disponente Deo acta est, ut nec virga pastorali vel annulo a Rege investitus fuerit, nec hominum ei fecerit. Lætus itaque dies habitus est, atque in laudem Dei alacriter expensus. In crastino autem Rex, cum electo de consecratione illius secretius agens, et modis omnibus eum a pontifice Eboracensi consecrari exhorrens, ubi, eo docente, accepit auctoritatem Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis ex antiquo toti Britannix præminere, et idcirco ipso disponente se Cantuariæ Episcopalem benedictionem velle requirere, conturbatus animo surgens discessit ad eo. Nolebat enim Ecclesiam Cantuariensem anteferri Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ de Scotia. Vocans itaque Wilhelmum monachum Sancti Edmundi, qui post Thurgodum eidem Episcopatu præpositus pene illum evacuaverat, præcepit ut more solito in Episcopatu se haberet, expoliato noviter investito. Expleto autem post hæc mense integro, et his quæ supererant jam terris Episcopatus funditus evacuatis, pro voto principum regni Rex Alexander ipsum electum convenit, vixque ab eo obtinuit, ut quod super inimicos suos exercitum ducere

[RETIREMENT OF EADMER FROM THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

disponebat, virgam pastorem de super altare quasi de manu Domini susciperet, et ita in toto regno curæ animarum omnium pro posse deinceps intenderet. Post hæc ad Ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ venit, et occurrente ei Regina, susceptus a scholasticis<sup>b</sup> et plebe, Pontificis loco successit. [ed. Selden, p. 132.]

<sup>a</sup> The date here given agrees with Eadmer himself. His stay at Canterbury, after his return, and before his letter (given below) of A.D. 1122, lasted "a year and a half." And Prince William's death by shipwreck, A.D.

1120, happened while Eadmer was in Scotland. (*Eadmer, ib.*).

<sup>b</sup> For the "scholastici," or scolocs, see Robertson, in the *Spalding Miscellany*, V. 73.

A.D. 1120. *Henry I. King of England (at the urgency of Thurstin Archbishop of York) to Ralph of Canterbury, and (thrice) to Alexander King of the Scots.*

Mentioned by EADMER, *Hist. Nov. V.*—Inter hæc eousque Thurstanus Eboracensis in transmarinis partibus morabatur, ut supra memorato negotio suo viriliter insudans, ad hoc etiam Regem Anglorum provocavit, quatenus et Pontifici Cantuariorum semel et Regi Scottorum ter scriptis mandavit, ne aut ille electum Sancti Andreæ consecraret, aut iste ulla ratione sacrari permetteret. [ed. Selden, p. 132.]

A.D. 1120. *Alexander King of the Scots to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>a</sup>.*

Eadmer will not comply with the customs and ways of the Scots, and insists upon returning to Canterbury.

EADMER, *Hist. Nov. V.*—ALEXANDER, DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORUM, *Radulpho Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi*, in Ipso, Qui vita est, semper vivere. Immensæ bonitati vestræ petitioni meæ condescendenti, personam in præsulatu Sancti Andreæ sublimandam mihi mittendo, animi mei affectus benevolens, et ut justum est obnoxius, innumerales gratias reddit. Sed persona in episcopatu posita, consuetudinibus terræ moribusque hominum, ut res et tempus exigebat, et ut justum et necessarium esset, condescendere noluit. Ipsa vero tandem persona in præsentia quorundam Episcoporum et Comitum proborumque terræ meæ virorum me requisivit, ut ei licentiam recedendi et de fidelitate quam mihi fecerat libertatem concederem, cum nullo modo remanere vellet, nisi eum in captione detinerem. Hæc audiens, ei his verbis respondi, quod, si aliquas dictis vel factis injurias ei a me illatas, et quod in aliquibus quæ ei facere debuissim me defecisse, demonstraret, pro Dei amore et meo honore libentissime præsto essem emendare. Ad hæc in præsentia omnium astantium



[RETIREMENT OF EADMER FROM THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

dixit, quod nullas dictis aut factis ei injurias injeceram, nec unquam in aliqua re quam ei facere debuisssem defeceram. Præterea egomet et Episcopi et consules alique terræ meæ probi homines ibi astantes, reverentiæ obedientiam, in quibuscunque justum esset, magna animi benignitate obtulimus; et pro penuria honestæ exhibitionis reverentiæ non esse necesse ei præsulatum relinquere, cum magna admonitione retulimus; ut etiam remaneret, donec Regi Angliæ et vobis nunciasset, ut amborum consilio frui possem, obnixè rogavimus. His auditis, mihi respondit, quod nullo modo remaneret, nisi eum in captione detinerem; se enim nec utilem nec idoneum in præsulatus regimine sciebat, et si remaneret, detrimentum animæ suæ et aliorum imminere videbat. Communi tandem consilio nolui eum vi retinere; petitioni suæ quamvis invitatus adqueivi; et Episcopatum reddidit, et fœdus amicitiae inter me et ipsum osculo confirmavit. Et hæc est rei veritas, quam literis vobis declarare volui, ne, si aliud ad aures vestras perveniret, crederetis. Sciat denique bonitas vestra, quod vobis penitus ut amicus fidelis obnoxius esse cupio, et consilio vestro, vestræ etiam dilectioni, subdī desidero. Ut domino Eadmero honorem exhibeas, obnixè postulo. Vale. [ed. Selden, p. 134; *W.*, I. 395, 396.]

\* For the history of the quarrel, see Eadmer himself (*ib.*). It was briefly as follows. Upon Eadmer's wish to go to Canterbury, Alexander informed him that he was "penitus absolutum ab Ecclesia Cantuariensi, . . . seque in vita sua consensum non præbiturum ut Episcopus Scotiæ subderetur Pontifici Cantuariorum;" repeating the same thing still more strongly upon a repetition of the request. Eadmer thereupon consulted John Bishop of Glasgow and two Canterbury monks of his own company, who, professedly as their own counsel, but really after consultation with Alexander, advised him that he must either make up his mind to adopt the "usus Scotorum," or give

up altogether; and that if he chose the latter, he must return the ring which it appears he had really received from the king, and the pastoral staff which he had taken from the altar. He preferred the second of the two courses,—returned the ring to Alexander and the staff to the altar,—declared that he acquiesced in resigning the entire bishopric, "quia vis mihi infertur," and "ea conditione ut eum tempore Alexandri Regis non reclamem, nisi Pontifex [i.e. Ralph of Canterbury] et conventus Cantuariorum et Rex Anglorum aliud mihi super his consilium dederint,"—and returned to Canterbury.

A.D. 1120. *Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury to Alexander King of the Scots.*

Your letter and Eadmer's statements do not agree. We will discuss the business whenever you shall come to England.

EADMER, *Hist. Nov. V.*—*Alexandro illustri Regi Scotorum,*  
FRATER RADULPHUS CANTUARIENSIS ECCLESIAE MINISTER,  
sic regnare in regno terreno, ut cum Christo regnare possit in cælo. Gratias, quas possumus, venerabilis domine, sublimitati vestræ referimus pro dilectionis et honoris munere, quod erga parvitatem nostram, nunciis et literis referentibus, vos habere dignoscimus. In quo vos



[RETIREMENT OF EADMER FROM THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

proculdubio nos pro posse semper devotos habebitis, et si quid in vita nostra, Domino largiente, fructuosum inveniatur, vestrum esse secure sciatis. Gratias etiam ex bona voluntate vobis persolvimus pro susceptione charissimi filii nostri, Eadmeri videlicet electi Episcopi vestri, quem secundum petitionem vestram vobis transmissum honorifice tractastis. Quem nos etiam ad partes nostras redeuntem, prout decuit tantam personam, officiose suscipientes, in adventu ipsius non mediocriter lætati sumus. Cumque secretius postea inter nos sermo versaretur, audivimus eum aliqua a sensu literarumstrarum, quas prius audieramus, diversa sentire, nec omnibus antea auditis ex toto assensum præbere. Nunc itaque, quoniam in scriptis vestris aliud legimus, et aliud ab ipso fratre percepimus, consilio nobis est, ut eundem filium nostrum apud nos retineamus, quousque, Domino ducente, in Angliam veniatis; nisi forte aliquid aliud, quod nobis faciendum sit, antea mandaveritis. Cum autem, Deo donante, vobis præsentialiter loqui et rerum causas hinc inde audire poterimus, si vita et doctrina hujus amici nostri vobis et patriæ vestræ utilis esse videtur, injuncta sibi obedientia ad electionis suæ locum, si eum suscipere vultis, redire poterit. Si vero in conspectu vestro aliud placitum fuerit, nos eum, ut virum in lege Domini multipliciter instructum et omni bono operi aptum, cum magno gaudio retinebimus; et sic spem bonam in misericordia Dei habentes, ejus reditum fructuosum habebimus. Vale. [ed. Selden, pp. 134, 135; *W.*, I. 396.]

A.D. 1120. *Letter of Nicolas Prior of Worcester<sup>a</sup> to Eadmer on the primacy of the See of York in Scotland.*

Conciliate favour  
by hospitality. *Electo per Dei gratiam in Sancti Andreae Cathedram Domino*

*Edmero*, SUUS NICOLAUS, ex adversis ad jocunditatem prosperis successibus tendere æternam. In adversis, quæ te pati commemoras, patientia maxime necessaria est, deinde prudentia et industria ad evincendam gentis barbariem; quam nullo ingenio citius tuis moribus quam largitate dapsilitatis conciliare potes. Unde et beatus Petrus Apostolus in instructionem Sancti Clementis, quem sibi successorem statuit, inter cætera taliter admonuit: "Caritatis recipiendæ et habendæ maximum erit fomentum, si frequenter inter vos communem cibum mensamque faciatis." Et post pauca: "Propter quod communes facite cibos vestros cum iis, qui secundum Deum fratres sunt. Per hæc enim præcipue caritas comparatur." Nec mirum, si barbaries

[NICOLAS PRIOR OF WORCESTER TO EADMER.]

indomita alicujus gentis his officiis emollita ad moralitatem flectitur civilem; cum et ferocissimæ rationisque expertes feræ alimoniis humanisque attractibus delinitæ mansuescunt in tantum, ut hominum magis quam consodaliū affectent belluarum societatem. Quapropter, ut amicus de amico sollicitus, suggero, suadeo, admoneo te ut carissimum, quatinus supra vires etiam tuas dapsilitate et munerum largitate affectum omnium tibi comparare studeas; quia talibus officiis quam maxime effera corda gentisque indomitæ barbariem ad tui amorem et sanam doctrinam ecclesiasticamque disciplinam suscipiendam emollire præuales. De his jam satis.

De Eboracensis autem Ecclesiæ primatu super Scotos, unde interrogasti, nulla est auctoritas, nulla ratio vel exemplum patet, quod hoc astruat. Quippe cum Eboracensis

York has no shadow of claim over Scotland.

Ecclesia fidem et doctrinam Christianitatis, necnon et Pontificum consecrationem, a Scottis sæpenumero mutuaverit; Scotti vero ab ipsa nunquam, præter quod in Thurgodum actum est. Nam postquam Eboracenses, a fide apostatantes, primum Pontificem suum Paulinum a Cantia eis ordinatum expulerunt; Sanctus Aidanus, Scottus et a Scottis destinatus et ordinatus, fidem Christi fideique sacramenta tot Northimbriæ strenuus inexit. Deinde ejus successores Eboracensis Ecclesiæ præsules usque ad quartum omnes a Scottis ordinati, imbuti, et illi Ecclesiæ destinati sunt. Unus etiam ex eis propter suam indiscretionem inutilis illi Ecclesiæ judicatus, ab ipsis Scottis depositus est. His omnibus Sanctus Beda attestatur in Historia Anglorum. Præsulem vero seu doctorem aliquem Scottis destinatum vel ordinatum ab Eboraca nulla docet historia, nec etiam fabula, præter supradictum Thurgod. Cesset ergo Eboracensis Ecclesia Primatum Scottiæ sibi vendicando appetere; quam si haberet,—cum Præsul Sancti Andreæ summus Pontifex Scottorum appelletur, summus vero non est nisi qui super alios est, qui autem super alios Episcopus est, quid nisi Archiepiscopus est? licet barbaries gentis pallii honorem ignoret,—si inquam super hunc, qui summus vocatur Pontifex suæ gentis, prælationem haberet Præsul Eboracæ; jam non tantum Metropolitanus, immo Primas esset alterius etiam regni: quod nusquam legitur. De Eboracensis Ecclesiæ suffraganeis quid ad vos? Alias sibi quærat, non de vobis. Quod si tot invenire, quot se æstimat habere debuisse, non valet; sibi imputet; non aliena invadere attemptet. Suæ quidem negligentiae ascribitur, immo et cupiditati, quod suffraganeorum rato numero caret. Quippe cum regnum satis amplum et sufficiens tot

[NICOLAS PRIOR OF WORCESTER TO EADMER.]

Episcopis sit. Sed Præsules ipsius Ecclesiæ, cupiditate possessionum illecti, magis in destruendis quam instituendis suffraganeis laboraverunt. Unde ipsa sola Ecclesia sex Episcoporum parochias obtinens sibi vendicat, qui omnes certis Ecclesiis et cathedris discreti erant. Prima sedes Eboracæ. Secunda ultra amnem Usæ in Ecclesia Christi prope civitatem. Tertia apud Ripum. Quarta apud Beverlie. Quinta Haugustaldensis Ecclesia. Sexta Casa Candida. Has omnes Ecclesias et earum parochias ipsa devorans, et in suum corpus trajiciens, sola obtinet. Vix duos sibi suffraganeos reliquit, videlicet Lindisfarnensem quæ modo Dunholm dicitur, et Cumbrensem quam Johannes modo tenet. Pictorum vero Episcopi sedes, cujus mentionem Sanctus Beda facit, ubi fuerit penitus ignoro. Ipse tamen octavus suffraganeus esse deberet. Plures vero nunquam habuit, sicut nec Lundoniensis ullum; negligentia videlicet Episcoporum et instabilitate gentis circa fidem sæpius apostatantis.

Go to the Pope for consecration. Ecce quantum epistolari brevitate potui, de his certum te feci. Plura ore ad os intimarem valde necessaria. De tuo autem negotio audi consilium meum. Dissolve litigium de te Cantix et Eboracæ, principumque Angliæ Scotiæque; et favore Regis Scottorum Apostolicum sacrandus expete. Negotium Ecclesiæ tuæ gentisque strenuus exequere; nec te præsulante libertatem dignitatemque suam amittat. Quod si hoc tibi placet, cave ne per Regem Angliæ transitum facias, et ne Eboracensis Ecclesia hoc percipiat; ne impediatur conatus tuus. Ego vero paratus sum,—quod etiam volo ut ipsi Scottorum Regi dicas,—quia si necesse fuerit, in Concilio Romano diratiocinare libertatem dignitatemque regni et Ecclesiæ Scottorum ab Eboraca. Præterea rogo et valde obsecro, ut margaritas candidas quantum poteris mihi adquiras. Uniones etiam quasunque grossissimas adquirere potes, saltem quatuor mihi adquiri per te magnopere postulo. Si aliter non vales, saltem a Rege, qui in hac re omnium hominum ditissimus est, pro munere expete. Vale. [Wharton, *A. S.*, II. 234–236, from MS. C. C. C. Cambridge, CCCLXXI.]

<sup>a</sup> For the probable identification of this Nicholas with the writer of the letter to Eadmer, see Wharton, *A. S.*, II. p. xiii.; Wright's

*Biogr. Brit. Liter.*, *Anglo-Norman* volume, p. 106; and Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, &c., II. 149.

[CALIXTUS II. TO THE KING AND BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND.]

A.D. 1122. *Jan. 15. Tarentum. Pope Calixtus II. to Alexander King of the Scots.*

Send your Bishops to their and your metropolitan at York, to be consecrated.

CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *illustri et glorioso Scottorum Regi A[lexandro]*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Pro Episcoporum, qui in tuo sunt regno, præsumptione, atque pro venerabilis fratris T[urstini] Ebor. Archiepiscopi negotio, alias ad te jam literas misimus: sed in nullo apud te usque adhuc, uti comperimus, exauditi sumus. Quamobrem, nobilitatem tuam literarum præsensium visitatione in Domino commonentes, præcipimus ut regni tui Episcopos sese invicem consecrare absque metropolitani licentia nullatenus non permittas. Cum autem Ecclesiarum opportunitas exegerit, ad metropolitanum tuum, Eboracensem videlicet Archiepiscopum, electi reverenter accedant; et aut per ejus manum, aut si necessitas ingruerit per ejusdem licentiam, consecrationem accipiant. Cui nimirum Archiepiscopo et illos et teipsum, tanquam patri et magistro, humiliter obedire Apostolica auctoritate præcipimus. Datum Tarenti decimo octavo kal. Februarii. [*Reg. Alb. Ebor., P. I. fol. 51, and III. fol. 57; also in W., I. 481; and in Dugd., Mon. VI. iii. p. 1187, no. lii., and repeated p. 1188, no. lix.*]

A.D. 1122. *Jan. 15. Tarentum. Pope Calixtus II. to the Bishops of Scotland, suffragans of York.*

Go to your metropolitan the Archbishop of York for consecration.

CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis in Christo fratribus universis per Scotiam Episcopis Ebor. Ecclesiæ suffraganeis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Nostris jamdudum literis universitatem vestram nos monuisse meminimus, ut venerabili fratri nostro T[urstino] Eboracensi Archiepiscopo reverentiam et obedientiam deferetis. Cæterum, sicut nobis significatum est, vos usque adhuc id facere neglexistis. Ea propter iterata vobis Apostolicæ sedis præceptione mandamus, ut omni occasione sive dissimulatione seposita prædictum fratrem nostrum, Eboracensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopum, metropolitanum vestrum impositum cognoscatis, eique reverentiam et obedientiam impendatis. Porro Ecclesiarum electi ad eum pro consecrationis susceptione tanquam metropolitanum suum accedant, nec alter

[ATTEMPTED RETURN OF EADMER TO S. ANDREW'S.]

alterum sine ipsius licentia consecrare præsumat; et hujus[modi] etiam consecratio irrita erit, et nos dimittere non poterimus quin canonicam inde justitiam, præstante Domino, faciamus. Data Tarenti, XVIII<sup>o</sup>. kalendas Februarii. [*Reg. Mag. Alb. Ebor.*, I. 51 b; *MS. Cott. Cleopat. C. IV.*; and in *W.*, I. 481.]

A.D. 1122. Before Sept. 19. *Eadmer to Alexander King of the Scots.*

EADMER, *Hist. Nov. VI.*—*Alexandro illustri Regi Scotorum*, EADMERUS QUONDAM ELECTUS EPISCOPUS SCOTIÆ, salutem et servitium. Pro benigna voluntate, quam se erga me vestra excellentia olim habuisse monstrare dignata est, gratias, quas possum, vobis exsolvo. Et quidem benignitatis vestræ non meritorum meorum fuisse non nescio, quod prætermisissis innumeris, quos et vitæ prohibitæ et sapientiæ atque prudentiæ illustrabat auctoritas, me in Episcopatum elegistis, et regno vestro in iis, quæ Dei sunt, præesse voluistis. Reddat vobis omnipotens Deus pro tam bona voluntate illud præmium, quod bona voluntas meretur apud Eum. Et hoc utique orat quotidie et desiderat anima mea. Quod autem res alium, quam propositi communis tenor extiterit, eventum sortita est, Dei dispositioni, quam penetrare vel subterfugere nemo potest, ascribendum fore non dubito. Quid tamen ex discessu meo a pontificatu didicerim, si facultas mihi daretur secretius vobis loquendi, sanctæ fidei vestræ notificarem. Licet enim corpore a vobis discesserim, noveritis tamen pro certo, quod fidem, quam vobis debeo, Deo juvante, non violabo. Unde vestrum et regni honorem, in quibuscunque potero, si non spreveritis, fideliter quæram, Ipso teste, Qui conscientiæ meæ solus et verus inspector est. Nec hæc dico, quod multum desiderem in regno vestro episcopari; sed tamen mallet dignitatem terræ vestræ augeri quam minorari. Præterea noverit beatitudo vestra, quod omnes, qui audiunt, qualiter electus, susceptus, et pontificatu saisitus, et loco pontificis substitutus fui, una sententia asserunt nec me juste potuisse Episcopatum dimittere nec alium me vivente juxta legem Domini substitui posse. Nec enim vir uxorem suam, aut uxor virum, ut alii nubat, dimittere legaliter potest. Sed fortassis dicitis, Tu dimisisti. Dimisi quidem, sed (quod



[ATTEMPTED RETURN OF EADMER TO S. ANDREW'S.]

cum pace vestra dicatur) illata vi, cui contraire nequivi. Cum enim perpes discordia et interminabiles inimicitiae mihi ex vestra parte per eos, quos vobis familiares esse sciebam, intenderentur, nisi Episcopatu funditus cederem; et his vester habitus circa me, et dissaisitio, qua me bis rebus ad pontificatum pertinentibus sine lege et iudicio spoliastis, attestarentur; necessario dimisi, quod ablatum retinere non potui. Sed de istis epistolari brevitate disquiri commode non valet. Quamobrem, omissis istis, breviter suggero, quia, si in pace vestra permittitis, et opem (ut vestram regalem sublimitatem decet) ferre volueritis, ut ad vos honorifice redeam ad explendum apud vos servitium Dei et vestrum, secundum voluntatem Dei conabor iter aggredi, et in omnibus voluntati vestrae parere; nisi (quod absit) videatur voluntati Dei resistere. Quodsi amplecti minime vultis, ultra non possum. Deo causam Ecclesiae Suae committo. Ipse videat; Ipse dispenset; Ipse, quod quisque meretur, in hoc Suo negotio cuique reddat. Ego liberavi, ut aestimo, animam meam. Ego, uti debui, coram Eo exposui causam meam, paratus in omnibus sequi voluntatem Suam. Ne tamen putetis me in aliquo velle quidquam derogare libertati vel dignitati regni Scotorum, securum vos esse volo, quia quod a me petiistis, et ego tunc quidem acquiescere nolui, aestimans aliud quam secundum quod postmodum didici aestimare debebam, de Rege scilicet Anglorum, de Pontifice Cantuariorum, et de benedictione sacerdotali, si hucusque persistitis in sententia vestra, me amplius contradictorem non habetis; nec illa me a servitio Dei et amore vestro, quin quod volueritis faciam, ullo modo divellent; tantummodo alia, quae pontificis Sancti Andreae juri competunt, mihi liceat cum vestra bona voluntate administrare. Hæc olim vobis insinuassem; sed, quia rumor quaque discurrebat vos in Angliam, postposita omni ambiguitate, tunc vel tunc aut certe tunc venturum, scribere distuli, quod magis optabam secreto vobis adfatu declarare. Sive igitur ista suscipiatis sive altiori consilio postponatis, ego quod mea refert pura et simplici conscientia feci, Ipso cuncta inspiciente et examinante Qui novit quid cuique redditurus æquo moderamine sit. Quoniam ergo in manu Ejus sunt etiam corda omnium Regum, intimo corde rogo, ut Ipse cor vestrum et actus vestros ad Se Sua gratia dirigat; quatenus et Ecclesia Sua, quæ in regno vestro peregrinatur, vestra ope in sancta conversatione de die in diem proficiat, et animæ vestrae post hanc vitam beatitudinis æternæ merces exinde proveniat. Amen. Quid de istis excellentiæ vestrae placeat, benigne

[RALPH OF CANTERBURY TO ALEXANDER KING OF SCOTLAND.]

quæso mihi fideli vestro litteris suis notificare dignetur. Vale<sup>a</sup>. [ed. Selden, pp. 139, 140; *W.*, I. 404, 405.]

<sup>a</sup> Written a year and a half after Eadmer's return to Canterbury, and before Archbishop Ralph's death, Sept. 19, A.D. 1122.

A.D. 1122. Before Sept. 19. *Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury to Alexander King of the Scots.*

Recal Eadmer, canonically elected to S. Andrew's. You cannot have another Bishop whilst he is still alive.

EADMER, *Hist. Nov. VI.*—*Alexandro illustri Regi Scotorum*, RADULPHUS CANTUARIENSIS ECCLESIAE MINISTER, ET FRATRUM CONVENTUS DOMINO CHRISTO IN EA DESERVIENS, per Illum in terra regnare Cui famulatur omnis militia coelestis. Novit prudentia vestra, charissime domine, quanto tempore sedes Episcopalis, quæ in patria vestra præcipua habetur, suo caruerit pastore; quæ proculdubio, quanto fuerit suo destituta vigore, tanto deterius subditorum ruina inde proveniet. Unde hortamur serenitatem vestram, quam Divina propitiatio inter alios Reges ita absque notabili reprehensione hucusque honoravit ut ab omnibus laudabilis habeatur, quatenus tanto religionis detrimento finem dantes, pastorem quem vos canonice elegistis, et nos legaliter ad vos misimus, ad sedem suam ex bona voluntate vestra revocetis. Et cum nec in vobis nec in ipso culpa pateat, quare hoc digne fieri non debeat ex Patrum auctoritate, non intelligimus qualiter, isto vivente, alium memorata Ecclesia vestra possit sortiri Episcopum; quia sponsa Dei, suo superstitute, ne fiat adultera, nisi legalem omnem contemnit maritum. Quapropter, quomodocunque hactenus hoc dilatatum fuerit, virum, sicut speramus, vobis utilem et in lege Dei a pueritia nobiliter instructum, in primum dilectionis vestræ gradum et in officium sibi injunctum pro vestra gloria revocate. Deus pacis et dilectionis, a Quo omne bonum consilium procedit, sit semper vobiscum. Quid vobis videatur de iis quæ vobis mandamus, nobis precamur rescribi facite. Valeat dilectio vestra, cum domina Regina uxore vestra, et cum omnibus qui ea quæ justa sunt volunt, et vos diligunt, gloriose domine et honorandæ sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ fili. Amen. [ed. Selden, pp. 140, 141; *W.*, I. 405.]

[ELECTION OF ROBERT BISHOP OF S. ANDREWS.]

A.D. 1123. *Foundation of Augustinian Canons at Inchcolm by Alexander I. King of the Scots.*

FORBES, *Scotichron.*, V. 37.—Circa A.D. 1123 fundatum est monasterium S. Columbæ de insula Amonia juxta Inverkeithin. [I. 286.]

A.D. 1124. January (after the 13th)<sup>a</sup>. *Election of Robert Prior of Scone (an Englishman) to the see of S. Andrew's.*

SIM. DUN., *Hist. de G. Reg. Angl. in an.* 1124.—Ipso autem anno Alexander, quatuor ante suam mortem mensibus, in Episcopatum Ecclesiæ Sancti Andree quæ in Scotia est, fecit eligi Rodbertum Priorem Canonorum Regularium apud Sconam. Sed ejus ordinatio multo est tempore dilata, propter subjectionem debitam quam ab illo secundum consuetudinem exigebat Turstinus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus. Scotti autem e contra dicebant stulta garrulitate hoc nulla debere fieri auctoritate vel consuetudine. [Twyssd. 251. So also, more briefly, the *Chron. de Mailros*.]

<sup>a</sup> Alexander died in April A.D. 1124. This election therefore must have been in January of that year. And inasmuch as Eadmer died

Jan. 13 of the same year, Alexander no doubt waited until his death had removed all pretence for regarding the see as filled already.

A.D. 1124. *Foundation of Urquhart as a cell of Dunfermlyn by King David<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> *Chartul. of Moray*, pp. 329, 330; *Reg. Dunferm.* pp. 17, 18.

A.D. 1124 × 1129. *Judgment given under the presidency of the Earl of Fife by authority of King David in favour of the Keledei of Lochleven.*

PERAMON. ACCO REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—Fornax et incendium totius iniquitatis, scilicet Robertus Burgonensis miles<sup>a</sup>, gravaminibus et injuriis prefatos viros religiosos nequiter et calumpniöse vexavit et fatigavit, volens precise fervore sue rapacitatis et infrenate tyrannidis ab eis auferre quartam partem de Kyrkeneis. Consilio inito a fratribus juxta simplicitatem suam accesserunt ad presentiam Regis David, supplicantes ei ut justum judicium faceret inter eos et prefatum Robertum. Tandem Rex misericordia motus misit

[FOUNDATION OF SEE OF ABERDEEN.]

nuncios suos per provinciam de Fyf et Fothrith<sup>b</sup>, et convocavit hominum multitudinem in unum locum, scilicet Constantinum Comitem de Fyf, virum discretum et facundum, cum satrapys et satellitibus et exercitu de Fyf, et Macbeath thaynetum de Falleland<sup>c</sup>, et primicerios et duces et lūnarcas<sup>d</sup> exercitus Episcopi, et Soen ducem ..... cum familia sua. Et tunc temporis fuerunt duces exercitus Episcopi Budadh et Slogadadh<sup>e</sup>. Et hii omnes sunt testes hujus altercacionis et dissensionis. Tantem fuit compromissum in tres viros legales et idoneos, scilicet Constantinum Comitem de Fyf magnum judicem in Scotia, et Dufgal filium Mocche qui fuit senex justus et venerabilis, et Meldoinneth filium Machedath judicem bonum et discretum. Set iste Dufgal primo pronunciavit sententiam pro monachis, id est, Keledeis, et contra protervitatem et calumpniam Roberti Burgonensis; quia alii judices detulerunt Dufgal propter sui senectutem et juris periciam. Et ita fuit decisum istud negotium sentencionaliter et per juramentum. Isti sunt clerici qui juraverunt super finibus ville de Kyrkenes, Duftah sacerdos et abbas, et Sarran filius Sodelne, et Eugenius monachus, et Douinalde nepos Leod, et Morrehat vir venerande senectutis et Hiberniensis, et Cathan senex. Et sic victus fuit predictus R. coram omnibus. [pp. 117, 118.]

<sup>a</sup> Robert Burguin occurs in early charters of King David. Lochore, which is in Ballingry parish, S.W. of Kirkness, is supposed to have been Robert's property. *Reeves, Culdees*, p. 129.

<sup>b</sup> Fife and Kinross, the old deaneries of which were those of Fyf and Fothri (*Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, pp. 32, 33, quoted by *Reeves*).

<sup>c</sup> Thane = Toisech or Toiseach, of Falkland.

<sup>d</sup> Lūnarcas = (conjecturally) liminarcas: for which see Du Cange (*Reeves*).

<sup>e</sup> The Bishop, of whose army these two were the captains, must have been Robert, elected A.D. 1124, although not consecrated until A.D. 1128. Constantine Earl of Fife died between A.D. 1124 and A.D. 1139; according to Sibbald (*Hist. of Fife*, p. 95), in A.D. 1129; and was succeeded by Duncan.

A.D. 1125 (?). *Foundation of the See of Aberdeen by David King of the Scots*<sup>a</sup>.

REG. ABERDON.—*Quedam de Pontificum Successione, etc.*—Malcolmus Kennedi Scotorum Rex Murthlakense templum constituit cathedrale, ac reuerendum patrem Beanum pontificem primum in eodem preficere iussit anno a Christo nato quinto super milesimum. Quo defuncto, in eius locum Deuortius pontifex creatus est. Cui Cormachus. Cui Nectanus, qui per illustrissimum principem Daudem, Scotorum Regem et Macolmo Canmoir et Margarita eius sanctissima coniuge

[LEGATINE COUNCIL OF ROXBURGH.]

genitum, ad Aberdoniam seu uetus oppidum eiusdem translatus est anno salutiferi partus quinto et uigesimo supra centesimum et milesimum. [II. 246, 247.]

<sup>a</sup> This extract is from a memorandum of at earliest the 15th century, and is scarcely trustworthy for particulars. Correct however A.D. 1005 into A.D. 1063 (see above under the latter year), and four Episcopates at Mort-

lach between A.D. 1063 and A.D. 1125 become probable enough. Nor can there be reasonable doubt of the general truth of the statement itself. See also below under A.D. 1131 (p. 218), and A.D. 1136, and A.D. 1157.

A.D. 1125. *Legatine Council at Roxburgh under Cardinal John of Crema.*

SIM. DUN., *ad an.* 1125.—Super Scotiæ quoque regnum idem Johannes legati suscepit officium, Apostolico super hoc Regi ipsius gentis has literas mittente—[*Twysden*, 252.]

(A.D. 1125, April 13. *Lateran. Pope Honorius II. to David King of the Scots.*)

Receive Cardinal John as our legate, commissioned to inquire into the dispute between Thurstin Abp. of York and the Scottish Bishops. Cause your Bishops to attend his council.

HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilecto filio David illustri Scotorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Oportet devotos et humiles beati Petri discipulos, quæ ad honorem sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ spectare cognoverint, attentius operari. Unde nobilitati tuæ rogando mandamus, ut dilectum filium nostrum Johannem Cardinalem, cui vices nostras in partibus illis commisimus, reverenter suscipias et honores. Episcopos etiam terræ tuæ, cum ab eo vocati fuerint, ad conciliū suum facies convenire. Controversiam quæ inter Thurstanum Eboracensem Archiepiscopum et Episcopos terræ tuæ diu agitata est, eidem legato nostro diligentius indagandam discutiendamque committimus. Finalem vero sententiam Apostolicæ sedis iudicio reservamus. Dat. Laterani Idibus Aprilis.

\* \* \* Hac auctoritate Johannes prædictus, circuiens Angliam, etiam ad Regem Scotorum David pervenit apud fluvium Twedam qui Northymbriam et Loidam disternat, in loco qui Roceshurh nominatur; ubi officio legationis peracto, rediens ad Lundoniam, &c. [*Twysd.* as above; *W.*, I. 407: so also briefly the *Chron. de Mailros.*]



[CAUSE OF YORK AGAINST SCOTTISH BISHOPS AT THE COURT OF ROME.]

A.D. 1125, Dec. 9. *Lateran. Pope Honorius II. to S[igurd]  
King of Norway*<sup>a</sup>.

Restore Ralph, consecrated Bishop of Orkney by the Archbishop of York, to his see, and eject the intruded Bishop.

HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilecto in Christo filio S[igurdo] illustri Norwegiæ Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Auribus nostris intimatum est, quod venerabilis frater noster Thomas Ebor. Archiepiscopus Radulphum Orcheneia Episcopum consecravat.

Postmodum vero, sicut accepimus, alius est ibidem intrusus. Cæterum Episcopalem cathedram aut unus optinebit aut nullus. Ideoque per præsentia scripta nobilitati tuæ mandamus, quatinus prænominato Radulpho sedem Episcopalem, Orcheneiam videlicet, cum parochia et cæteris pertinentiis suis, tanquam proprio illius loci Episcopo et pastore, restituas; et de cætero sollicitudo custodiat, ne ob hoc Dei iram incurrat. Datum Laterani Vº. idus Decembris. [*Reg. Ebor.*, P. I. fol. 49, and in *Dugd.*, *Mon. VI.* iii. p. 1186, no. xlv.]

<sup>a</sup> William, a Northman Bishop, became Bishop of the Orkneys A.D. 1102, if the date is trustworthy, and died A.D. 1168. He was succeeded by a second William, also a Northman, who died A.D. 1188. See above, pp. 167, 190. Sigurd, Eistein, and Olaf, three sons of Magnus Barefoot, appear by Johnstone's list (*Antiq. Celto-Scand.*) to have succeeded their father on the throne of Norway A.D. 1103–1126. Honorius became

Pope Dec. 21, A.D. 1124.—“Radulphus, quoniam nec principis terræ nec cleri nec plebis electione vel assensu fuerat ordinatus, ab omnibus refutatus, et in loco pontificis a nemine susceptus est. Hic, quia nullius Episcopus urbis erat, modo Eboracensi modo Dunelmensi adhærens, ab eis sustentabatur, et vicarius utriusque in Episcopalibus ministeriis habebatur” (*Contin. Flor. Wig. II.* 89).

A.D. 1125, Christmas. *Thurstin Archbishop of York prosecutes his claim over the Scottish Bishops at the Papal Court*<sup>a</sup>. [See the quotation from *Stubbs*, above on p. 23.]

<sup>a</sup> The assertion of the York Chronicler, that the Church of S. Andrew was even at that period seeking to be made a metropolitan see, and to obtain a pall,—a measure unpalatable to the other Scottish Bishops themselves, staved off for two centuries and a half by the device of a Conservator Bishop in A.D. 1225, and not finally accomplished until A.D. 1472,—is proved to be correct by the *Leg. S. Andr.*, assigned to A.D. 1165 (in *Ussher, Antiq. Brit. Eccl. Op. VI.* 189, and *Skene*, 140), affirming

that King Hungus founded S. Andrew's, “ut sit caput et mater omnium Ecclesiarum que sunt in regno Pictorum (Scottorum, *Ussher*).” And more precisely still in the longer form of the document in *Ussher*—“Ex hac itaque civitate Archiepiscopus esse debet totius Scotiæ, ubi Apostolica sedes est; nec absque consilio seniorum istius loci ullus Episcopus in Scotia debet ordinari: hæc est Roma secunda a prima: &c.”—the document being plainly written at S. Andrew's itself.

A.D. 1126, Christmas. *Thurstin's cause again renewed, and deferred, at Rome.*

STUBBS, *Actt. Pontiff. Ebor.*—Adveniente natali Domini Thurstinus Archiepiscopus venit ad curiam Regis, inde ad diem inter ipsum et Johannem statutum Romam profecturus; sed ibi in tanta solempnitate propter Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum nec crucem sibi præferre nec ad Regem coronandum manum mittere permissus est. Unde in crastinum natalis Domini recedens a Windesour Londonium venit, ibi Regem expectans et ad iter se præparans. Quo quinto die Rex cum Rege Scotorum adveniens, quadam concordix provisione inter ipsum Archiepiscopum et Episcopos Scotiæ, consensu quoque Regis David, persuasit ei quatinus iter suum ad præsens differens ipse legatos Romam mitteret, petentes ex parte Regis et sua super hac causa dare sibi inducias usque ad alteram quadragesimam, et interim inter eos concordandi licentiam. Quibus ita concessis Archiepiscopus Romam misit et has inducias impetravit. [*Twysd.* 1719, 1720. See also above, p. 26.]

A.D. 1127, July 17. *Roxburgh. Charter of Robert Biskop of S. Andrew's (elect), granting freedom from aids, cain, or conveth<sup>a</sup>, payable to the Bishops of S. Andrew's, to the Priory of Coldingham, then a cell of Durham.*

*Omnibus sancte matris Ecclesie fidelibus clericis et laicis tam presentibus quam futuris*, ROBERTUS DEI GRATIA SANCTI ANDREE EPISCOPUS, salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus, quod nos coram domino nostro Rege Daud et Turstino Archiepiscopo Eboracensi et Rannulfo Dunelmensi Episcopo, Johanne Episcopo Glascuensi, et Gaufrido Abbate Sancti Albani, et aliis multis personis, conuocauimus Algarum Priorem Sancti Cythberti de Dunelmo ante hostium ecclesie Sancti Johannis Ewangeliste in Rokesburc, ibique quantum ad Episcopalem auctoritatem pertinet, presentis carte attestacione et munimine clamauius, concessimus, et confirmauius, Ecclesiam de Coldingham liberam et quietam in perpetuum, tam a nobis quam a successoribus nostris, ab omni calumpnia, consuetudine, cana, uel cuneueth<sup>e</sup>, atque ab omni seruitio quod ad nos pertinet uel ad successores nostros. Quare uolumus et Episcopali auctoritate confirmamus, quatinus Ecclesia de Collingham et omnes ecclesie uel capelle que amodo canonice ad

[CONSECRATION OF ROBERT OF S. ANDREW'S AT YORK.]

Ecclesiam Sancti Cuthberti pertinuerint, libere et quiete sint in perpetuum ab omni Episcopali auxilio, cana, et coneuethe, ita ut liberiores et quietiores sint quam alique alie ecclesie abbatiarum que fuerint in Lothoneio. Et prohibemus, ne aliquis amodo Episcopus, Archidiaconus, uel Decanus, aliquam omnino ulterius consuetudinem uel auxilium ab eis exigat, nisi forte gratis dare uoluerint. Hec omnia fecimus prece et consilio domini Regis Daud, et predictorum Episcoporum fratrum nostrorum, pro amore Sancti Cuthberti et fraternitate Dunelmensium monachorum, XVI. kalendas Augusti in festo Sancti Kenelmi martyris, anno ab Incarnatione Domini M<sup>c</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>: Testibus presentibus, Rodberto fratre meo, Blahano presbitero de Litun, Aldulfo presbitero de Aldehāstoc, Henrico presbitero de Leinhale, Orm presbitero de Edenham, et Johanne presbitero de Ledgardeswde, Godwino dapifero, Godwino camerario meo, et Balsan, cum multis aliis personis religiosis tam clericorum quam laicorum. [*Raine's North Durham, Append.* p. 81; *Nation. MSS. of Scotland, P. I.* no. 27.]

<sup>a</sup> *Convetb*, seems to be synonymous with the right of refection, or the Irish *coigny*; i.e. the right of being hospitably entertained at

the cost of his dependents, enjoyed by the lord when he pleased to visit them. See *Stuart, Pref. to Book of Deer*, p. lxxxviii. note.

A.D. 1128. *York. Consecration of Robert Bishop of S. Andrew's by Thurstin Archbishop of York, but with rights on both sides reserved.*

I. CONTIN. FLOR. WIG., *ad an.* 1128.—Thurstanus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus Rotbertum, quem Alexander Rex Scottiæ Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ intruserat, petente David fratre ac successore Alexandri, in Episcopum Eboraci consecravit; in quo officio Rannulfum Dunholmensem Episcopum et quendam Radulfum ad Orcadas insulas jam olim in Episcopum ordinatum sibi adjutores asciverat. . . . Ab his itaque Rotbertus consecratus, nullam ut dicitur professionem de quavis subjectione vel obedientia Ecclesiæ Eboracensi aut ejus pontifici facere permissus a Scottis est, licet Eboracensis canonicus erat. [*ed. Thorpe, II.* 89.]

[CONSECRATION OF ROBERT OF S. ANDREW'S AT YORK.]

II. *David King of the Scots respecting the consecration of Robert of S. Andrew's at York.*

Robert is consecrated by the Archbishop of York to the see of S. Andrew's, reserving the claim of York and the rights of S. Andrew's to be decided hereafter.

DAVID DEI GRATIA REX SCOTTORUM, *universis sanctæ Ecclesiæ filiis*, salutem. Notum sit tam præsentibus quam futuris, T[hurstinum] Ebor. Archiepiscopum consecrasse sine professione et obedientia, pro amore Dei et mei, Robertum Sancti Andreæ Episcopum, salva querela Ebor. Ecclesiæ, et salva justicia Sancti Andreæ. Et si quando Archiepiscopus Ebor. de querela sua loqui voluerit, plenariam rectitudinem remota malivolentia ei exequar, ubi juste debebo. Testibus Rann'. Dunelm. Episcopo, Johanne Glasc', Radulpho Orcad', Gaufrido Ebor. monasterii abbate, Herebert Rochesburg', Wold'. de Croyland, Adelof Priore Sconensi, Gaultero de Gaunt, Eustachio filio Johannis, Hugone Decano et toto Sancti Petri capitulo; Gaufrido Murdac, Anketino de Bulemer, Roberto de Wanevilla, Rogero de Eummers; et de Scotia, Aymaro milite, Aldano filio Alsimald, Ulkil filio Morvyn, Ulkil filio Maldred, Gilcolyn Slugepah. [*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. III. fol. 57; and in *Dugd. Mon.*, VI. iii. p. 1187, no. liii.]

III. *Charter of Thurstin, Archbishop of York, on the same subject.*

THURSTINUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS DEI GRATIA EBORACENSIS, *universis sanctæ Ecclesiæ filiis*, salutem. Notum sit omnibus tam præsentibus quam futuris absolute me consecrasse sine professione et obedientia, pro Dei amore, et Regis Scotiæ venerabilis Dávid, Robertum Sancti Andreæ Episcopum, salva querela Eboracensis Ecclesiæ et justitia Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ. Et si Archiepiscopus Eboracensis de querela sua loqui voluerit, Rex plenariam rectitudinem remota malevolentia ei exequetur, ubi juste debet.

Testibus Ranulfo Dunelmensi Episcopo, Johanne Glascuensi Episcopo, Radulfo Orcadensi, Galfrido Eboracensis monasterii Abbate, Herberto Rocosberiensi, Waldevo de Creilant, Adulfo priore, Nicholao Sconensi, Waltero de Gant, Eustachio filio Johannis, Hugone de Cano [*sic*] et toto Sancti Petri capitulo, Galfrido Murdac, Aschetin de Bulmere; et de Scotia, Almaro milite, Alden filio Adhelwold, Ulchil filio Mernin, Ulchil filio Maldred, Gille Colman, Slugedt, Roberto de Watervile, Rogero Coyneres. [*Wharton, A. S.*, II. 237, from MS. Cotton. Titus A. xix.]

[FOUNDATION OF THE SEE OF BRECHIN.]

IV. LEG. S. ANDR.—Impetravit autem (Rex David) consecrari antistitem Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ jam dictum dominum Robertum a piæ memoriæ Thurstino Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, sine professione vel qualibet exactione, salva duntaxat utriusque Ecclesiæ dignitate et sanctæ atque Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate. [*Skene*, 191.]

V. FORDUN, *Supplem. VI.* 24.—Sine professione, salvis utriusque Ecclesiæ dignitate et Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate.

A.D. 1128.—CHRON. DE MAILROS<sup>a</sup>.—Cepit fundari ecclesia Sancte Crucis de Edeneburg.

<sup>a</sup> See David's charter in *Munim. Eccl. S. Crucis*, pp. 3–6, and *Cbron. S. Crucis, in an.* The foundation was of Augustinian Canons.

A.D. 1128 × 1153 (prob. c. 1128 or 1130). *Foundation of the See of Brechin*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The attestation of Samson Bishop of Brechin to the charter printed below from the Book of Deer is the earliest evidence of the existence of this see. A charter of William I., A.D. 1165–1171, confirms a gift of King David, "Episcopis et Keledeis Ecclesie de Brechin"

(*Reg. Episc. Brechin.*, I. 3): proving thereby both the date of the see in David's reign, and the fact that the Keledei there were not expelled but continued to form the Episcopal Chapter, at any rate for a time.

A.D. 1129 × 1153. *Charter of David King of the Scots to the Abbey of Deer, securing it against lay exactions.*

BOOK OF DEER, p. 95.—DAVID REX SCOTTORUM, *omnibus probis hominibus suis*, salutes. Sciatis quod clerici de Dér sunt quieti et immunes ab omni laicorum officio et exactione indebita. Sic in libro eorum scribtum est, et dirationauerunt apud Banb [Banff], et iura-verunt apud Abberdeon. Quapropter firmiter precipio, ut nullus eis aut eorum catellis aliquam iniuriam inferre presumat. Teste Gregorio Episcopo de Duncallden<sup>a</sup>, teste Andrea Episcopo de Cat[anesia], teste Samsone Episcopo de Bre[chin]; teste Doncado Comite de Fib [Fife], et Malmori d'Athotla [Athol], et ggillebrite Comite d'Eng: [Angus], et ghgillcomded: mac Æd:, et Brocin, et Cormac de Turbrüd [Turriff], et Adam mac Ferdornac, et Gillendrias mac Mätni; apud Abberdeon.

<sup>a</sup> Gregory succeeded Cormac as Bishop of Dunkeld A.D. 1128 × 1130. And Andrew of Caithness dates from about the same years.

Duncan was Earl of Fife from certainly A.D. 1139, and possibly A.D. 1129, to 1154. See above, p. 210, note <sup>a</sup>.



Before A.D. 1130. *Foundation of the Bishoprics of Ross<sup>a</sup> and of Caithness<sup>b</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> "Macbeth Rosmarkensis Episcopus" attests David's charter to Dunfermlin with Robert of S. Andrew's, consecrated A.D. 1128, to which charter also Queen Matilda consented, who died A.D. 1130.

<sup>b</sup> "Andreas Episcopus Katanensis" confirms a charter of David to Dunfermlin (of which Andrew had been a monk) granted with the consent of Queen Matilda (*Reg. de Dunferm.*, pp. 5-7).

A.D. 1131, Nov. 29. *Auxerre. Pope Innocent II. to the Bishops of Scotland<sup>a</sup>.*

Obey, Thurstin Archbishop of York as your metropolitan. INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *universis per Scotiam Episcopis, Eboracensis Ecclesiæ suffraganeis,* salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. *Æquum est,* ut qui aliis preesse desiderat, suis prelatis subesse nullatenus erubescat; obedientia namque et humilitas sunt virtutum custodes, arrogans vero et inobediens indignationem Dei incurrit, et odiosus effectus a se proximi amorem repellit. Ceterum, sicut obedientes et humiles filii sunt et in Apostolice sedis gremio confovendi, ita e converso rebelles et elati ex districto rigore iusticiæ dignis sunt animadversionibus coercendi. Ut ergo debitus honor et iusticia ad integritatem singulis conseruetur, per Apostolica scripta vobis precipiendo mandamus, quatenus venerabili fratri nostro T[urstino] Archiepiscopo, tanquam proprio metropolitano vestro, absque refragatione aliqua obedientiam et reuerentiam humiliter deferatis; et quemadmodum a predecessoribus nostris felicitis memorie, Calixto, et Honorio, Romanis pontificibus, vobis mandatum est, ei irrefragabiliter pareatis. Dat. Altisiodori III. kalend. Decembris. (*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. I. fol. 52; *MS. Cott. Cleop. C. IV.* 19; *W.*, I. 480, who misdates it Nov. 22; and in *Dugd.*, *Mon. VI.* iii. p. 1188, no. lvi.]

<sup>a</sup> See also above, p. 26.

A.D. 1131 or 1132. *Grant to the Abbey of Deer in the diocese of Aberdeen, with a gift to the Bishop of Dunkeld<sup>a</sup>.*

BOOK OF DEER. Gartnait mac Cannech acus Ête ingengillemichel dóratsat Pet mec Còbrig rìcoscrad éclasi Crìst acus Petir Abstoil acus doColumcille acus

Gartnait son of Cainnech, and Ete daughter of Gille Michel, gave Pett mac Còbrig for (the) consecration of a church of Christ and Peter (the) Apostle, both to

[BISHOP OF MAN AND THE ISLES TO BE CONSECRATED AT YORK.]

doDrostan sér ónáhulib dolodib  
 cónánascad doCormac Éscob Du-  
 nicalleinn ínocmad blíádin rígi  
 Da[bið]. Testibus istís, Néctan  
 Escob Abb[erdeon], acus Léot  
 Áb Brecini, acus Máledonn mac  
 Meic Bead, acus Álgune mac  
 Árcill, acus Rúadri móрмаer  
 Márr, acus Matadin bríthem, acus  
 Gillecríst mac Cóрмаic, acus  
 Malpetir mac Domnaill, acus  
 Domongart ferleginn Turbruid,  
 acus Gillecolaim mac Muredig,  
 acus Dubni mac Málcolaim. [p.  
 92, ed. Stuart.]

Columcille and to Drostan, free  
 from all the exactions, with the  
 gift of them to Cormac Bishop of  
 Dunkeld, in the eighth year of  
 David's reign. *Testibus istis*, Nec-  
 tan Bishop of Aberdeen, and Leot  
 abbat of Brechin, and Maledonn  
 son of Mac Be[th]ad, and Algune  
 son of Arcell, and Ruadri mor-  
 maer of Marr, and Matadin the  
 brehon, and Gillechrist son of  
 Cormac, and Maelpetir son of  
 Domnall, and Domongart ferlei-  
 ghin of Turriff, and Gillecolaim  
 son of Muredach, and Dubni son  
 Maelcolaim.

<sup>a</sup> This grant is of land near Deer, and  
 therefore in the recently formed diocese of  
 Aberdeen, but contains a grant also of certain  
 dues from that land to the (also recently ap-  
 pointed) Bishop of Dunkeld, conjecturally on  
 the ground of the connection of both Deer

and Dunkeld with S. Columba. See *Stuart*,  
*Pref. to Book of Deer*, pp. liv, lv, c-ciii. It  
 confirms also the history given above in p.  
 210 of the foundation of the see of Aberdeen.  
 Leod abbat of Brechin occurs in other charters  
 also (see *Reeves, On the Culdees*, pp. 43, 120).

A.D. 1131 × 1134(?). *Olave King of the Isles to T[hurstin]*  
*Archbishop of York<sup>a</sup>.*

Consecrate our O[LAVUS] DEI GRATIA REX INSULARUM, T[hurstino]  
 Bishop, viz. of *eadem gratia Eborac. Archiepiscopo*, salutem et orationes in  
 the Isles. Christo. Fama sanctitatis vestre orbem terrarum cir-  
 cumquaque pertingens, quam et maiorum nostrorum insigne preconium  
 et virtus vestra tum privatis tum publicis actibus illustris in abscon-  
 dito latere non sinit, nos quoque non parum letificavit. Collauda-  
 mus igitur Regis Omnipotentis magnalia, gratias agentes Ei, quia  
 magnificavit Dominus facere nobiscum; Qui nos super omnes vicinos  
 nostros dignitate atque sanctitate exaltavit. De cetero significamus  
 vobis, quod dominus abbas E. Furneseiensis cenobii<sup>b</sup>, a cuius finibus  
 non longe per mare distamus, audientibus nobis famam religionis  
 eiusdem loci, tripartita petitione persuasioneque nostra, iter quamvis  
 arduum tamen confidenter ingressus, compensato itaque et itinerandi  
 onere laborioso et labore super Ecclesia dilatanda fructuoso, Domino  
 aspirante, ad nos usque pervenit. Denique et nostro decreto et plebis

[BISHOP OF MAN AND THE ISLES TO BE CONSECRATED AT YORK.]

consultu sancitum est inter nos, ut ex suis pontifex eligeretur, qui Christianitati per insulas gentium propagande preficeretur. Quapropter ad vos conclamamus, vestreque benignitatis gratiam humiliter imploramus, quatenus impositione manuum vestrarum ratum fiat quod communi diligentia tam provide procuratum est fieri, ad honorem Dei, et salutem animarum nostrarum; scilicet, ut Episcopus noster ad Episcopi gradum, sub auctoritatis vestre signaculo, pro Dei amore et nostri, quam citius fieri potest, promoveatur. Narrante nobis igitur domino abbate tam mira tamque sancta de vobis, dicenteque se nolle nec posse ad alium quempiam ire nisi ad vos patrem suum, gaudio magno repleti, pro universis gratias Deo nostro, prout potuimus, persolvimus. Valeat sanctitas vestra in Domino. [*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*, P. III. fol. 58; *Cott. MS. Claud. B. III.* 1316; and in *Dugd., Mon. VI.* iii. p. 1186, no. xlvii.; and in Munch's edit. of the *Chron. Mann.* p. 76.]

<sup>a</sup> That this and the following letter do not relate to the later Bishop Nicholas, A.D. 1210-1217, but are from the first Olaf of Man, A.D. 1103-1153, and that Thurstin is the Archbishop of York intended, seems almost certain, 1. because "E. abbat of Furness" must be Eudo de Suderval, second abbat; whereas the later Nicholas had been abbat himself; 2. because this Olaf only was contemporary with any Archbishop of York whose Christian name began with T.; 3. (which Munch notices) because

Furness is mentioned in both letters and not Rushin, which latter was founded from Furness A.D. 1134 (*Chron. Mann.*). If this is so, the foundation of Rushin A.D. 1134, and the death of the Earl of Moray (whose son Wimund [see above, pp. 189, 190] pretended to be) in A.D. 1130, limit their date. The *Chron. Mann.* and *Matthew Paris*, in that case, ignore the Nicholas of these letters, who was probably not consecrated because Wimund was still living.

<sup>b</sup> et Furnesiense cenobium, *MS. Cott.*

A.D. 1131 × 1134(?). *Olave King of the Isles to the Dean and Chapter of York.*

Labour to procure the consecration of Nicholas, elected Bishop of the Isles, by the Archbishop of York.

*Venerabili venerabilis et sancte Eboracensis Ecclesie Decano totique sancto fratrum Conventui,* OLAVUS DEI GRATIA INSULARUM REX, quicquid contrarium malo, præter quidem(?) et fraterne dilectionis affectum. Fraternitatis vestre scripta diligenter intelligentes, que in eis continebantur animadvertimus; et de orationum communione et consortii vestri servicio, etsi gratias quas debemus solvere non possumus, tamen quas possumus incessanter soluere curamus. In omni ergo caritatis sollicitudine, ad honorem Dei et matris uestre Ecclesie dignitatem, quam diminuere sicut remur nequaquam debetis, attentius pensatę, qualiter Nicholaum, electum nostrum, Archiepiscopi vestri per manuum impositionem consecratum, omni occasione et

[CHARTER OF KING DAVID TO NECTAN BISHOP OF ABERDEEN.]

dilatione remota, ad nos mittere laboretis. Alioquin, quod absit, mutua dilectionis deuotio spiritalis, quam promisimus ad vos exaltandum sub termino, iuxta cleri et populi nostri decretum, absque spe recuperandi in eternum peribit. Fuernensium vero clamor siue iniusta querimonia vos nullatenus disturbent; qui ni tacuerint, quod inter nos habere videntur, quia non crescit secundum Deum vel homines, potius amittent quam aliud consequentur<sup>a</sup>. Nuncios vero nostros, qui nichil aliud vobis quam per nos audierant, intimabunt, honorifice recipite; receptos cum Episcopo nostro sine dilatione nobis remittite. Valete. [*Reg. Ebor. Alb.*, P. III. fol. 58; *Cott. MS. Claud. B. III.* 132 a; and in *Dugd., Mon. VI.* iii. p. 1186, no. xlv. ; and Munch's edit. of the *Chron. Mann.* pp. 76, 77.]

<sup>a</sup> The Dean and Chapter of York probably disputed the Furness claim to elect to the see. So Grub.

A.D. 1134, April 17. CHRON. DE MAILROS.—Dedicatio ecclesie S. Jacobi in Rokesburch XV. kal. Maii feria III. Paschæ<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 32.

A.D. 1134. CHRON. MANN.—Eodem anno (A.D. 1134) Olavus Rex dedit Yvoni Abbati de Furnes partem terræ suæ in Mannia ad abbatiam constituendam in loco qui vocatur Russin; deditque Ecclesiis Insularum terras et libertates. [pp. 7, 8, ed. Munch.]

A.D. 1136, June 30. *Forfar. Charter of King David to Nectan Bishop of Aberdeen* (questionable).

Carta Primaria	DAVID DEI GRATIA REX SCOTTORUM,	<i>omnibus probis</i>
Ecclesie Abbir-	<i>hominibus totius terre sue clericis et laicis,</i>	salutem. Sciant
dcnensis facta	presentes et futuri me dedisse, concessisse, et hac carta	
Nectano Epi-	mea confirmasse, Deo et beate Marie et beato Machorio	
sco Abbir-	et Nectano Episcopo Abbir-	donensi totam villam de
donensi.	Veteri Abbir-	don, dimidiam aquam de North, Sclaty, Goul, Murcroft,
	Kynmondy, Malmenloch, et ecclesiam de Kyrkton, schiram de Clat,	
	schiram de Tulinestyn, schiram de Rane, schiram de Dauyot, cum	
	pertinentiis earundem et ecclesiis; decimam canum navium que	
	veniunt apud Aberden, decimam annone in eodem loco, decimam	
	meam de redditibus de Aberden, decimam thanagiorum, reddituum,	

[LEGATINE COUNCIL OF CARLISLE.]

et escaetorum, me contingentium infra vicecomitatus de Aberden et de Banff: tenendas et habendas dicto Episcopo Nectano et ejus successoribus in puram et liberam elemosinam, ita libere sicut aliqua elemosina in regno meo tenetur. Teste meipso apud Forfar, anno regni mei decimo tertio, tricesimo mensis Junij<sup>a</sup>. [*Reg. Aberd.*, I. 3, 4.]

<sup>a</sup> This deed is hesitatingly defended by Mr. Cosmo Innes (*Pref. to Reg. Aberd.*), as a memorandum long subsequently drawn up,

and therefore possibly true in substance, although undoubtedly spurious in form. See also below, A.D. 1157.

A.D. 1138, Sept. 26-29. *Legatine Council at Carlisle*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See above, pp. 31, 32.

A.D. 1140. CHRON. DE MAILROS.—Facta est abbatia S. Marie de Newbottle<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Cistercians from Melrose. See the *Chartul. of Newbottle*, *Pref.* p. xiv.

Before A.D. 1147. *Foundation of Augustinian Canons at Cambuskenneth near Stirling by King David*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, I. 47; *Spottisw., Rel. Houses*, pp. 390, 391; *Grub*, I. 273.

A.D. 1144-1147. *Augustinian Canons established at S. Andrew's, and as the Chapter, having the right of electing the Bishop; to the exclusion of the Keledei, who are to become extinct, as they die out.*

I. A.D. 1144. *Charter of Robert Bishop of S. Andrew's, establishing Canons there.*

REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—ROBERTUS DEI GRATIA SCOTTORUM EPISCOPUS, omnibus Catholice Ecclesie filiis tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem perpetuam. Ecclesiam beati Andree Apostoli, cui auctore Deo deseruio, quum usque ad tempus nostrum permodica fuerat, Deo inspirante ampliare studuimus: sed quoniam non sufficit ad laudem nominis Domini lapidum congeriem congregare, nisi etiam procuremus uiuos in Dei edificium lapides adunare, Canonicos ibidem ad Deo deseruiendum sub regula canonicali beati patris Augustini constituimus. Quibus et filium nostrum fratrem Robertum in partem laboris nostri assumentes, iure pariter et nomine Prioris prefecimus. Et ad uictum



[AUGUSTINIAN CANONS SUPPLANT KELEDEI AT S. ANDREW'S.]

et uestitum eorum ceteraque necessaria de possessionibus et redditibus nostris, consilio similiter et concessione piissimi Regis nostri Dauid necnon et filii eius Henrici Comitis et Regis designati, nichilominus et Episcoporum, Abbatum, Comitum, atque Optimatum et fidelium suorum consilio, porcionem quandam inperpetuum possidendam liberam et inconcussam indulsimus. Que autem donauimus et concessimus, subscribenda dignum duximus. Sunt autem hec—Barrium, Struithin, Kinnines, Castdouenald, Drumckarach, Ledochin, Stradkines, Balhuca, Rodmanand, Pettultin, Kinastare, Chinemonie, Drumsac, Balemacedunechin, Egglesnamin, Ballothen, Sconin, molendinum de Kilremund, molendinum de Puthachin,—hec omnia cum omnibus pertinentibus et adiacentibus et appendiciis suis: et de firma Regis de Pht. i. marcam argenti singlis annis ad Pascha ad luminare Ecclesie: et unam aquam in Bereuiuch de dono Regis. De VII<sup>o</sup>. vero porcionibus, que sunt altaris Sancti Andree, ipsis canonicis ij. porciones<sup>a</sup> dedimus et concessimus, que pertinent duobus personagiis que ipsi habent; et Hospitali eiusdem uille i. porcionem: quod nimirum Hospitale cum terris et possessionibus et redditibus eidem pertinentibus, eisdem concessimus in suscepcionem hospitum et peregrinorum: et ad ipsum Hospitale medietatem decime carrucarumstrarum et uaccarum et berchariarum et porchariarum et equaruarum de parochia Sancti Trinitatis, et medietatem de nostro chan eius parrochie; et totam decimam de nostro chan de Bladebolg; et de aliis prouinciis et locis, undecumque fuerit allatum uel adductum ad Sanctum Andream. Molendinum etiam de Nidiu eis dedimus: et omnes libros nostros. Ista ergo et quecumque postmodum predictae Ecclesie beati Andree et canonicis ibidem Deo seruientibus uel seruituris collata fuerint, libera esse et quieta ab omni exactione decreuimus. Hanc ergo donacionem et concessionem nostram, quicumque ipsi Ecclesie et Canonicis immunem et inconcussam conseruare adiuuerit, partem et societatem cum beato Andrea et co-apostolis eius et cum fundatoribus et defensoribus Sancte Dei Ecclesie et cum omnibus sanctis se percepturum gaudeat. Quicumque uero siue per fraudem siue per uiolenciam eam infestare uel diminuere temptauerit, nec condigne satisfecerit, ante tribunal districti Iudicis cum raptoribus et destructoribus Ecclesiarum se reum et dampnabilem fore doleat. Hanc ego Robertus Episcopus donacionis nostre paginam Episcopali auctoritate confirmo, et ob memoriam et reuerenciam Dominice Crucis impressione consigno, et sigilli nostri testimonio confirmatione

[AUGUSTINIAN CANONS SUPPLANT KELEDEI AT S. ANDREW'S.]

consigno: anno Dominici Incarnacionis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>. Ego Thoraldus archidiaconus subscribo et crucis signo confirmo. [pp. 122, 123.]

<sup>a</sup> "Tunc dominus Episcopus, quasi sponte coactus, de terris personarum, quæ abeuntibus eis in manum ejus obvenerant, quam libuit portionem, consilio et assensu Regis &c., . . . fratri Roberto in manum tradidit" (*Leg. S. Andr., Skene, 193*; quoted by Dr. Reeves). All the

"portions," as appears by donations in the Register, were subsequently conveyed to the Canons, Adrian IV. A.D. 1156 confirming the gift of two with that of the Hospital, Alexander III. A.D. 1163 confirming the gift of all.

II. A.D. 1144, May 14. *Lateran. Bull of Pope Lucius II.<sup>a</sup> establishing Canons at S. Andrew's.*

REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—LUCIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, dilectis filiis Roberto Priori Ecclesie Sancti Andree Apostoli de Scotia, eiusque fratribus tam presentibus quam futuris regularem vitam professis, in perpetuo. Apostolici moderaminis clemencie conuenit religiosos diligere et eorum loca pia protectione munire. Dingnum namque et honestati conueniens esse cognoscitur, ut qui ad Ecclesiarum regimen assumpti sumus, eas et a prauorum hominum nequicia tueamur, et Apostolice sedis patrocinio foueamus. Eapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, uestris rationabilibus postulacionibus, uenerabilis fratris nostri Bernardi Episcopi Sancti Dauid<sup>b</sup> precibus inclinati, clementer annuimus; et prefatam Ecclesiam, in qua Diuino mancipati estis obsequio, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus: inprimis siquidem statuantes, ut Ordo Canonicus secundum beati Augustini regulam, qui per te, dilecte in Domino fili Roberte Prior eiusdem loci, Episcopi consilio et auxilio, in eadem Ecclesia constitutus est, perpetuis temporibus inuiolabiliter conseruetur. Preterea quascunque possessiones, quecunque bona, ex dono aut concessione eiusdem loci Episcopi uel aliorum Dei fidelium, inpresenciarum iuste et canonice possidetis, aut in futurum, concessione Pontificum, largitione Regum uel principum, oblacione fidelium, seu aliis iustis modis, Deo propicio, poteritis adipisci, firma uobis uestrisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. Decreuimus ergo, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat prefatam Ecclesiam temere perturbare, aut eius possessiones seu bona uestra auferre, uel ablatas retinere, minuere, aut aliquibus uexacionibus fatigare; sed omnia integra conseruentur, eorum pro quorum gubernacione et sustentacione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis profutura: salua Episcopi nostri canonica iusticia ac reuerencia et Apostolice sedis auctoritate. Si qua igitur

[AUGUSTINIAN CANONS SUPPLANT KELEDEI AT S. ANDREW'S.]

in futurum ecclesiastica secularisue persona hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere uenire temptauerit, secundo tercioue commonita, si non satisfaccione congrua emendauerit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se Diuino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo Corpore ac Sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districte ulcioni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco iusta seruantibus, sit pax Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quatinus et hic fructum bone actionis percipiant, et apud districtum Iudicem premia eterne pacis inuenia[n]t. Amen, Amen, Amen. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam Tuam. Sanctus Petrus. Sanctus Paulus. Lucius PP. II.

Ego Lucius Catholice Ecclesie Episcopus. SS.

Ego Conradus Sabinensis Episcopus. SS.

Ego Theoduuinus Sancte Rufine Episcopus. SS.

Ego Albericus Ostiensis Episcopus. SS.

Ego Iamarus Tusculanus Episcopus. SS.

Ego Petrus Albanensis Episcopus. SS.

Ego Gilbertus indignus sacerdos titulo Sancti Marci. SS.

Ego Reñ. Presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sancti Stephani in Celio Monte. SS.

Ego Guido diaconus Cardinalis Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani. SS.

Ego Gerardus diaconus Cardinalis Sancte Marie in Dominica. SS.

Dat. Lat. per manum Baronis capellani et scriptoris, II. idus Maii, Indict. VII., Incarnacionis Dominice anno M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>, pontificatus uero domini Lucii IJ. PP. anno primo. [pp. 47, 48.]

<sup>a</sup> Confirmed by Adrian IV. A.D. 1156, with the addition of a list of the possessions of S. Andrew's (*ib.* 51-53), and included also in the Bull of Eugenius given below, and in all

the confirmations of it mentioned in the note there.

<sup>b</sup> See above in vol. i. p. 348.

### III. c. A.D. 1144. *Charter of David King of the Scots suppressing the Keledei of S. Andrew's.*

Carta Regis DAVID REX SCOTTORUM, *Episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, et omnibus sanctæ Ecclesiæ filiis, sacerdotum, &c.* Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Priori et Canonicis suis Ecclesie Sancti Andree Apostoli, ut recipiant Keledeos de Kilrimont in Canonicos secum cum omnibus possessionibus et redditibus suis, si voluerint Canonici fieri. Et si noluerint canonicari hii qui nunc vivunt, habeant et teneant possessiones suas

[AUGUSTINIAN CANONS SUPPLANT KELEDEI AT S. ANDREW'S.]

in vita sua; et post obitum illorum instituantur loco eorum tot Canonici in Ecclesia Sancti Andree quot sunt Kelledei, et omnia predia et omnes terre et elemosine eorum quas habent convertantur in usus Canoniconum predictæ Ecclesiæ in perpetuam liberam et quietam elemosinam, sicut liberius et quietius tenet aliqua Ecclesia in regno meo. T[estibus], A[ndrea] Episcopo de Katenes, W. abbate Strivelin., W. Cancell., Nicholao clerico, Hugo de Morevilla, W. filio. [Reg. Prior. S. Andr. p. 186.]

IV. A.D. 1147, Aug. 30. Auxerre. Bull of Pope Eugenius III. giving the right of electing the Bishop of S. Andrew's to the Prior and Canons of S. Andrew's, instead of the Keledei<sup>a</sup>.

REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—EUGENIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, dilectis filiis Roberto Priori Ecclesiæ beati Andree Apostoli in Scotia, eiusque fratribus tam presentibus quam futuris regularem vitam professis, in perpetuum. Ad hoc uniuersalis Ecclesiæ cura nobis a Prouisore omnium bonorum Deo commissa est, ut religiosas diligamus personas, et bene placentem Deo religionem studeamus modis omnibus propagare. Nec enim Deo gratus aliquando famulatus impenditur, nisi ex caritatis radice procedens, a puritate religionis fuerit conseruatus. Eapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, uestris iustis postulationibus clementer annuimus; et prefatam Ecclesiam, in qua Diuino mancipati estis obsequio, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus, et presentis scripti priuilegio communimus: statuentes, ut Ordo Canonicus secundum beati Augustini regulam, qui per Dei gratiam, consilio et auxilio uenerabilis fratris nostri Roberti Episcopi nostri, et tuo, dilecte in Domino fili Roberte Prior, labore et studio in eadem Ecclesia noscitur institutus, perpetuis ibidem temporibus inuiolabiliter conseruetur. Preterea, quascumque possessiones, quecumque bona, eadem Ecclesia in presentiarum iuste et canonicè possidet, aut in futurum, concessione Pontificum, largicione Regum uel principum, oblatione fidelium, seu aliis iustis modis, Deo propitio poterit adipisci, firma uobis uestrisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. Libertates seu immunitates ab Episcopis siue Regibus rationabili deuotione Ecclesiæ uestre concessas auctoritate uobis Apostolica confirmamus. Obeunte uero fratre nostro Roberto Episcopo uestro, nullus in Ecclesia Sancti Andree, que sedes Episcopalis est, aliqua surreptionis astutia seu uiolentia preponatur; sed quem uos communi consensu, uel fratrum

[AUGUSTINIAN CANONS SUPPLANT KELEDEI AT S. ANDREW'S.]

Ecclesie uestre pars consilii sanioris, secundum Dominum canonice prouideritis eligendum. Statuimus etiam, ut, decedentibus Keledeis, loco eorum regulares Canonici auctore Domino subrogentur. Decevimus ergo, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat prefatam Ecclesiam temere perturbare, aut eius possessiones auferre, uel ablatas retinere, minuire, aut quibusbilibet uexationibus fatigare; sed omnia integra conseruentur, eorum pro quorum gubernatione et sustentatione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis profutura: salua sedis Apostolice auctoritate, et Episcopi Sancti Andree canonica reuerentia. Si qua ergo in futurum ecclesiastica secularisue persona, hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere uenire temptauerit, secundo tertioque commonita, si non satisfactione congrua emendauerit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se Diuino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo Corpore et Sanguine Domini Redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districtae ultioni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco iusta seruantibus, sit pax Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quatinus et hic fructum bone actionis percipiant, et apud districtum Iudicem premia eterne pacis inueniant Amen, Amen, Amen. Fac mecum, Domine, signum in bonum. Sanctus Petrus, Sanctus Paulus. Eugenius Papa III.

Ego Eugenius Catholice Ecclesie Episcopus. SS.

Ego Albericus Ostiensis Episcopus. SS.

Ego Imarus Tusculanus Episcopus. SS.

Ego Huhaldus presbiter Cardinalis titulo Sanctorum Johannis et Pauli. SS.

Ego Gillebertus indignus sacerdos titulo Sancti Marci. SS.

Ego Hugo presbiter Cardinalis titulo in Lucina. SS.

Ego Odo diaconus Cardinalis Sancti Georgii ad uelum aureum. SS.

Ego Johannes Paparo diaconus Cardinalis Sancti Adriani. SS.

Ego Gregorius Sancti Auguli diaconus Cardinalis. SS.

Ego Johannes diaconus Cardinalis Sancte Marie Noue. SS.

Ego Guido diaconus Cardinalis Sancte Marie in porticu. SS.

Dat. Altisiodori per manum Guidonis Sancte Romane Ecclesie diaconi Cardinalis et Cancellarii, IIJ. kal. Sept., Indict. X., Incarnacionis Dominice anno M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XLVII., Pontificatus uero Domini Eugenii IIJ. PP. anno IIJ<sup>o</sup>. [pp. 49, 50.]

<sup>a</sup> Confirmed, as regards the election of Bishops and the superseding of the Keledei, by Pope Alexander III. A.D. 1163, by Pope Lucius III. A.D. 1183, by Pope Gregory VIII.



[SUPPRESSION OF THE KELEDEI OF LOCHLEVEN.]

A.D. 1187, by Pope Clement III. A.D. 1187, the addition of a list of the endowments of  
 by Pope Innocent III. A.D. 1206, by Pope S. Andrew's. The Keledei were not wholly  
 Honorius III. A.D. 1216 (*ib.* pp. 51-81); and extinct there until after A.D. 1332 (*Reeves,*  
 by Innocent IV. A.D. 1248 (*ib.* p. 101), with *Culdees*, p. 117).

A.D. 1144 × 1150. *Conversion of the Keledei of Lochleven into Augustinian Canons dependent upon S. Andrew's.*

I. A.D. 1144 × 1150. *Suppression of the Keledei of Lochleven by King David<sup>a</sup>.*

REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—DAVID REX SCOTTORUM, *Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Vicecomitibus, et omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue*, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse Canonicis Sancti Andree insulam de Lochleuene, ut ipsi ibi instituant Ordinem Canonicalem. Et Keldei qui ibidem inventi fuerint, si regulariter vivere voluerint, in pace cum eis et sub eis maneant. Et si quis illorum ad hoc resistere voluerit, volo et præcipio ut ab insula eiciatur. Testibus, Roberto Episcopo Sancti Andree, Andrea Episcopo de Cathenes, Waltero Cancellario, Nicholao clerico, Hugone de Moreuille, Waltero filio Alani: apud Berwic. [p. 188.]

<sup>a</sup> See an account of this charter in *Reeves, Culdees*, p. 131. It was confirmed by Pope Adrian IV. A.D. 1156 (*Reg. Pr. S. Andr.* p. 51).

II. A.D. 1144 × 1150. *Gift of the Keledean Monastery of Lochleven by Robert Bishop of S. Andrew's to the Prior and Canons of S. Andrew's. And suppression of the Keledei of Lochleven.*

Donacio Monasterii de Lochlewyn Roberto Priori Sancti Andree, per Robertum Episcopum. REG. PRIOR. S. ANDR.—*Omnibus sancte matris Ecclesie filiis*, ROBERTUS DEI GRATIA MINISTER HUMILIS ECCLESIE SANCTI ANDREE, salutem et Episcopalem benedictionem. Sciant omnes tam presentes quam absentes, nos dedisse et concessisse Ecclesie Sancti Andree et Roberto Priori abbaciam de insula Lochleuene cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, ad Canonicos Regulares constituendum in ea: hoc est, cum Findahin et omnibus suis apendiciis, et cum Portemuoch et suis apendiciis, et cum molendinis ad pontem, et cum uno molendino in terra Findachin, et Chircnes cum suis apendiciis omnibus, et cum dimidia villa de Urechehem cum suis apendiciis, et villa ecclesiastica de Sconin et suis apendiciis, et cum viginti melis

[BISHOPS OF MAN AND THE ISLES.]

casei et uno porco de Marchinche, et cum viginti melis casei et quatuor melis de breis et uno porco de Ecmor, et cum viginti melis ordeï de Balechrestin, et cum viginti melis casei et uno porco de Bolgin filii Thorfini, et cum decimis de domo nostra de Insula, et cum decimis tocius redditus quem recepturi sumus ad eandem domum, et cum vestimentis ecclesiasticis quæ ipsi Chelede habuerunt; et cum hiis libris, id est, cum Pastoralis, Graduali, Missali<sup>a</sup>, Origine, Sentenciis Abbatis Clareuallensis, tribus quaternionibus de Sacramentis, cum parte Bibliotece, cum Leccionario, cum Actibus Apostolorum, textu Evangeliorum, Prospero, tribus libris Salomonis, glosis de Canticis Canticorum, Interpretacionibus Dictionum, Collectione Sentenciarum, Expositione super Genesim, Excepcionibus Ecclesiasticarum Regularum. Hiis testibus, Gregorio Episcopo de Duncheldin, et Guillelmo Abbate de Sancta Cruce, et Thoraldo Archidiacono, et Matheo Archidiacono, Aiulfo Decano, magistro Thoma, magistro Herberto, Ricardo capellano Episcopi. [p. 43.]

<sup>a</sup> It has been rightly inferred from the mention here of the Keledean Pastoral, Gradual, and *Missal*, as transferred from Keledei to Augustinian Canons, that the "barbari ritus,"

and "mos suus," of the former (see above on pp. 157, 180), were merely matters of circumstance and of indifferent externals, and certainly did not touch doctrine.

A.D. 1150. *Cistercian Abbey of Kinloss founded by King David<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> *Chron. de Mailr.*

A.D. 1151, 1154. *Consecration at York successively of John and of Gamaliel Bishops of Man and the Isles<sup>a</sup>.*

POET. HIST. OF YORK.—

Ast Eboracensem matrem devota tenebat

Paruit et semper Candida Casa sibi.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nam Gamalielum Rogerus pater, atque Johannem

Henricus, sacrant ordine canonico.

[*MS. Cott. Cleopat. C. IV.*]

<sup>a</sup> John, a Cistercian of Savigny, succeeded Wimund, according to *M. Paris* (p. 84); but was consecrated (as above said) by Henry Murdac Archbishop of York A.D. 1147–1154 ("Candida Casa" being plainly a mistake). If the Nicholas of Olaf's letters (above, A.D. 1131 × 1134) was never consecrated, and if the see therefore was not filled until Wimund's death in A.D. 1151, the statements of *M. Paris* and of the "Poetical History" are reconcilable with the other evidence. The Bull of Anastasius IV. (given further on) of A.D. 1154

seems to limit the consecration of Gamaliel to the first year of Roger's archiepiscopate, A.D. 1154. The *Chron. Mann.* (p. 29) ignores John altogether, and places next to Wimund "Gamaliel Anglicus genere qui jacet apud Petarborch in Anglia." See also for this last statement, *Dugd. Mon. Ang. II.* 362. Probably Gamaliel retired when the Norwegian Bishop Ragnald (for whom see below, p. 230) came, and lived, like many Welsh and Irish Bishops in this and the following centuries, in an English monastery for the rest of his life.

[SEES OF THE ORKNEYS, AND OF MAN AND THE ISLES, SUBJECT TO NORWAY.]

Before A.D. 1153. *Abernethy. David King of the Scots to Ronald Earl of Orkney, etc.*<sup>a</sup>

Protect the REG. DE DUMFERML.—DAVID REX SCOTTORUM, *Rein-*  
monks of Dor- *waldo Comiti de Orchadia et Comiti et omnibus probis homi-*  
noch. *nibus Cateneis et Orchadiæ*, salutem. Mando vobis et  
præcipio, quod, sicut me diligitis, monachos et homines eorum et res,  
habitantes ad Durnach in Cateneis, diligatis; et ubicunque inter vos  
venerint, manuteneatis; non permittendo, quod aliquis eis injuriam  
vel contumeliam faciat, nec fieri permittat: testibus Cancellario et  
Herberto camerario: apud Abernithi. [p. 14.]

<sup>a</sup> Given here as being in some sort evidence of Caithness. See also *Grub*, vol. I. p. 267, that Dornoch was from the beginning the see note.

A.D. 1153 × 1165. *Grant by King Malcolm to Kelso, of the Church of Innerlethan.*

Malcolm Rex CART. DE KALCHOU.—[After the usual grant—] Pre-  
super ecclesia de cipio etiam, ut predicta de Innerlethan ecclesia, in qua  
Ynirlethan. *prima nocte corpus filii mei*<sup>a</sup> *post obitum suum quievit,*  
ut tantum refugium habeat in omni territorio suo, quantum habet  
Wedale aut Tynningham. [II. 22.]

<sup>a</sup> "Malcolm the Maiden," therefore, had a son.

A.D. 1154. *Sees of the Orkneys, and of Man and the Isles, subject to Norway.*

I. A.D. 1154, Nov. 28. *Bull of Pope Anastasius IV. confirming the establishment (by Eugenius III. A.D. 1148) of the Metropolitan See of Nidaros (or Trondhjem) in Norway, having the Bishops of the Nordreys and Sudreys (among others) as Suffragans.* (Extracts.)

ANASTASIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Johanni Trwdensi Archiepiscopo ejusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuum.* \* \* \* Quorum (sc. Apostolicorum) quoque vestigia subsecutus, felicitis memoriæ papa Eugenius, antecessor noster, de corrigendis hiis quæ in regno Norvegiæ correctionem videbantur exposcere, et verbo ibi fidei seminando, juxta sui officii debitum sollicitus extitit. Et quod per se ipsum universalis Ecclesiæ cura obsistente non potuit, per legatum suum venerabilem scilicet fratrem

[SEES OF THE ORKNEYS, AND OF MAN AND THE ISLES, SUBJECT TO NORWAY.]

nostrum Nicolaum Albanensem Episcopum<sup>a</sup> executioni mandavit. Qui ad partes illas accedens, sicut a suo patre familias acceperat in mandatis, talentum sibi creditum largitus est ad usuram, et tanquam fidelis servus et prudens multiplicatum inde fructum studuit reportare. Inter cætera vero quæ illic ad laudem nominis Dei et ministerii sui commendationem implevit, juxta quod prædictus antecessor noster ei præceperat, pallium fraternitati tuæ indulsit; et ne de cætero provinciæ Norvegiæ metropolitani possit cura deesse, commissam gubernationi tuæ urbem Thrudensem ejusdem provinciæ perpetuam metropolim ordinavit, et ei Asloensem, Hammarcopiensem, Bergenensem, Stawangriensem, insulas Orcades, insulas Suthraie, insulas Islandensium, et Grenelandiæ Episcopatus, tanquam suæ metropoli perpetuis temporibus constituit subjacere, et earum Episcopatus [*sic*] sicut metropolitani suis tibi tuisque successoribus obedire. Ne igitur ad violationem constitutionis illius ulli unquam liceat aspirare, nos eam auctoritate Apostolica et præsentis privilegio communimus, statuantes ut Trudensis civitas perpetuis temporibus supradictarum urbium metropolis habeatur, et earum Episcopi tam tibi quam tuis successoribus sicut metropolitani obediant et de manu vestra consecrationis gratiam sortiantur. \* \* \* Datum Lat. per manum Rolandi sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ presbyteri Cardinalis et Cancellarii, . . . Decembris, indictione III., Incarnationis Dominicæ anno MCLIIII., Pontificatus vero domini Anastasii papæ IIII. anno II. [*Norges Gamle Love*, ed. Keyser and Munch, vol. I. pp. 439-441.]

<sup>a</sup> Nicolas Breakspear, afterwards Pope Adrian IV., legate A.D. 1148, in which year he held the "Concilium Lincopiense."

II. LIB. CENSUUM ROM. ECCL. (15th cent.), under the title *Norwegia*.—In Archiepiscopatu Nidrosiensi—in Episcopatu Bergensi, &c.—in Episcopatu Horchadensi,—in Episcopatu Sudereiensi alias Manensi<sup>a</sup>,—&c. [*Munch, Notes to Chron. Mann.* p. 150, from Vatican Archives<sup>b</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> To this is added, "Ecclesia Sancti Columbi de hinsula Hy .ii. bisancios annuatim" (*Munch*): a payment made in consequence of a Bull of Pope Innocent III. Dec. 9, A.D. 1203, taking into Papal protection the Abbat and (now) *Benedictine* community of Hy (*Munch, Chron. Mann., App.* pp. 152, 153). This memorandum also in the *Lib. Cens.* implies that Hy was at the time reckoned to the see of Man, according at least to Norwegian views of the case (see also *Reeves, ad*

*Adamn., Add. Notes*, p. 412); although Irish churchmen still claimed it (*Id. ib.*; and below, p. 235). According to *Matt. Paris (in an. 1165)*, the Bishop of Man was "Episcopus Insularum Man et aliarum XXXI., quæ sunt inter Scotiam et Hiberniam et Angliam:" held, as he adds, by the King of the Isles of the King of Norway.

<sup>b</sup> Composed by Cencius Camerarius A.D. 1192, but with subsequent additions (*Munch*).

[SEE OF DUNBLANE FOUNDED.]

III. PROVINCIALE OMNIUM MUNDI ECCLESiarUM PATRIARCHALIUM, METROPOLITANARUM, ET EPISCOPALIUM (c. A.D. 1400).—Sodorensis in Noruegia et prouincia Nidrosiensi,—[and further on,] Archiepiscopus Nidrosiensis hos habet suffraganeos . . . Olorchadensem uel Orkadensem, Scorensem [*leg.* Sodorensem] uel Insulanum, prope Scociam est. [*Munch, ib.* p. 151, from the Vatican Archives.]

IV. CHRON. MANN.—Post hunc (Gamaliel) Ragnaldus Norwegiensis genere Mannensem Ecclesiam gubernandam suscepit. Huic primo tertiæ Ecclesiarum Manniæ a personis concessæ fuerunt, ut deinceps liberi et omni Episcopali exactione fore potuissent. [p. 29, ed. *Munch*.]

Before A.D. 1155. *Bishopric of Dunblane founded*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Laurentius of Dunblane is named in the Bull of Adrian IV. of Feb. 27, A.D. 1155 (given below). He also signs a charter of Malcolm IV. which is witnessed by Ernald Bishop of S. Andrew's Nov. A.D. 1160—Sept. A.D. 1162 (*Reg. de Dumferml.* p. 24). If David I. founded the see, it was before A.D. 1153. In A.D. 1238 Bishop Clement of Dunblane complains, that advantage had been taken of a vacancy in the church of upwards of 100 years, to alienate the Church property, and that several Bishops appointed since that long vacancy had failed to recover it (*Reg. de Aberbrothok*, p. 176, and *Inchaf-*

*fray*, p. xxx.). But this rather tends against than for the supposition that diocesan Bishops had existed there before the 100 years, which is obviously a round number, and probably much exaggerated. Gilbert Earl of Strathorne endowed the see before A.D. 1210 (*Fordun, VIII.* 73, vol. I. p. 529), and probably founded it. The ordinary title of the Bishop at first was "Episcopus Stradernensis" (*Reg. de Aberbrothok*, p. 155, &c.), the see being probably conterminous with the earldom. See also *Grub*, vol. i. p. 268, note. The Chapter was Keledean (see above, p. 177).

A.D. 1154 or 1155, 1156. *Cistercian Nunneries of Eccles (co. Berwick), and Manuel (near Linlithgow), founded respectively by Earl Cospatrick and by Malcolm IV.*<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Hoved.*, I. 215; *Chr. de Mailros*, in an. 1156: and see *Spottiswood*, pp. 461, 462. The

same Earl about the same period founded also a like nunnery at Coldstream (*Spottisw.* p. 461).

A.D. 1155, Feb. 27. *Rome. Pope Adrian IV. to all the Bishops of Scotland "in specie et nominatim"*<sup>a</sup>.

Submit to Roger ADRIANUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili-*  
of York, your *libus fratribus H[erberto] Glescuensi, Cristiano Witternensi,*  
metropolitan. *R[oberto] Sancti Andree, La[urentio] de Dubblan., G[regorio]*  
*Dunlcheldensi, T.<sup>b</sup> Brechinensi, G[alfrido] Apperdunensi, W[illelmo]*



[CLAIM OF YORK STILL ENFORCED BY THE POPE.]

*Mureuensi, S[imeoni] Sancti Petri in Ross, et A[ndree] Catenessensi Episcopis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quociens in aliqua Ecclesia, Diuina clementia disponente, talis pastor statuitur, de cuius discretione atque prudentia bonam fiduciam optinemus; tanto maiori gaudio ex hoc ipso replemur, quanto de omnium Ecclesiarum profectu cogimur existere studiosi. Et ideo venerabilem fratrem nostrum Rogerum, Archiepiscopum Eborac. et metropolitanum vestrum, debita benignitate suscepimus; et pallium, pontificalis scilicet plenitudinem potestatis, ipsi concessimus; atque circa nos aliquantum diu commorantem, sicut illum quem sincero cordis affectu speciali prerogativa diligimus, honeste tractauimus; et eum inter fratres et coepiscopos nostros, sicut decuit, carum habuimus. Ipsum itaque ad Ecclesiam suam cum gratia sedis Apostolice et litterarum nostrarum prosecutione, ducente Domino, redeuntem, fraternitati vestre attentius commendamus; presentium auctoritate precipiendo mandantes, ut eum tanquam metropolitanum vestrum diligere et honorare curetis, et debitam ei obedientiam ac reuerentiam metropolitico iure, occasione seposita, deferatis. Quod si non feceritis, et ei nolueritis obedire, scire uos uolumus, quod nos sententiam, quam idem frater noster in aliquem vestrum propter hoc canonice promulgauerit, nos, auctore Deo, ratam habebimus. Dat. Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, III. kal. Marci. [MS. Cott. Cleop. C. IV. 19 b, sq.; and in W., I. 481.]

<sup>a</sup> The absence of this Bull from the York Registers is remarkable.

<sup>b</sup> The initial letter here is wrong. Samson was Bishop of Brechin from before A.D. 1153 (see above, p. 216), and remained so until certainly after A.D. 1171 (he signs a charter with

Simon Bishop of Moray, consecrated in that year, *Chron. de Mailr.*). His successor Turpin, whose name probably misled the copyist, was elected A.D. 1178. The other Bishops are correctly named.

A.D. 1157, Aug. 10. *Signia. Bull of Adrian IV. to Edward Bishop of Aberdeen, confirming the rights and possessions of the See of Aberdeen and authorizing the appointment of Canons there<sup>a</sup>.*

REG. ABERD.—ADRIANUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Edwardo Abbirdonensi Episcopo eiusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuum*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. [The Bull is of the usual form, containing a list of the possessions of the see of Aberdeen, but containing also the following clause:] Præterea monachos sive Canonicos in tua cathedrali ecclesia iuxta dispositionem tuam instituendi liberam auctoritate sedis Apostolice habeas

[POPE ALEXANDER III. TO THE CLERGY OF S. ANDREW'S.]

facultatem. [And its date is:] Datum Signie per manum Rolandi sancte Romane Ecclesie presbyteri Cardinalis et Cancellarij, III<sup>o</sup>. idus Augusti, Indictione quinta, Incarnationis Domini anno millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo septimo, Pontificatus vero domini Adriani Pape quarti anno tertio. [I. 5-7.]

<sup>a</sup> A.D. 1150, at the dedication of the church of Dunfermlin, Edward Bishop of Aberdeen is among the witnesses to a charter of King David (*Reg. de Dumf.* p. 8). This, and the above Bull of Adrian IV. of A.D. 1157, have hitherto been regarded as the earliest absolutely certain records of the see of Aberdeen. The deed in the Book of Deer, given above at its date, which mentions Bi-

shop Nectan, now carries the certain evidence back to A.D. 1131, 1132. See also under A.D. 1125. Bishop Edward "primus in eo templo canonicos instituit, quod Adrianus Pontifex Romanus ratum habuit" (*Reg. Aberd.*, II. 247, from Bishop Gavin's *Epistolare* of A.D. 1527). There is no evidence anywhere, however, that these Canons supplanted Kedei.

A.D. 1159, Nov. 27. *Anagnia. Pope Alexander III. to the Archdeacon, Prior, and Clergy of S. Andrew's.*

We have made William Bishop of Moray our legate. Elect him Bishop of S. Andrew's. If not, then whomsoever you elect we will confirm and make him our legate.

ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis Archidiacono, Priori, et uniuerso clero Ecclesie Sancti Andree*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Petitiones quas uenerabilis frater noster [Willelmus] Mureuensis Episcopus, et dilectus filius noster Magister Nicolaus, ex parte karissimi filii nostri Malcolmi Regis Scottorum, super Ecclesia uestra nobis proposuerunt, leto animo a nobis fuissent effectui mancipate, si cum

Deo et cum iustitia id fieri potuisset. Verum nos eidem filio nostro Regi utiliter satisfacere cupientes, ad reformationem ipsius Ecclesie et ad honorem regni eius, petitiones ipsas correximus et eas in statum redegimus meliorem. Quod enim nobis idem nuncii ex parte Regia proponebant, non poterat de iustitia ut diximus adimpleri; quia, cum Ecclesia uestra ad presens pastore sit destituta, confirmationem Ecclesie super his que postulabantur fieri nullatenus congruebat. Communicato autem fratrum nostrorum consilio, quia et ipsi Ecclesie et eidem Regi in maiorum fructum et commodum uidimus prouenire, iam dicto fratri nostro Episcopo, licet hoc ipse nullatenus postularet, legationem in toto regno memorato filio nostro Regi commisso duximus concedendam; ut ibidem que corrigenda sunt corrigat, et ea salubriter statuatur que cognouerit statuenda: ita quidem ut si uos in personam eius uoluntate unanimi conueneritis, et idem Rex suum uoluerit impartiri consensum, in eadem Ecclesia Episcopus ordinetur. Et

[ERNALDUS BISHOP OF S. ANDREW'S CONSECRATED AT S. ANDREW'S.]

licet huiusmodi translationes absque consultatione et assensu Romani Pontificis non debeant celebrari, non tamen pro confirmatione sua eum redire ad sedem Apostolicam oportebit, set iniunctam sibi legationem et in eadem Ecclesia Pontificalis officii plenitudinem extunc libere exsequatur. Nos uero, post ordinationem ipsius, ei et memorate Ecclesie cui preerit, antiquas et rationabiles consuetudines et dignitates suas curabimus, auxiliante Domino, confirmare. Quod si in eum non poteritis conuenire, in aliam personam litteratam, idoneam, et honestam, communi uoto et unanimi uoluntate uos precipimus concordare, et eam studeatis uobis eligere in pastorem. Electam uero si nobis uolueritis presentare, eam et honeste tractabimus et quibus modis expedire uiderimus curabimus honorare. Extunc autem huius legatione cessante, ille qui confirmatus et consecratus fuerit, legationem per totum regnum iamdicti filii nostri Regis auctoritate Apostolica optinebit, et legationis officium libere in illis partibus exsequetur. Datum Anagnie, V. kalendas Decembris [*Stat. Eccles. Scot.*, ed. Jos. Robertson, Pref. p. xxx. note, from Denmyln MSS. 15. 1. 19, no. 2, Advoc. Libr. Edinb.]

CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.* 1159<sup>a</sup>.—Willelmus Episcopus Murauiæ et Nicholaus Regis Scottorum tunc temporis camerarius curiam Romanam ex parte Regis Malcolmi uisitantes, ad Papam Alexandrum Agnane ultra Romam uenerunt; ubi ab eo suscepti satis honorifice, Willelmus rediit in sequenti anno legatus regni Scottorum factus.

<sup>a</sup> See also *Chron. S. Cruc. in an.* 1159.

A.D. 1160, Nov. 13. *Ernaldus Abbat of Kelso made Bishop of S. Andrew's and consecrated at S. Andrew's by William Bishop of Moray, Papal Legate*<sup>a</sup>.

CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.* 1160.—Ernaldus Abbas de Calceo electus est ad Episcopatum Sancti Andree in Scotia, die scilicet Sancti Bricii Episcopi [Nov. 13], que hoc anno Dominica die evenit; et in sequenti die Dominica [Nov. 20], scilicet Sancti Edmundi, consecratus est apud Sanctum Andream in Scotia a Willelmo Murauiensi Episcopo sedis Apostolice legato, astante Rege Malcolmo, et Episcopo, et Abbatibus, et Comitibus regni.

IB., *in an.* 1161.—Ernaldus Episcopus factus est legatus regni

[UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO REUNITE HY TO THE IRISH CHURCH.]

Scottorum a Papa Alexandro, qui et in tempore legationis consecravit Gregorium Rosmarkine[n]sem Episcopum; sed postea jubente Papa Alexandro a legatione cessavit.

IB., *in an.* 1162.—Obiit Ernaldus Episcopus Sancti Andree. Fundata est Ecclesia Sancti Andree in Scotia<sup>b</sup>.

So also more briefly the CHRON. S. CRUCIS.

<sup>a</sup> Robert of S. Andrew's died A.D. 1159 (*Chron. de Mailros* and *Chron. S. Crucis*). The see was thereupon offered to Waltheof the Abbat of Melrose, who however refused it (*Fordun, VI. Suppl.* 25-34, vol. I. pp. 340-350), and died immediately afterwards, viz. Aug. 3, A.D. 1159 (*Jocelyn of Furness, V. S. Walthevi, Act. SS.* Aug. 3, vol. I.). The

Pope then attempted to procure it for William Bishop of Moray (as above on pp. 233, 234), but unsuccessfully.

<sup>b</sup> For Bishop Robert's previous labours in the same direction, see *Leg. of S. Andrew* in *Skene*, p. 191. Bishop William of Moray also died A.D. 1162, "9 Kal. Feb." (*Chron. S. Crucis*).

A.D. 1164. *Unsuccessful attempt to reunite Hy to the Irish Church.*

ANN. ULT., *in an.* 1164.—Maithi muinnteri Ia .i. in sacart mor Augustin, acus in fer-leighinn .i. Dubhsidhe, acus in disertach .i. Mac Gilladuibh, acus cenn na Ceile-nDe .i. Mac Foircellaigh, acus maithi muinnteri Ia archena, do thiahtain ar cenn Comarba Coluimcille .i. Flaithbertaich hui Brolcain do gabail abdaine Ia a comairli Somairlið acus fer Aerer Gaidhel acus Innsi Gall, coro astaei comarba Patraic acus ri Eirenn .i. Ua Lochlainn acus maithi Cenel Eoghain e. [The chiefs of the families of Ia, viz. Augustin the great priest, and Dubhsidhe the lector, and Mac Gilladuff president of the Desert<sup>a</sup>, and Mac Foircellaigh, head of the Culdees<sup>b</sup>, and the chiefs of the family of Ia in general, came to meet the Coarb of Columcille, viz. Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain<sup>c</sup>, [to invite him] to accept of the abbacy of Ia, by the advice of Somerled and the men of Argyll, and of Innse Gall: but the Coarb of Patrick<sup>d</sup>, and the King of Ireland, Ua Lochlainn<sup>e</sup>, and the chiefs of the Cinel-Eoghain prevented it<sup>f</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> The "desert" was a place for anchorites: occurring frequently by the side of an Irish monastery. There was one in Hy itself. See *Reeves, ad Adamn., Add. Notes*, pp. 407, 409.

<sup>b</sup> Sole mention of a Keledean institution in Hy.

<sup>c</sup> Made a Bishop A.D. 1158 by a synod of clergy at Bri-mic-Taidhg in Meath (*Ann. Ult. and IV. Mag.*).

<sup>d</sup> Gilla mac Laig = Gelasius, Abbat of Armagh.

<sup>e</sup> Muirceartach, titular king, slain A.D. 1166.

<sup>f</sup> A.D. 1097, Magnus of Norway seized the Western Isles, which were accordingly annexed to the see of Man; but A.D. 1154-1156 (*Chron. Mann.*), a war, ending in the latter year, restored the southern isles, including Hy, to Somerled and the men of Argyll. Man, however, still claimed jurisdiction there. See above, pp. 166, 230. A.D. 1172 × 1180, William the Lion granted to

[RICHARD CONSECRATED BISHOP OF S. ANDREW'S BY THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS THEMSELVES.]

the abbey of Holyrood all the churches and chapels in Galloway which belonged to the jurisdiction of the abbey of Hy, with all their tithes, &c.; viz. Kirkecormach, S. Andrew, Balencros, and Cheletun (*Cart. S. Crucis*, p. 41). Hy was probably at that time (what it cer-

tainly became before A.D. 1203) a Cluniac abbey. It came, in time, to be absorbed in the Scottish see of Dunkeld, which continued to claim it even after the foundation of the see of Argyll (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.* II. 291; *Reeves, ad Adamn., Add. Notes*, pp. 297, 298).

A.D. 1164. CHRON. DE MAILROS.—Facta est abbatia de Cupro quam Malcolmus Rex fecit <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The Cistercian abbey of Sandale in Cantyre, if founded by Somerled, must also have been established before this year (*Spottisw.*,

*Relig. Houses*, p. 421; *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, II. i. 23).

A.D. 1164, *March* × *September*. Attempted Legatine Scottish Council under Roger Archbishop of York at Norham Castle.

See above, pp. 34, 35.

A.D. 1165, *March* 28. Richard consecrated <sup>a</sup> Bishop of S. Andrew's at S. Andrew's by the Scottish Bishops.

CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an*.—Ricardus Capellanus Regis Malcolmi consecratus est apud Sanctum Andream in Scotia ab Episcopis eiusdem terre, scil. in Dominica die Ramis Palmarum, que tunc evenit V. kal. Aprilis.

<sup>a</sup> Elected A.D. 1163 (*Chron. de Mailros, in an.*)

A.D. 1165. Pope Alexander III. to John Abbat of Kelso.

Grants him the privilege of wearing a mitre at mass and in processions. ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, dilecto filio Johanni Abbati de Calkou, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Deuocionis tue sinceritatem, et quem circa nos et Ecclesiam Dei geris affectum, diligenti studio attendentes, et quod Ecclesia tue gubernacioni commissa Romane Ecclesie filia specialis existat, nichilominus considerantes; honorem et gratiam tibi et eidem Ecclesie tue, in quibus cum Deo possumus, libencius exhibemus, et prompto animo quantum honestas permiserit honoramus. Inde siquidem est, quod ad postulacionem tuam usum mitre tibi et successoribus tuis duximus indulgendum; auctoritate Apostolica statuantes, ut ad honorem Dei, et Ecclesie tue decorem, in solembniis missarum ea congruis temporibus utendi in ecclesia tua,



[TREATY OF FALAISE, AS CONFIRMED AT YORK.]

et in processionibus in claustro tuo, et in concilio Romani Pontificis, facultatem liberam habeatis<sup>a</sup>. [*Cart. de Kelchou, II. 300.*]

<sup>a</sup> A.D. 1165. Joannes Abbas Calkoensis venit de Roma mitratus (*Chron. de Mailros*).

A.D. 1165 × 1172<sup>a</sup>. *Precept of William I. King of Scotland for recovering fugitive serfs of the Abbats of Scone.*

WILLELMUS REX SCOTORUM, *omnibus probis hominibus totius Scocie*, salutem. Mando et firmiter precipio, ut in cuiuscunque uestrum terra aut potestate Abbas de Scon aut eius seruiens inuenire poterit Cumlawes et Cumherbes ad terras de Scon pertinentes, eos iuste absque dilatione habeat. Nullus itaque quemquam ex illis iniuste detineat super firmam defensionem meam et forisfacturam meam. Testibus Andrea Episcopo de Catenes, Nicolao Cancellario, Waltero filio Alani Dapifero, Matheo Archidiacono. Apud Dejnfermelin. [*Lib. de Scon, p. 24; and in Nat. MSS. of Scotl., P. I. no. 37*]

<sup>a</sup> Andrew of Caithness died Jan. 30, A.D. 1184 (*Chron. de Mailros*). deacon of Lothian became Bishop of Aberdeen A.D. 1172 (*Keith*).

A.D. 1174, December 8. *Treaty of Falaise, confirmed at York*  
A.D. 1175, August 17<sup>a</sup>.

HOVEDEN, *Chron.*—Deinde ambo Reges perrexerunt Eboracum; ubi occurrerunt eis Willelmus Rex Scotorum, et David frater ejus, fere cum universis Episcopis et Abbatibus et aliis magnatibus terrarum suarum. Et ibi renovata est pax et finalis concordia, quam prædictus Rex Scotiæ fecerat cum domino suo Rege Angliæ patre, apud Falesiam, dum esset in captione ejus, et coram Rege filio, et Rogero Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, et Hugone Dunelmensi Episcopo, et Comitibus et Baronibus Angliæ; et coram Episcopis et Abbatibus, Comitibus et Baronibus, de regno Scotiæ, in ecclesia S. Petri Eboraci lecta est et concessa in hunc modum.

Hæc est Conventio et Finis quem Willelmus Rex Scotiæ fecit cum domino suo Rege Henrico filio Matildæ Imperatricis.

“Willelmus Rex Scotiæ devenit homo ligius domini Regis contra omnem hominem, de Scotia et de omnibus aliis terris suis; et fidelitatem ei fecit ut ligio domino suo, sicut alii homines sui ipsi facere

[TREATY OF FALAISE, AS CONFIRMED AT YORK.]

solent. Similiter fecit homagium Henrico Regi, filio suo, salva fide domini Regis patris sui. Omnes vero Episcopi, Abbates, et clerus terræ Regis Scotiæ, et successores sui, facient domino Regi sicut ligio domino fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit, sicut alii Episcopi sui ipsi facere solent, et Henrico Regi filio suo et hæredibus eorum. Concessit autem Rex Scotiæ, et David frater ejus, et Barones, et alii homines sui, domino Regi, quod Ecclesia Scotiæ talem subjectionem amodo faciet Ecclesiæ Angliæ, qualem illi facere debet, et solebat tempore Regum Angliæ prædecessorum suorum. Similiter Ricardus Episcopus Sancti Andreæ, et Ricardus Episcopus de Dunkelden, et Gaufridus Abbas de Dunfermelin, et Herebertus Prior de Coldingham, concesserunt quod etiam Ecclesia Anglicana illud jus habeat in Ecclesia Scotiæ, quod de jure habere debet, et quod ipsi non erunt contra jus Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ. Et de [hac concessione<sup>b</sup>], sicut ligiam fidelitatem domino Regi et Henrico filio suo fecerunt, eos inde assecuraverunt. Hoc idem facient alii Episcopi et clerus Scotiæ per conventionem inde inter dominum Regem et Regem Scotiæ et David fratrem suum et Barones suos factam. Comites etiam et Barones et alii homines de terra Regis Scotiæ, de quibus dominus Rex habere voluerit, facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, et fidelitatem ut ligio domino suo, sicut alii homines sui facere ei solent, et Henrico Regi filio suo, et hæredibus suis, salva fide domini Regis patris sui. Similiter hæredes Regis Scotiæ, et Baronum et hominum suorum, homagium et ligantiam facient hæredibus domini Regis contra omnem hominem. Præterea Rex Scotiæ et homines sui nullum amodo fugitivum de terra domini Regis pro feloniam receptabunt in Scotia, vel in alia terra sua, nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini Regis, et stare judicio curiæ. Sed Rex Scotiæ et homines sui, quam citius poterunt, eum capient, et domino Regi reddent, vel justitiariis aut baillivis suis in Anglia. Si autem de terra Regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitivus fuerit pro feloniam in Anglia, nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini Regis Scotiæ, vel in curia domini Regis, et stare judicio curiæ, non receptabitur in terra Regis, sed liberabitur hominibus Regis Scotiæ per ballivos domini Regis, ubi inventus fuerit. Præterea homines domini Regis habebunt terras suas, quas habebant et habere debent, de domino Rege, et de hominibus suis, et de Rege Scotiæ, et de hominibus suis. Et homines Regis Scotiæ habebunt terras suas, quas habebant et habere debent, de domino Rege et de hominibus suis. Pro

[TREATY OF FALAISE, AS CONFIRMED AT YORK.]

ista vero conventione et fine firmiter observando domino Regi, et Henrico filio suo, et hæredibus suis, a Rege Scotiæ, et hæredibus suis, liberavit Rex Scotiæ domino Regi castellum de Rokesburc, et castellum de Berewic, et castellum de Geddewrde, et castellum Puellarum, et castellum de Striveline, in misericordia domini Regis. Et ad custodienda castella illa assignabit Rex Scotiæ de redditu suo mensurabiliter ad voluntatem domini Regis. Præterea pro prædicta conventione et fine exsequendo liberavit Rex Scotiæ domino Regi David fratrem suum in obsidem, et Comitem Dunecan, et Comitem Waldevum, et Comitem Gillebertum, et Comitem de Anegus, et Ricardum de Moreville Constabularium, et Nes filium Willielmi, et Ricardum Cumin, et Walterum Corbet, et Walterum Olifard, et Johannem de Vals, et Willielmum de Lindescie, et Philippum de Coleville, et Philippum de Valuines, et Robertum Frembert, et Robertum de Burnevile, et Hugonem Giffard, et Hugonem Ridel, et Walterum de Berkelai, et Willielmum de la Haie, et Willielmum de Mortemer. Quando vero castella reddita fuerint, Willielmus Rex Scotiæ et David frater suus liberabuntur. Comites quidem et Barones prænominati, unusquisque postquam liberaverit obsidem suum, scilicet filium legitimum, qui habuerit, et alii nepotes suos, vel propinquiore sibi hæredes, et castellis (ut dictum est) redditis, liberabuntur. Præterea Rex Scotiæ et Barones sui prænominati assecuraverunt, quod ipsi bona fide et sine malo ingenio et sine occasione facient, quod Episcopi et Barones et homines terræ suæ, qui non affuerunt quando Rex Scotiæ cum domino Rege finivit, eandem ligantiam et fidelitatem domino Regi facient et Henrico filio suo, quam ipsi fecerunt, et quod Barones et homines, qui affuerunt, obsides liberabunt domino Regi, de quibus habere voluerit. Præterea Episcopi, Comites, et Barones, conventionaverunt domino Regi et Henrico filio suo, quod si Rex Scotiæ aliquo casu a fidelitate domini Regis et filii sui et a conventione prædicta recederet, ipsi cum domino Rege tenebunt, sicut cum ligio domino suo, contra Regem Scotiæ, et contra omnes homines domino Regi inimicantes. Et Episcopi sub interdicto ponent terram Regis Scotiæ, donec ipse ad fidelitatem domini Regis redeat. Prædictam itaque conventionem firmiter observandam, bona fide et sine malo ingenio, domino Regi, et Henrico filio suo, et hæredibus suis, a Willielmo Rege Scotiæ, et David fratre suo, et a Baronibus suis prædictis, et ab hæredibus eorum, assecuravit ipse Rex Scotiæ, et David frater ejus, et omnes Barones sui prænominati, desicut ligii homines

[TREATY OF FALAISE, AS CONFIRMED AT YORK.]

domini Regis, contra omnem hominem, et Henrici filii sui, salva fidelitate domini patris sui. Testibus his, Ricardo Episcopo Abrincensi, et Johanne Saresberie Decano, et Roberto Abbate Malmesbiriæ, et Radulfo Abbate de Mundeburg, et Herberto Archidiacono Northamptoniæ, et Waltero de Constantiis, et Rogero capellano Regis, et Osberto clerico de camera, et Ricardo filio domini Regis Comite Pictaviæ, et Gaufrido filio domini Regis Comite Britannia, et Comite Willelmo de Exexa, et Hugone Comite Cestria, et Ricardo de Humezt Constabulario, et Comite de Mellent, et Jordano Thesun, et Umfrido de Boum, et Willelmo de Curci Senescallo, et Gileberto Malet Senescallo, apud Falesiam.

His itaque recitatis in ecclesia S. Petri Eboraci coram prædictis Regibus Angliæ, et coram Rege Scotiæ et David fratre suo et universo populo, Episcopi, Comites, et Barones, et milites, de terra Regis Scotiæ, juraverunt domino Regi Angliæ, et Henrico filio suo, et hæredibus eorum, fidelitatem contra omnem hominem, sicut ligiis dominis suis. [II. 79–82, ed. Stubbs, from *Bened. Abb.* I. 95–99: and in *W.*, I. 479, 480.]

\* So also, briefly, *Chron. de Mailros*, in an. 1175. See also *Rymer, Fædera*, I. 30. Dec. 8, 1174, is R. de Diceto's date for the Treaty of Falaise. But "Roger the King's chaplain," who is one of the witnesses, was in that case not Hoveden; who could hardly have returned at that date from Galloway. See *Stubbs ad loc.* Aug. 17, for the York conference, is from the Chronicle of Bridlington (*Palgrave*,

*Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 65). Knighton (in *Twysd.* 2396) gives Aug. 20. Benedict names Aug. 10 as the appointed day of meeting.

<sup>b</sup> The words in brackets are added from *Rymer*. They are not in the MSS. of either Hoveden or Benedict, and should probably be omitted.

ROB. DE MONTE, *ad an.* 1175.—Rex Scotiæ pacificatus est cum Rege Angliæ hoc modo. Fecit ei homagium et ligantiam de omni terra sua, ut proprio domino; et concessit ut omnes Episcopi terræ illius, qui sunt numero decem, et Abbates et Comites et Barones, hoc idem facerent. Episcopi vero et Abbates homagium non fecerunt; sed sacramento se constrinxerunt se hoc observaturos, et quod forent subditi Ecclesiæ Eboracensi et Archiepiscopo, et illo irent causa sacrandi quotiens necesse esset. . . . Præterea Rex Angliæ dabit honores, Episcopatus, Abbatias, et alios honores in Scotia; vel, ut minus dicam, consilio ejus dabuntur. [ed. Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, VIII. 524.]

A.D. 1176, *Jan.* 25, &c. *Council of Northampton under Cardinal Ugucione S. Michael. de Petra Leonis, so far as relates to Scotland.*

HOVEDEN, *Chron.*—Ad prædictum vero concilium apud Northamtun celebratum, venit Willelmus Rex Scottorum per mandatum domini Regis, adducens secum Ricardum Episcopum Sancti Andreæ, et Goce-linum Episcopum de Glascou, et Ricardum Episcopum de Dunkelden, et Christianum Episcopum de Candida Casa, et Andream Episcopum de Catenesse, et Symonem de Touni Episcopum de Murevia, et cæteros Episcopos et Abbates et Priores regni sui. Qui cum coram domino Rege Angliæ convenissent, præcepit eis dominus Rex, per fidem quam ei debebant, et per sacramentum fidelitatis quod ei fecerant, quod eandem subjectionem facerent Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ quam facere debebant, et solebant tempore Regum Angliæ prædecessorum suorum. Cui responderunt, quod ipsi nunquam subjectionem fecerant Angli-canæ Ecclesiæ, nec facere debent. Ad hoc autem respondit Rogerus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, affirmans quod Glascuenses Episcopi et Episcopi Candidæ Casæ subjecti fuerant Eboracensi Ecclesiæ tempore Archiepiscoporum prædecessorum suorum. Et super hoc privilegia Romanorum pontificum sufficienter instructa præmonstravit. Ad quod Jocelinus Glascuensis Episcopus respondit, “Glascuensis Ec-clesia specialis filia est Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et ab omni subjectione Archiepiscoporum sive Episcoporum exempta; et si Eboracensis Ecclesia aliquo tempore dominationem habuit in Ecclesia Glascuensi, constat illam demeruisse aliquam de cætero in ea habere domina-tionem.” Et quia Ricardus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus nitebatur, quod Ecclesia Scottica Cantuariensi subjiceretur Ecclesiæ, effecit adversus Regem Angliæ, quod ipse permisit Episcopos Scotiæ in terras suas redire, nulla subjectione facta Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ. [*II.* 91, 92; and in *W.*, *I.* 483, 484.]

BENED. ABBAS, *in an.* 1176.—[gives the same account of the Coun-cil, but with the omission of Jocelin’s arguments; and adds, that] sic finivit concilium illud; et prædicti Episcopi Scotiæ, accepta a domino Rege licentia, recesserunt. Et exinde clam miserunt legatos suos ad Alexandrum summum Pontificem, postulantes ut eos reciperet in manu sua, et tutaret a subjectione illa quam Anglicana Ecclesia ab eis exigebat. [*I.* 112.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, under A.D. 1175, 1179, pp. 41, 45, and especially p. 43, note <sup>b</sup>.



[COUNCIL OF NORTHAMPTON.]

FORDUN, *Scotichron.*, VIII. 25, 26.—Apud præmissum concilium Northamptoniæ tentum, præsentibus Richardo Cantuariensi et Rogero Eboracensi Archiepiscopis, cum utriusque regni clero, quidam clericus Scotus, Gilbertus nomine<sup>a</sup>, cum illorum Scoticanæ subjectionis Ecclesiæ conatum perceperat, et eorum verba probrosa, quæ in Scotos retorserant, audierat, furia pene prolapsus, ignitum velut ferrum exandens, suis invitis omnibus prælatis et clericis, sed ab Archiepiscopis, eum stultum ab initio putantibus, quicquid proferre voluerat monitus (qui intra se dicebant,—In naribus Scoti piper; “plenus est enim sermonibus, et coarctat eum spiritus uteri sui; en venter ejus, quasi mustum absque spiraculo, lagunculas novas dirumpit<sup>b</sup>”), hujusmodi verba cum impetu exhalavit<sup>1</sup>. —Verum, inquit, O gens Anglica, nobilis fuisses, immo ceterarum ferme regionum nobilior gentibus; sed nec tuæ nobilitatis potentiam, tuumque fortitudinis metuendæ robur, tyrannidis in audaciam, nec tuam liberalis scientiæ prudentiam versutas sophisticatam in glossulas callide transmutares. Non enim juste, veluti ratione ducta, tuos præsumis actus disponere; sed et multitudinis tuæ militum elata copiis, et divitiarum rerumque omnium confisa deliciis, adjacentes quasque provincias et gentes, non multitudine, dico, seu potentia, sed et genere te nobiliores, et temporis antiquitate digniores, perversa quadam libidine, aviditate dominandi, tuæ contendis<sup>2</sup> ditioni subdere; quibus potius, pristina si scripta consideres, humiliter obedire debueras, seu, totius saltem rancoris extincto fomite, fraterna de cetero charitate servata, perenniter conregnare. Et nunc quoque, super omnem quam exercueras superbiendo nequitiam, nullius juris ratione, sed potentiæ præambula vi, matrem tuam, Ecclesiam videlicet Scoticanam, ab initio catholicam et liberam, opprimere niteris; quæ te, deserta Gentilitatis errantem per invia, jumento<sup>3</sup> fidei imponens, veritatis et vitæ ad viam Christum, æternæ quietis hospitem, reduxit<sup>4</sup>; Reges tuos, et principes cum populis, sacri baptismatis unda lavit; Dei præcepta te docuit, et moralibus te instruxit; multos etiam nobilium tuorum et mediocrium, operam lectioni dare gaudentes, libentissime suscipiens, victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, librosque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabat. Antistites tuos similiter et sacerdotes sacravit, constituit, et ordinavit. Per spatium insuper annorum triginta vel amplius, ex

<sup>1</sup> exhalavit] *al.* exaltavit.<sup>2</sup> contendis] *al.* attendis.<sup>3</sup> jumento] *al.* munimento.<sup>4</sup> reduxit] *al.* adduxit.

[COUNCIL OF NORTHAMPTON.]

boreali parte Themensis fluvii primatum tenuit, et pontificalis apicem dignitatis, teste Beda. Qualem obsecro retributionem tanta tibi beneficia largienti retribuisti? Servitutem nunquid, seu tale, veluti Judæa Christo, pro bono malum? Equidem non aliud spero. “Quomodo versa est in amaritudinem vitis aliena! Expectavimus ut faceres uvas, et labruscas produxisti! Expectavimus ut faceres iudicium, et ecce iniquitas! et justitiam, et ecce clamor!” Quin, tuum velle si facta sequantur, quam omni venerationis cultu tractare te decet, in ultimam reduceres et miseram servitutem. Vah, proh nefas! Quid autem miserius est? Cui beneficia excidunt, hærent injuriæ. Venenum quoque serpentes in alienam perniciem proferunt, sine<sup>5</sup> sua continent. Non ita vitium ingratitude continetur. Torquet ingratus se et macerat, oditque accepta quæ redditurus est et extenuat, injurias vero auget et dilatat. Veram sentio sententiam esse Senecæ, proclamantis, quod quidam quo plus debent magis oderunt, leve et debitum alienum debitorem facit gravem inimicum. Quid dicis tu, David? Fateor, retribuebant mihi malum pro bonis, et odium pro dilectione mea. Injustum est, ait Gregorius, servire tali domino, qui nullo placatur obsequio. Gilbertus,—Et tu, Ecclesia Anglicana,

Niteris in vetitum putans sic ferre petatum,—  
immo inconcessum auferre.

Quod justum est petito, si vis gaudere petito.

Et, ut ulterius verbis audientes non afficiam, quamquam non oneratus, pro libertate tamen Ecclesiæ meæ Scoticanæ, etsi totus clerus Scotiæ aliter senserint, subjectioni eorum<sup>6</sup> dissentio. Et hic dompnum Apostolicum, cui immediate subjecta est, provoco; et si oppertuerit me pro eadem mori, hic caput ensi submitto. Nec ulterius avisandum dominis meis hic prælatis censeo, nec etiam consentio; quia honestius est inepte petatum negare, quam longos terminos dare; quia minus decipitur, cui celeriter negatur.—Et his dictis, Anglorum quidam tam prælatorum quam magnatum, clericum, ex eo quod intrepide pro sua patria nulli blandiens animi motum eructarat, quem etiam audientium non terruit austeritas, multum collaudabant. Quin etiam Apostolicum, ob censuram rigidam quam paulo ante exercuerat in malignantes ecclesiasticam libertatem, et in Sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem, nimium formidabant. Alii quidam, quia

<sup>5</sup> sine sua] *al.* sinu suo.<sup>6</sup> eorum] *al.* Anglorum.

[POPE ALEXANDER III. TO THE ARCHBISHOP AND THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF YORK.]

suæ voluntatis contrarium protulit, fumosum Scotum et impetuosum naturaliter, conclamabant. [I. 476, 477.]

<sup>a</sup> The genuineness of this speech must rest upon Fordun's credibility. It is hardly reasonable to set it aside merely because Fordun has gone on to confound Gilbert with S. Gil-

bert Bishop of Caithness, A.D. 1223-1245.

<sup>b</sup> Job xxxii. 18, 19.

<sup>c</sup> Jerem. ii. 21; Isai. v. 2, 7.

A.D. 1176, May 13. *Anagnia. Pope Alexander III. to Roger Archbishop of York and to the Dean and Chapter of York.*

Recognitio Re- ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili*  
gis Scocie super *fratri Rogero Eborac. Archiepiscopo, Apostolice sedis legato,*  
subiectione Epi- *et dilectis filiis Decano et Canonicis Eborac., salutem et*  
scoporum Scocie *Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum vestri nobis literas*  
Eborac. Ecclesie. *charissimi in Christo filii nostri Willelmi illustris Regis Scotiæ præ-*  
*sentassent, a nobis cum multa instantia postularunt, ut eis literas*  
*ipsius Regis, sicut nobis sigillo ejus munitas tradiderant, redderemus*  
*vobis reportandas. Sed quia sigillum ipsarum literarum fractum*  
*fuerat, ipsorum petitioni ad plenum satisfacere non potuimus, verum-*  
*tamen constancia et supplicatione devicti et utilitati Ecclesie vestre*  
*in hac parte provida sollicitudine consulere ac proficere cupientes,*  
*tenore[m] litterarum prædicti Regis Scotie, de verbo ad verbum,*  
*nichil addito vel dempto, scribi fecimus, et sub sigillo nostro vobis*  
*duximus transmittendum, ut ad perpetuam memoriam habeatis.*  
*Quarum siquidem litterarum tenor talis est:—*

*Reverentissimo domino et patri Alexandro Dei gratia summo pontifici,*  
WILLELMUS EADEM GRATIA REX SCOCIE, salutem et deuotam reueren-  
tiam. Nouerit sanctitas vestra, quod de subiectione Ecclesie Scocie,  
quam Eboracensis Ecclesia antiquo iure sibi vendicat, tam ex scriptis  
autenticis, que inspexi, quam ex relazione et testimonio virorum  
antiquorum, auctenticorum, et veridicorum, diligenter veritatem in-  
vestigando comperi, quod ab antiquis temporibus ad Eboracensem  
Ecclesiam de iure pertineat; et quod possessionem eius hostilitate  
et potentia Regum predecessorum meorum amiserit. Set jam per  
gratiam Dei inter dominum meum Regem Angliæ et me pace imper-  
petuum reformata, suppliciter postulo, quatinus domino meo Regi et  
regno suo et Eborac. Ecclesie predictam possessionem et subiec-  
tionem vestra auctoritate, omni occasione et appellacione remota,  
restitui et redintegrari precipiatis. Nec sine maximo dampno meo

[POPE ALEXANDER III. TO THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND.]

et terre mee detrimento pretermitti potest, quin ita fiat; quoniam in pace reformata ita inter dominum meum Regem et me convenit, et illud idem iuramento firmavi. Scio enim quod in maximum periculum animarum nostrarum redundaret, si quod pro certo scimus competere debere, effectui non manciparetur. Valeat semper Sanctitas vestra.

Dat. Anagn. III. Idus Maii<sup>a</sup>. [*Dugd. Monast. VI. 1186, no. XLIII.*, from the *York Registers*; also in *MS. Cott. Cleop. C. IV. 20*; and in *W., I. 481, 482.*]

<sup>a</sup> This letter is placed by Wilkins under A.D. 1175; but inasmuch as Pope Alexander was at Ferentinum in A.D. 1175, and at Anagnia A.D. 1176, while the contents of both this and the following letter equally suit either year, both of them are here placed

under A.D. 1176. In that case, King William's letter must have been extorted from him at Northampton, and sent by the English authorities to the Pope. It is entered in the English *Lib. Rubeus Scaccar.* fol. 176 (*Hunter, Catal. of Contents of the Lib. Rub. p. 40*).

A.D. 1176, July 30. *Anagnia. Pope Alexander III. to the Bishops of Scotland<sup>a</sup>.*

Quod Episcopi Scotiæ Eboracensi Episcopo tanquam metropolitano respondere minime teneantur. REG. EPISC. GLASG., no. 38.—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus Episcopis Scotiæ*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Super anxietatibus et angustiis quas sustinere noscimini, paterna vobis affectione compatiatur et plurimum condolemus, et super hiis omnem quam cum Deo possumus parati sumus auxilium impertiri. Sane gravat vos admodum, gravat et nos, quod carissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus illustris Anglorum Rex vos jurare coegit, ut obediretis Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ; cum hoc injuriam Dei et contemptum nostrum respiciat, et in depressionem ecclesiasticæ libertatis, quam non est alicujus Regis vel principis de Ecclesiis vel personis ecclesiasticis ordinare. Nos autem sustinere nolentes libertatem vestram imminui, venerabili fratri nostro Eboracensi Archiepiscopo Apostolicæ sedis legato districte præcepimus, ut in vos jus metropoliticum non exerceat, donec sub examine Romani pontificis cognoscatur, utrum sibi debeatis metropolitico jure subesse; et memoratum Regem de receptione prædictorum juramentorum prout debuimus redarguentes, ipsum attente monuimus, ut vos ad præstandam sibi obedientiam non compellat, nec ad hoc suum assensum tribuat vel favorem. Mandamus itaque fraternitati vestræ atque præcipimus, quatinus nemini nisi Romano pontifici, juramentorum ipsorum obtentu vel alia de



[VIVIAN SENT AS LEGATE TO THE SCOTTISH (AMONG OTHER) CHURCHES.]

causa, metropolitico jure obedire temptetis, donec in præsentia nostra vel catholici successoris nostri, si præfatus Archiepiscopus super hoc in causam trahere vos voluerit, controversia inter vos et ipsum fine debito terminetur. Datum Anagninæ III. Kal. Augusti<sup>b</sup>. [I. 35.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter is dated eight days after the legate Vivian landed in England, and could not therefore have been sent by his hands. Its date (Anagnia) fixes it to A.D. 1176.

<sup>b</sup> A letter of Pope Alexander III. to [Jocelin] Bishop of Bath, A.D. 1175 or 6 × 1181, —ordering him to eject the clerks presented

by [William] King of Scotia to churches in the Earldom of [Huntingdon, given to William by the younger King Henry in 1173, and restored to] Simon [De St. Liz] Earl [of Northampton, about A.D. 1174]—is in *Mansi*, XXII. 413. Reginald Fitz-Jocelin became Bishop of Bath, A.D. 1174.

A.D. 1176, July—1177, January. *Cardinal Vivian comes to England as legate to Scotland, Man, and Ireland, whither he goes.*

I. CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.*—Wivianus tituli Sancti Stephani in Celio Monte presbyter Cardinalis, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, Scotiam intravit, conculcans et comminuens obvia quæque, expeditus capere nec impeditus rapere.

II. BENED. ABB., *in an.*—Interim Willelmus Rex Scotiæ et Episcopi terræ suæ, timentes infestationem Regis Angliæ et Rogeri Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, latenter miserunt nuncios suos ad Romanum Pontificem, et ab eo impetraverunt quod ipse mitteret eis unum de Cardinalibus suis, qui cognosceret causam controversiæ quæ inter eos et Anglicanam Ecclesiam vertebatur de subjectione facienda. Missus est itaque ad eos Vivianus, &c., et circa festum Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ [July 22] applicuit in Anglia, sine Regis licentia. Et paulo post, cum venisset ad Northamptoniam, Rex misit [&c. (as in Hoveden, quoted below), I. 117, 118.]

III. HOVEDEN, *Chron. in an.*—Eodem anno Alexander papa misit Vivianum presbyterum Cardinalem, Apostolicæ sedis legatum in Scotia, et in insulis circumjacentibus, et in Hybernia, et in Noreweia, ad causas ecclesiasticas audiendas et determinandas secundum quod Deus ei administraret. Qui cum in Angliam veniret, dominus rex Angliæ misit ad eum Ricardum Wintoniensem, et Gaufridum Eliensem Episcopos, et interrogavit eum cujus auctoritate ausus erat intrare regnum suum sine licentia illius. His igitur interrogationibus prædictus Cardinalis plurimum territus, de satisfactione juravit Regi, quod ipse nihil ageret in legatione sua contra voluntatem illius; et sic data



[LEGATINE COUNCIL OF EDINEURGH UNDER CARDINAL VIVIAN.]

est ei licentia transeundi usque in Scotiam. Et dominus Rex invenit ei conductum et expensas, usque dum veniret in terram Regis Scotiæ. [II. 98, 99.]

IV. CHRON. MANN., *in an.* 1176.—Eodem anno Vivianus Apostolicæ sedis legatus Cardinalis venit in Manniam, et legationis suæ officium complens Godredum Regem legitime desponsari fecit cum uxore sua nomine Phingola, filia Mac Loclen filii Murkartac Regis Ybernix, matre scilicet Olavi qui tunc triennis erat. Desponsavit autem eos Silvanus abbas de Rieavalis. Ipsa die Godredus Rex dedit in oblationem venerabili abbati Silvano partem terræ apud Mirescog, ubi mox monasterium construxit; sed processu temporis terra tota cum monachis concessa est abbatiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Russin. [pp. 13, 14, *ed. Munch.*]

V. BENED. ABBAS, *in an.* 1177.—Eodem anno, in ipsa Vigilia Nativitatis Domini [Dec. 24, 1176] Vivianus tituli sancti Stephani de Cœlio Monte presbyter Cardinalis, et Apostolicæ sedis legatus, naves ascendit in Galveia apud civitatem Witerne, et applicuit in insula quæ vocatur Man, et ibi per quindecim dies moram fecit, familiariter et honorifice susceptus a Rege illius insulæ et a clero et populo: et circa Epiphaniam [Jan. 6, 1177] transfretavit inde in Hyberniam, &c. [I. 136, 137.]

A.D. 1177. Aug. 1. *Edinburgh. Legatine Council of Edinburgh under Cardinal Vivian.*

I. BENED. ABBAS. [See above, pp. 44, 45.]

II. CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.*—Vivianus Cardinalis, Hybernia rediens, apud Castrum Puellarum prælatos Regni Scotiæ convocavit, et in concilio sedit.

III. HOVEDEN, *Chron. in an.*—Eodem anno prædictus Vivianus, presbyter Cardinalis et Apostolicæ sedis legatus, peracta legatione sua in Hybernia, rediit in Angliam, et per conductum domini Regis rediit in Scotiam; et celebrato concilio apud Castellum Puellarum, suspendit a pontificali officio Christianum Episcopum Candidæ Casæ, quia ad concilium suum venire noluit. Sed Episcopus Candidæ Casæ suspensionem illam non tenuit, septus munimine Rogeri Eboracensis

[POPE ALEXANDER III. TO THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND.]

Archiepiscopi, cujus suffraganeus ipse erat. [II. 135; and in *W.*, I. 486.]

IV. FORDUN, *Scotichron.* VIII. 25. [adds, that] Vivianus . . . Scotiam revisit, . . . et plurima renovans [*al.* revocans], antiquorum decreta et nova quædam statuens præcepta, concilium [sc. apud monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Castello Puellarum] calendis Augusti solenne celebravit. [I. 474; and in *W.*, I. 486.]

V. A.D. 1178 × 1181. *Jan. 27. Anagnia. Pope Alexander III. to the Bishops of Scotland.*

Epistola Alex-  
andri Pape III.  
Episcopi Scocie,  
ut in irritum ducant statuta Viviani Cardinalis et eorum legati contra Ordinem Cisterciolorum facta.

ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus uniuersis Episcopis Scocie*, [salutem, &c.]. Insinuatum est auribus nostris, quod dilectus frater noster Viuianus tituli sancti Stephani in Celio Monte presbiter Cardinalis, cum in partibus illis legationis fungeretur officio, sollempniter statuit et decreuit, quod fratres Cisterciensis Ordinis de terris, quas tenent ab alijs et laborant, decimas soluant. Vnde, quia non credimus predictum Cardinalem huiusmodi decretum fecisse, nec licuit ei contra statuta Romani Pontificis decretum facere, uel priuilegium Romane Ecclesie, ubi dubium est, auctoritate propria exponere, uniuersitati uestre per Apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus, quatinus occasione illius statuti fratres Cisterciensis Ordinis non cogatis nec permittatis compelli decimas soluere de terris, quas proprijs manibus aut sumptibus excolunt; siue sint eorum proprie, siue ab alijs ipsas teneant. Grauiissimum enim et molestissimum habemus, nec equo animo pati [uolumus], si occasione illius statuti auctoritate priuilegii derogetis, quod fratribus Cisterciensis Ordinis noscitur ab Apostolica sede indultum. Data Anagnie, VI. Kal. Februarii. [Robertson's *Stat. Eccl. Scotie.*, *App. to Pref.*, no. XIV. p. ccxlv., from the *Registrum Chartarum Monast. Rieual.* no. CCXXXIII. fol. 169, in *Cotton MSS. Julius D. I.*]

A.D. 1178. *Foundation of the Abbey of Arbroath.*

CHRON. DE LANERCOST, *in an.*—Rex vero Willelmus Scottorum . . . ob familiarem amorem inter ipsum et Sanctum Thomam [sc. Becket] dum adhuc in curia Regis Henrici esset contractum,

[CLERGY TO BE ORDAINED ON EMBER DAYS ONLY.]

divulgato in mundo et approbato in cœlo celebri ejus martyrio, abbatiam de Aberbroutok<sup>a</sup>, in honore ipsius fundavit et redditibus ampliavit<sup>b</sup>. [p. 11.]

<sup>a</sup> See also *Reg. de Aberbrotok*, pp. 1-8.

<sup>b</sup> The monastery was Benedictine of Tyron, from Kelso. That of Fyvie in Buchan was founded from it A.D. 1179 (*Spottisw. Rel. Houses*, p. 410). Lindores, also Benedictine

of Tyron, was founded about this time by David Earl of Huntingdon, on his return from the Holy Land (*ib.* 411). And, before A.D. 1178, the Cistercian nunnery of Haddington, by Ada Countess of Northumberland (*ib.* 462).

A.D. 1178. *Legate sent to summon the Scottish Bishops to the third Lateran Council.*

HOVEDEN, *Chron.*—Venerunt igitur in Angliam duo legati, videlicet Albertus de Suma, cui etc., . . . et Petrus de Sancta Agatha, cui com-missa erat Scotiæ et Hybernix et insularum adjacentium Episcoporum et abbatum citatio<sup>a</sup>. [II. 167.]

<sup>a</sup> The summons is dated Sept. 21, A.D. 1178 (*Lab. Conc. X.* 1506), the Bishops to be at Rome Feb. 14, A.D. 1179. *Bened. Abbas* (I. 210) specifies also Galloway and

Man; and that the legate (and the Bishops as well) was made to swear that he would "return" also through England.

Before A.D. 1179. *Clergy not to be ordained on other than the Ember Days<sup>a</sup>.*

DECRET. GREG. IX., *lib. I. tit. XI. c. 2.*—ALEXANDER III.: *Episcopo Herfordensi* (c. an. 1165, *Roma in Angliam*) . . . Sane super eo quod moris esse dixisti, in Ecclesiis quibusdam Scotiæ et Valliæ<sup>b</sup> in dedicationibus ecclesiarum vel altarium extra jejunia Quatuor Temporum clericos ad sacros ordines promovere; significamus, quod consuetudo illa, utpote institutioni ecclesiasticæ inimica, est penitus improbanda; et nisi multitudo et antiqua consuetudo terræ esset, taliter ordinati non deberent permitti in susceptis ordinibus ministrare. Nam apud nos sic ordinati deponerentur, et ordinantes privarentur autoritate ordinandi.

<sup>a</sup> From *Append.* to 3rd Lateran Council, A.D. 1179, P. XXVI. c. 24 (*Lab.*, X. 1656). The date in the Decretals, A.D. 1165, seems to be purely conjectural. To what Bishop of

Hereford the letter was addressed depends of course upon the date.

<sup>b</sup> "Galliæ" in another MS.: "Gawliæ" in a third.

A.D. 1179. *Scottish Bishop at the Lateran Council of March 5-19.*

HOVEDEN, *Chron.*—Post Natale Domini venerunt de Hybernia in Angliam Laurentius Dublinensis etc., Romam ad concilium ituri. Similiter de regno Scotiæ transierunt per Angliam Episcopi et abbates quam plures. Et illi omnes tam de Hybernia quam de Scotia et aliis insulis per Angliam transeuntes, pro licentia transeundi juraverunt, quod neque Regi neque regno ejus damnum quærerent<sup>a</sup>. [II. 171. See also *Bened. Abbas*, I. 210.]

<sup>a</sup> The only Scottish Bishop whose signature is appended to the Council is Gregory Bishop of Ross. The *Hist. Archiep. Bremen. (Script. Septentrion. Lindenbrog.* p. 95) has a story, that in this Council, "erant a Papa

consecrati Episcopi duo Anglici et duo Scoti; unus solo equo venerat, alter pedes cum solo pedite." There are no known Bishops to whom this can refer.

Before A.D. 1181. May 27. *Grant by Harald Earl of Orkney of Peter-pence to the Church of Rome from the county of Caithness.*

De annatis et  
decimis promis-  
sisque eleemo-  
synis Romanæ  
Ecclesiæ persol-  
vendis.

[INNOCENT III. A.D. 1198 × 1202]<sup>a</sup>, [*Biarn.*] *Orchad. et*  
[*Reginald.*] *Rosmarchen. Episcopis.*—Dilectus filius nobilis  
vir H[araldus] Catenensis et Orchadiensis Comes nobis  
significare curavit, quod ipse pro redemptione peccato-  
rum suorum a tempore felicitis memoriæ Alexandri PP.  
prædecessoris nostri denarium unum de qualibet domo in comitatu  
Catenensi habitata annuatim statuit pro eleemosyna colligendum, et  
ob reverentiam beat[or]um Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ad sedem  
Apostolicam dirigere consuevit: quam visitationem nomine eleemo-  
synæ annuatim ad opus Romanæ Ecclesiæ colligendam tam suo quam  
bonæ memoriæ A[ndrææ] olim Catenens. Episcopi et aliorum nobi-  
lium illarum partium testimonio confirmavit. Cum autem postea,  
memorato A. Catenen. Episcopo viam universæ carnis ingresso,  
venerabilis frater I[ohannes] in eadem Ecclesia fuisset in Episcopum  
institutus, prædictam eleemosynam irritare præsumens, eam ab his  
qui sunt in sua diocesi constituti, auctoritate propria interdixit ex-  
solvi. Quocirca fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus,  
quatenus, si vobis constiterit de prædictis, præfatum Catenensem  
Episcopum, si monitione præmissa hoc facere neglexerit, ad satisfac-  
iendum de eleemosynis subtractis hucusque, et ne eas reddi de cetero  
interdicat, sicut justum fuerit, auctoritate nostro, sublato appella-

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

tionis obstaculo, per censuram ecclesiasticam compellatis. Quod si ambo, alter vestrum &c. VI. Kal. Junii. [*Epist. lib. I. no. 218; I. p. 117. ed Baluz.*]

<sup>a</sup> Innocent became Pope, January, A.D. 1198; and Bishop John was mutilated by Earl Harald in A.D. 1201 (v. *Innocent's Epist. lib. v. no. 77*, and the *Orkney. Saga*, p. 415, &c.).

A.D. 1179 (or 1178)–1188. *Disputed election to the See of S. Andrew's.*

I. A.D. 1178–1180. CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.* 1178.—Magister Joannes cognomine Scotus ad Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ electus est; sed Rege Willelmo totis viribus electioni eius renitente, Hugonem capellanum, regia fretus potestate, in Ecclesia Sancti Andreæ ut voluit Episcopus consecrari fecit. Hinc inde gravis contentio et periculosa divisio emersit.

HOVEDEN, *Chron. in an.* 1180.—Eodem anno<sup>a</sup> Ricardus Episcopus Sancti Andreæ in Scotia obiit: quo defuncto, statim fit schisma de electione pontificis. Canonici enim de Ecclesia Sancti Andreæ elegerunt sibi in Episcopum magistrum Johannem cognomento Scottum: et Willelmus Rex Scottorum elegit Hugonem capellanum suum, et consecrari fecit ab Episcopis regni sui, super appellationem a prædicto Johanne electo ad dominum Papam factam. Unde factum est quod Alexander summus pontifex misit Alexim Romanæ Ecclesiæ subdiaconum in Scotiam, ad cognoscendam controversiam quæ erat inter Johannem electum et Hugonem consecratum, et ad illam determinandam.

Qui cum in Scotiam venisset, et coram clero et populo regni diu tractasset de electione Johannis et Hugonis, et de consecratione ipsius Hugonis; et cognovisset quod præfatus Johannes canonice fuisset electus, et quod Hugo post appellationem ad Romanum pontificem factam in Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ per Regem violenter esset intrusus: eum sine dilatione de Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ deposuit, et perpetuum ei silentium auctoritate qua fungebatur imposuit; et electionem quæ de Johanne facta fuit confirmavit, et eum ab Episcopis Scotiæ, Rege nec prohibente nec contradicente, immo per consilium Episcoporum regni permittente, in Episcopum Sancti Andreæ consecrari fecit. Sed Rex statim post consecrationem suam prohibuit ei ne ipse in regno suo moram faceret. Hugo vero non minus gerebat se Episcopum quam antea, et asportatis secum capella Episcopali et baculo et annulo, cum cæteris quæ illicite detinebat,



[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

Romam iturus abiit. Et quia ipse asportata reddere noluit, Alexis excommunicavit eum, et summus pontifex sententiam illam confirmavit. Unde ipse in hac forma scripsit Episcopis et aliis viris ecclesiasticis de regno Scotiæ<sup>b</sup>. [pp. 208, 209; see also *Bened. Abbas*, I. 250, 251, 264.]

FORDUN, *Scoticron. VI. Suppl. 37*.—De mandato domini Papæ [Alexandri], Alexis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ subdiaconus et Apostolicæ sedis nuncius, ut de facto Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ cognosceret, Scotiam cum Johanne electo<sup>c</sup> et ab eodem Papa prius confirmato, Rege Willelmo vix permittente, intravit: concesso dicto confirmato, ut pro dignitate Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ, et Regis honore, in sede Episcopali a quibus vellet Episcopis consecrari. Quem Alexis, domini Papæ nuncius, post multa consilia et multa gravamina, excommunicatis etiam quibusdam Regis clericis, insuper et Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ interdici comminato, sed id fieri Johanne nequaquam consentiente, convocatis quasi omnibus Episcopis, abbatibus, et notabilioribus clericis in dignitate constitutis, apud Edinburgh in ecclesia monasteriali Sanctæ Crucis die Sanctissimæ Trinitatis vj. Idus Junij [June 8, A.D. 1180]<sup>d</sup> a Matthæo Episcopo Aberdonensi<sup>e</sup> ex mandato domini Papæ Alexandri ad prænominatam sedem in antistitem magnifice consecrari fecit. Qui sic consecratus et absque Episcopatu se esse intelligens, extemplo præ timore Regis et indignatione regalium provinciam mœrens reliquit, et Romanam curiam repedando petiit. [I. 352.]

CHRON. DE MAILROS, in *an.* 1180 [has the same statement, but more briefly, with *Fordun*].

GIR. CAMBR., *De Instruct. Principum*, I. 13.—Gloriam . . . unica macula [Willelmus] decoloravit. Per totam enim terræ suæ totius amplitudinem in Cathedralibus Ecclesiis cunctis nullas omnino nisi ad nutum ipsius, more tyrannico, fieri permisit electiones; enormes quidem Normannicæ tyrannidis per Angliam abusiones nimis in hoc expresse sequens. [I. 202, ed. Lond. 1846.]

<sup>a</sup> Richard died A.D. 1179 (*Chron. S. Cruc.*), 1178 (*Chron. de Mailros*). Fordun's date, 1177, claims less authority than those of the *Chronicles*. Hoveden puts it all under 1180.

<sup>b</sup> Scil. the letter here printed as no. II.

<sup>c</sup> He was elected in the presence of Vivian (miscalled, by Fordun, Johannes) de Cœlio Monte, Cardinal legate a latere to Scotland (*Fordun*, VI. *Suppl.* 35, I. 351). In spite

of his cognomen, he was an Englishman (*Fordun*, *ib.*).

<sup>d</sup> Trinity Sunday A.D. 1180 was June 15. The *Chron. de Mailros*, which Fordun repeats almost *verbatim*, has "octavis Pentecosten." The *Octave* of Trinity Sunday would make the day and year tally.

<sup>e</sup> Bishop John was sister's son to Bishop Matthew.

II. A.D. 1181 (?). *Pope Alexander III. to the Bishops, Abbats, &c. of Scotland, and to the Prior and Canons of S. Andrew's.*

The Pope by Alex. legate declares the election of John valid and commands that he be recognized as Bishop.

Hoveden, *Kron.*—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, venerabilibus fratribus universis Episcopis, et dilectis filiis abbatibus, et aliis Ecclesiarum prælatis per Scotiam constitutis, priori, canonicis, clero, et populo Sancti Andreæ, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Comperto nobis, quod jampridem venerabilis frater noster Johannes, nunc Episcopus Sancti Andreæ, canonicè fuisset electus, et post electionem suam Hugo, appellatione interposita, in Ecclesia illa per potentiam laicalem intrusus, consecrari ausu temerario præsumpsisset; electionem ipsius Apostolica auctoritate cassantes, dilectum filium nostrum Alexium subdiaconum nostrum, sedis Apostolicæ legatum, de electione præfati Johannis cogniturum, ad partes vestras direximus. Qui cum mature satis, sicut per multorum testimonia nobis innotuit, et canonicè processisset; electionem ipsius canonicam comperiens, post multiplices inducias, in quibus regiæ magnitudini detulit, auctoritate Apostolica confirmavit, præcipiens omnibus qui ad Ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ pertinerent, ex parte nostra, ut ipsi Johanni, sicut electo, obedientiam et reverentiam exhiberent. Unde cum nullus propter metum regium in manifesto obedire auderet, idem legatus non regnum, sicut de jure poterat, sed Episcopatum interdicto subjecit. Cum igitur tam ecclesiastici quam sæculares principes a carissimo in Christo filio nostro Willelmo illustri Scottorum Rege districtius adjurati fuissent de recto consilio dando, firmiter promittente ipso Rege quod eorum consilio staret, responderunt omnes tanquam unus, ut præfati Johannis consecrationem coram legato nostro et quatuor Episcopis, quinto ægotante sed scripto consentiente, celebratam ulterius non turbaret, sed permetteret eum in pace sua sede consecrari. Inde est quod universitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, atque sub officii et beneficii pœna præcipimus, quatenus spiritum fortitudinis induentes, ipsum Episcopum, infra octo dies post harum susceptionem litterarum, honorifice, appellatione postposita, ad sedem suam reducat, et pro servanda ecclesiastica justitia prudenter et viriliter laboretis, et ad placandum motum regium adhibeatis operam diligentem; atque præfato Episcopo omnem exhibeatis reverentiam et honorem, quem ipsius prædecessoribus impendistis.

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

Quod si Rex aliud voluerit, aut etiam consilio pravorum inclinatus fuerit, Deo et sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ magis oportet obedire quam hominibus: alioquin sententiam, quam venerabilis frater noster Hugo Dunelmensis Episcopus in contumaces et rebelles tulerit, nos auctore Deo ratam habebimus, et præcipimus firmiter observari. [II. 209, 210.]

### III. A.D. 1181 (?). *Pope Alexander III. to the Prelates of Scotland.*

Hugh has carried off the Episcopal insignia, and is therefore excommunicated.

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus et dilectis filiis Ecclesiarum prælatis per Scotiam constitutis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Relatum est nobis, quod cum Hugo, qui Ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ de Scotia invaserat, capellam Episcopalem, baculum et annulum, et cætera quæ irrationabiliter asportaverat, illicite detineret, cum frequentius admonitum respiscere contemnentem, dilectus filius noster Alexius subdiaconus noster, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, coram vobis et clero multo et populo, nisi infra quindecim dies ablata vel asportata redderet, vel congrue satisfaceret, vinculo excommunicationis, Apostolica auctoritate fretus, astrinxit. Ipse tamen in arrogantia malo perdurans, in nullo præfati legati monitis acquievit. Nos itaque sententiam de auctoritate nostra prolatam ratam habentes, universitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus præfatum Hugonem, Dei gratia freti et timore postposito, publice, nullius appellatione obstante, vinculo denunciatis excommunicationis astrictum, et sicut excommunicatum attentius evitetis, donec quæ de scriptis rebus abstulit, vel æstimationem, fratri nostro Johanni, Episcopo Sancti Andreæ, et Ecclesiæ suæ restituat, et de aliis quæ destruxit satisfactionem exhibeat congruentem. [II. 210, 211; and *Bened. Abbas*, I. 265.]

### IV. A.D. 1181 (?). *Roger of York, Papal legate, with Hugh of Durham, ordered to excommunicate King William, and to put Scotland under an Interdict.*

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—Præterea dominus Papa concessit Rogero, Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, legatiam in Scotia: et præcepit ei, quod ipse sententiam excommunicationis, una cum Hugone Dunelmensi Epi-

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

scopo, proferret in Regem Scottorum, et regnum illius interdiceret, nisi ipse permisisset præfatum Johannem tenere Episcopatum suum in pace, et nisi dedisset ei securitatem pacis servandæ illi. Et idem Papa districte et in vi obedientiæ inhibuit Johanni Episcopo Sancti Andreæ, ne alicujus amore aut timore, vel suggestione aliqua seu voluntate, Ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ, ad quam consecratus est et auctoritate Apostolica confirmatus, ausu temerario præsumeret derelinquere, vel aliam recipere: adjungens quod si attentaverit, sine exceptione aliqua auferret ei utramque. Unde summus pontifex in hac forma scripsit. [II. 211; and *Bened. Abbas*, I. 263, 264.]

V. A.D. 1181 (?). *Pope Alexander III. to William King of the Scots.*

Orders him to receive John on pain of excommunication. HOVEDEN, *ib.*—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Willelmo illustri Scottorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Pro pace tua et libertate sollicite nos meminimus laborasse, sperantes quod ex hoc in devotione sedis Apostolicæ melius firmareris et cresceres, et libentius servares ecclesiasticam libertatem. Cæterum attendentes circa factum venerabilis fratris nostri Johannis, Episcopi Sancti Andreæ de Scotia, volueris usque modo inclinari, contrarium spei, quam de fervore devotionis regiæ habeamus, cogimur æstimare. Volentes tamen experiri adhuc si patientia nostra ad pœnitentiam regium motum adducat: magnitudinem tuam per Apostolica scripta moneamus attentius et mandamus, quatenus memorato Episcopo infra viginti dies post harum susceptionem litterarum pacem et securitatem largiaris, ita quod non oporteat eum de indignatione regiæ dubitare. Alioquin noveris nos venerabili fratri nostro Rogero Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, Apostolicæ sedis legato in Scotia, mandasse, ut regnum tuum nullius appellatione obstante subjiciat interdicto, excommunicationis sententiam in personam tuam, si desistere nolueris, prolaturus. Pro certo quoque teneas, quod si in tua duxeris violentia perdurandum, sicut laboravimus ut regnum tuum libertatem haberet, sic dabimus studium ut in pristinam subjectionem revertatur. [II. 211, 212; and *Bened. Abbas*, I. 263.]



VI. A.D. 1181<sup>a</sup>. *Scotland interdicted and William excommunicated.*

HOVEDEN, *in an.* 1180.—Sed Rex Scotiæ in nullo volens obedire mandatis Apostolicis, expulit præfatum Johannem Episcopum Sancti Andreæ, et Mathæum Episcopum de Aberden avunculum ejus, a regno suo. Unde Rogerus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, et Hugo Dunelmensis Episcopus, et Alexis Apostolicæ sedis legatus, mandatum summi pontificis prosequentes, sententiam excommunicationis dederunt in personam Regis Scotiæ, et sententiam interdicti in regnum ejus. [II. 212.] —*Id. ib. in an.* 1181.—Eodem anno Johannes Episcopus Sancti Andreæ sententiam excommunicationis tulit in Ricardum de Moreville constabularium, et Ricardum de Præbenda, et alios familiares Regis Scotiæ, qui pacem inter Regem et ipsum disturbaverant. Et Rogerus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, legatus in Scotia, et Hugo Dunelmensis Episcopus, ex auctoritate domini papæ mandaverunt priori Sancti Andreæ, et personis ecclesiasticis per Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ constitutis, ut venirent ad Johannem Episcopum suum, et illi debitæ subjectionis reverentiam facerent; sin autem, in contumaces et rebelles sententiam suspensionis inferrent. Cum autem quidam virorum ecclesiasticorum de Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ metu suspensionis venirent ad præfatum Johannem Episcopum, Willelmus Rex Scotiæ illos a regno suo ejecit, cum filiis et cognatis, et etiam illis qui adhuc pendentes ab uberibus matrum vagiebant in cunis. Quorum miserandam proscriptionem et exilium, Rogerus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus et Hugo Dunelmensis Episcopus videntes, processerunt in mandatum domini Papæ; et Rogerus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus excommunicavit Willelmum Regem Scotiæ, et ipse et Hugo Dunelmensis Episcopus tulerunt sententiam interdicti in totam terram Regis Scotiæ, mandantes Episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, et cæteris viris ecclesiasticis, sententiam illam interdicti firmiter et inconcusse observare, et ipsum Regem sicut excommunicatum cautius evitare. [II. 263, 264.]

<sup>a</sup> Benedict Abbas (*I.* 281, 282), and the second passage from Hoveden, are the authorities for the date. The excommunication

could hardly have been inflicted twice, both in A.D. 1180 and A.D. 1181.



VII. A.D. 1181. *Attempted compromise between William King of the Scots and Bishop John of S. Andrew's.*

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—Interim Willelmus Rex Scotiæ per mandatum domini Henrici Regis Angliæ venit in Normanniam; cujus admonitione et consilio idem Rex Scotiæ concessit Mathæo Episcopo de Aberden, et Johanni Episcopo Sancti Andree, quos ipse a Scotia fugaverat, licentiam repatriandi. Convenit etiam inter eos, coram Rege Angliæ, in hunc modum; quod Mathæus Episcopus de Aberden libere et sine aliqua contradictione per conductum Regis Scotiæ ad sedem propriam remearet, et si qua ei ablata fuissent, restituerentur; et Johannes, qui consecratus fuerat ad Episcopatum Sancti Andree, propter amorem domini sui Regis Scotiæ habendum, concessit se dimissurum Episcopatum illum, si liceret ei eligere quem vellet Episcopatum de regno Scotiæ, et si Rex Scotiæ insuper dedisset ei cancellariam suam, et omnes redditus suos quos habuit ante consecrationem suam, et xl. marcas reddituum in Ecclesia Sancti Andree. Misit igitur Rex Scotiæ ad Alexandrum Papam nuncios suos, postulans ut ipse pro bono pacis concessisset hanc fieri sedium Episcopatum commutationem. Sed dominus Papa hoc concedere noluit<sup>a</sup>. [II. 259, 260; and *Bened. Abbas*, I. 265, 266.]

<sup>a</sup> Two transactions appear to be here confused together, some of the terms proposed belonging to the subsequent attempt at a

compromise under Roland of Dol (*Stubbs, ad loc.*, and see below).

VIII. A.D. 1182. *March. William absolved by order of Pope Lucius III.*

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—Eodem anno, ad instantiam nunciorum regis Scotiæ, videlicet, Jocelini Glascuensis Episcopi, et Arnaldi abbatis de Melros, et Osberti abbatis de Kelzou, et Walteri prioris Sancti Columbæ de Insula<sup>a</sup>, Lucius papa tertius absolvit Willelmum Regem Scotiæ a sententia excommunicationis, et regnum suum ab interdicto, Romæ in Lateranensi palatio, coram Cardinalibus suis, scilicet, Petro de Pavia Episcopo Tusculanensi, et Episcopo Prænestæ, et Alberto cancellario, et Jacinto, et Hugeszun, et Petro de Bova, et magistro Viviano, et Reinero magno, et Chinchecapel, et Reinero parvo, et Hardezun, et Hardewin, et Mathæo Andegavensi. Et postea tradidit litteras absolutionis suæ præfatis nunciis Regis Scotiæ, in hac forma. [II. 267, 268; and see *Bened. Abbas*, I. 286, 287.]

<sup>a</sup> Inchcolm.

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

*(March 17. Velletri. Pope Lucius III. to the Bishops of Scotland.)*

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—LUCIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus Episcopis, abbatibus, clero, et populo per Scotiam constituto*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum Regibus tanquam præcellentibus Apostolus statuerit deferendum, dignum est, et consonum rationi, ut eos tanquam filios carissimos propensius honoremus, et in devotione Beati Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ annuendo justis illorum desideriis attendamus. Accepimus autem, quod cum carissimus in Christo filius noster Willelmus, illustris Rex Scottorum, electioni et consecrationi venerabilis fratris nostri Johannis Episcopi inexorabiliter obviaret, obtentu litterarum sanctæ recordationis Alexandri Papæ prædecessoris nostri, bonæ memoriæ Rogerus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, et jam dictus Episcopus, in eum et regnum et quosdam de regno sententiam excommunicationis promulgarunt. Cæterum venerabilis frater noster Jocelinus Glascuensis Episcopus, et dilecti filii Arnaldus de Melros et Osbertus Calcoensis abbates, et Walterus prior Sancti Columbæ de Insula, propter hoc ad sedem Apostolicam accedentes, sua nobis assertionem monstrarunt, quod Archiepiscopus excommunicationis in Regem, et interdicti in regnum, et Episcopus jam dictus in quosdam de regno excommunicationis, sententiam protulerunt; quam ex multiplici ratione retractandam fore rationabiliter coram nobis et fratribus ostenderunt. Inde utique fuit, quod præfato Regi tanquam carissimo in Christo filio deferentes, omnem sententiam jam dicti Episcopi pro præfata causa in eum vel suos vel regnum prolatam, de communi consilio fratrum auctoritate Apostolica relaxavimus; et statuimus illum et suos excommunicatione, et regnum interdicto, ex præscripta sententia nostra non teneri. Quo circa universitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus ei tanquam Regi catholico, et habenti communionem Apostolicæ sedis, participare minime dubitetis; sed in omnibus illi honorem congruum impendatis. Quanto enim certiores sumus de sinceritate devotionis illius et majorem fructum Ecclesiis et personis ecclesiasticis regni sui certius proventurum, tanto amplius eum volumus in omnibus, in quibus secundum Deum possumus, honorari. Datum Velletræ, XVI<sup>o</sup>. Kalendas Aprilis. [II. 268, 269.]

CHRON. DE MAILROS, *in an.* 1182.—Jocelinus Glascuensis Episcopus et Ernaldus Maylrosensis abbas et Osbertus abbas Calcoensis

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

cum aliis honestis viris Romam pro Rege regnique negotiis ierunt, causasque suas Deo opitulante caute et prudenter peregerunt, sani et alacres inde ad sua redierunt. Per ipsos etiam Lucius III.<sup>a</sup> auream rosam Regi Willelmo Scottorum cum paterna benedictione transmisit.

<sup>a</sup> Pope Sept. 6, A.D. 1181—Nov. 24, A.D. 1185.

IX. A.D. 1182. *A second attempt and failure to effect a compromise.*

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—Eodem anno Rollandus electus Dolensis, Romanæ Ecclesiæ subdiaconus, venit in Angliam, ex parte Papæ Lucii, ad pacem faciendam inter Regem Scotiæ et Johannem Episcopum Sancti Andreæ, et perrexit ad Regem Scottorum una cum Selvano abbate Rievallensi collega suo: et diutissime tractaverunt cum illo de pace facienda inter illum et Johannem Episcopum Sancti Andreæ. Ad quorum instantiam convenit in hunc modum inter Regem et prædictum Episcopum; quod Hugo abjuraret Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ, et Johannes Episcopus eundem Episcopatum quietum clamaret a calumnia ipsius, et loco illius haberet Episcopatum de Dunkelden, et omnes redditus quos ipse ante electionem suam habebat, et cancellariam Regis, et quadraginta marcas redditus de Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ in vita sua. Hugo tamen, cum requisitus esset a domino suo Rege Scotiæ quod abjurasset Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ, respondit se malle suscipere iudicium inde in Romana curia, quam sic abjurare Episcopatum ad quem ipse fuerat consecratus. Et statim litteras quas Johannes Episcopus contra eum a Romano Pontifice impetraverat, arguit falsitatis, et appellavit ad Romanum Pontificem. Unde prædictus Rollandus et Selvanus abbas, non valentes procedere prout deberent, in hac forma scripserunt summo Pontifici. [*II.* 270; and see *Bened. Abbas*, I. 289, 290.]

X. A.D. 1182. *Rolland elect of Dol and Selvanus Abbat of Rievaulx to Pope Lucius III.*

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—*Reverendo patri et domino Lucio, Dei gratia summo et universali Pontifici*, ROLLANDUS EADEM GRATIA DOLENSIS ELECTUS, SUÆ SANCTITATIS SERVUS ET ALUMNUS, APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS SUBDIACONORUM MINIMUS, ET SELVANUS DICTUS ABBAS RIEVALLENSIS, debitæ subjectionis reverentiam. Cum litteras, quas Hugo Episcopus redarguerat falsitatis,

John refuses to surrender his see. The parties to meet at Rome, Oct. 1, A.D. 1182.

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

eidem Episcopo dedissemus, et eas in quibus processus rei continetur, acceptaque a domino Rege Scottorum licentia, recedere cum festinatione vellemus; dominus Rex me Dolensem electum diligenter et affectuose rogavit, ut per dominum Johannem Episcopum transitum facerem, et ei ex parte sua Dunkeldensem Episcopatum, cum redditibus quos antea in Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ habuerat, cum augmento quadraginta marcarum annuatim percipiendarum, cancellariam quoque regiam, in signum dilectionis offerrem, adjecitque se ei et suis omnia ablata redditurum, præter hoc solum, quod ad manus ejus devenisse sciebat; eosque in plenitudinem suæ gratiæ recepturum, sicut antea fuerat ei oblatum. Volebat tamen, quod idem Johannes Episcopus omnia instrumenta sua combureret, quæ super facto Sancti Andreæ fuerant a piæ recordationis Alexandro prædecessore vestro obtenta. Permittebat quoque, quod Hugo Episcopus ad Glascuensem Episcopatum transferretur, si aliter Episcopus Johannes consentire non vellet; et si fieri non posset, tamen concederet quod obtulerat, sed Episcopum Johannem non ita diligeret, nec ei plenam gratiam redderet. Quæ omnia cum præsentia domini Hugonis Dunelmensis Episcopi obtulissem domino Johanni, benigne concessit, dicens quod nunquam Hugonem Episcopum in Ecclesia Sancti Andreæ permetteret remanere. Volebatque quod instrumenta prædicta in aliquo loco reponerentur, ita quod nunquam sibi contra voluntatem regiam eis uti liceret. Sic igitur ad Regis præsentiam redeuntibus nobis, Episcopo Johanne prope Rokesburg exspectante, dominus Rex proposuit nobis, quod multum ei placeret si Hugo Episcopus posset in Ecclesia Sancti Andreæ remanere, et rogabat me ut Episcopum ad hoc inducere laborarem; et cum ego dicerem ei, quod nunquam eum de cætero super hoc rogarem, quia non poteram in hac parte proficere, dixit; “Bene credo, quod ex quo dominus Johannes ad pacem et dilectionem meam redit, hoc consideratione meæ dilectionis et ad precum mearum instantiam sustinebit, et de eo libenter cum eo loquerer;” et rogavit me Rex, ut ei consulerem quod veniret loqui cum eo. Missis igitur clericis Regis ad Episcopum Johannem, respondit quod non veniret, quia a quibusdam consiliariis domini Regis se audisse, quod dominus Rex semper ad hoc omnimodis nitebatur, ut Hugo in Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ remaneret; et si venire vellet, illi non poterant ei securum præstare conductum. Cumque illi in hæc verba redissent, dominus Rex quendam Episcopum, abates, comites, et barones, ad eundem Episcopum transmisit, rogans



[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

ut locuturus cum eo veniret ad eum, præcepitque eis ut eidem Episcopo omnem securitatem præstarent. Qui redeuntes dixerunt, quod dominus Johannes, quia præsentiens quod dominus Rex vellet Episcopum Hugonem in Ecclesia Sancti Andreæ remanere, respondit se nunquam ad Regem venturum nisi primo jurarent quod dominus Rex omnia, quæ ei per me obtulerat, observaret; sed jurare nolebant; et sic dominus Johannes ad propria remeavit. Nos vero prædictis Episcopis, Johanni et Hugoni, statuimus terminum in kalendis Octobris veniendi ad vos, et vestro parere judicio. Valete." [II. 271, 272.]

XI. A.D. 1183. *Before June. Velletri. Settlement (not however accepted) of the dispute by Pope Lucius III.*<sup>a</sup>

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—Eodem anno Johannes et Hugo Episcopi, de quibus mentionem feceramus, Velletram venerant ad audientiam Papæ Lucii, et uterque illorum proposuit, coram domino Papa et universis Cardinalibus suis, jus quod petebat in Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ. Quo audito, dominus Papa de communi fratrum consilio abjudicavit Episcopatum illum utrique, et ipsi in manu summi Pontificis resignaverunt præfatum Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ libere et absolute, et sic a curia recesserunt expectantes summi Pontificis misericordiam: et post paucos dies, per consilium universorum Cardinalium, summus Pontifex reddidit Hugoni Episcopo Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ, et confirmavit; et concessit Johanni Episcopo Episcopatum de Dunkelden, cum universis supradictis quæ ei ex parte Regis Scotiæ oblata fuerant, et confirmavit. Hugo autem domum rediit, et recepit Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ. Johannes vero Episcopus recepit Episcopatum de Dunkelden: sed quia Rex Scotiæ noluit ei ablata restituere, ipse iterum movit quæstionem contra Hugonem Episcopum de Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ, sicut inferius notatum est. [II. 281, 282.]

<sup>a</sup> For the date, see *Stubbs ad loc.*

XII. A.D. 1186. *July. Renewal of the Controversy before Urban III.*

HOVEDEN, *in an.* 1186.—Eodem anno cum Urbanus Papa, conquerente Johanni Dunkeldensi Episcopo, audisset controversias quæ vertebantur inter ipsum Johannem et Hugonem Episcopum Sancti Andreæ, in hac forma scripsit Regi Scotiæ.



[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

(A.D. 1186, July 31. Verona. Pope Urban III. to William King of the Scots.)

Hugh to return to Rome by a certain date. The suit to be prosecuted.

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—URBANUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Willelmo illustri Scottorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum ex injuncto nobis a Deo administrationis officio, ad universas Ecclesias, proximas nobis et longe positas, aciem nostræ teneamur considerationis extendere; et si qua in eis, vel ministris earum, irrationabiliter attentata noverimus, ad factum congruum revocare; non debent ex eo sæculi principes commoveri, si quando ad correctionem eorum, quæ perperam facta fuerint, manus nostras duxerimus extendendas; cum et ipsi secundum sibi traditam potestatem auxilio nobis in his esse debeant, et cum necesse fuerit, aliquorum pertinacia exigente, contumacium nequitiae fortius obviare. Regia siquidem excellentia non ignorat, quam gravis inter venerabiles fratres nostros, Johannem Dunkeldensem et Hugonem Sancti Andreæ Episcopos, fuerit exorta dissensio. Et licet magnos utraque pars labores subierit et expensas, et tempore felicitis memoriæ Lucii Papæ, prædecessoris nostri, apud sedem Apostolicam diutius litigaverint, negotium tamen non potuit finem habere. Unde, cum iidem Episcopi nuper ad nostram præsentiam accessissent, et contendissent super hoc aliquamdiu in auditorio nostro; de consilio fratrum nostrorum, prædicto Dunkeldensi Episcopo agendi licentiam super Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ tribuimus contra illum, et eidem Sancti Andreæ Episcopo ad propria revertendi, ad nostram præsentiam sufficienter instructo in constituto sibi termino redituro; ita quod, si tunc non venerit, venerabilis frater noster Jocelinus, Glascuensis Episcopus, et dilecti filii de Melros, et de Neubotle, et de Dunfermelin abbates, eum ex tunc ab officio Episcopali suspendant, et si postmodum contumax fuerit, vinculo excommunicationis astringant, nec relaxent sententiam, donec nostro se conspectui repræsentet. Nolumus enim ut, negotio ipso diutius in suspenso manente, præscripta Sancti Andreæ Ecclesia grave rerum suarum detrimentum incurrat, sed potius, cognita veritate, per nos finem congruum, auxiliante Domino, sortiatur. Præcipimus etiam præfatis Glascuensi, et collegis suis, quod dilectos filios nostros Aiulfum decanum de Lodoneio, et Odonem senescallum, et Rogerum de Fedic, et alios clericos et amicos præfati Dunkeld-

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

ensis Episcopi, a qualibet molestia, nostra freti auctoritate, defendant; et possessiones vel alia bona eorum, seu redditus ipsius Episcopi, non permittant a quoquam invadi: si qui vero contra ipsorum prohibitionem super his venire præsumserint, censura eos canonica, nulla appellatione obstante, compescant. Ut igitur quæ mandamus valeant sine difficultate qualibet adimpleri, monemus regiam excellentiam, et hortamur in Domino, atque in remissionem peccatorum injungimus, quatenus pro amore justitiæ, et reverentia Beati Petri et nostra, in negotio illo juxta mandati nostri tenorem procedi permittas; et prædictos decanum, senescallum, et R. de Fedic, atque alios consanguineos et amicos prædicti Dunkeldensis Episcopi, et Episcopatum et alios redditus ejus, regia protectione defendas; et nec tu ipse illos in aliquo aggraves, nec sinas ab aliis aggravari. Ita quod causa ipsa valeat sine impedimento terminari, et regia magnificentia de justitiæ opere apud Deum præmium indeficiens, et nomen bonum apud homines consequatur. Noveritis autem memoratis Episcopis in virtute nos obedientiæ injunxisse, ut nec ab Ecclesiis, nec a clericis sibi subditis, accipiant aliquid expensarum intuitu, quas in prosecutione memorati negotii sunt facturi, sed de propriis solummodo redditibus sibi procurent necessaria providere. Nolumus enim ut facto ipsorum Ecclesiæ, vel personæ aliæ regni tui, debeant incurrere detrimentum. Regiam insuper excellentiam volumus non latere, quod supradictus Dunkeldensis ita honeste suum est negotium prosecutus, et honori regio detulit, quod nihil omnino proposuit quod in derogationem regii nominis valeat redundare, vel quo tua serenitas adversus eum debeat commoveri. Unde si quid ab æmulis ejus in contrarium fuerit celsitudini tuæ suggestum, talium verbis aurem regiam non apponas. Datum Veronæ, ii. Kalendas Augusti. [II. 311, 312.]

XIII. A.D. 1186. *Same date and place. Pope Urban III. to Jocelin Bishop of Glasgow and to the Abbats of Melrose, Newbottle, and Dumfermlin.*

Appoints them commissioners to hear the cause and report. URBANUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Jocelino Glasguensi Episcopo, et dilectis filiis de Melros, et de Neubottle, et de Dunfermelin abbatibus*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum ex injuncto nobis a Deo administrationis officio ad universas Ecclesias, proximas nobis

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

et longe positas, aciem nostræ considerationis teneamur extendere, et si qua in eis vel ministris earum irrationabiliter attentata noverimus, ad factum congruum revocare, non debent ex eo sæculi principes commoveri. Vestra siquidem discretio non ignorat, quam gravis inter venerabiles fratres nostros, Johannem Dunkeldensem et Hugonem Sancti Andreæ Episcopos, fuerit exorta dissensio; et licet magnos utraque pars labores subierit et expensas, et tempore felicitis memoriæ Lucii Papæ, prædecessoris nostri, apud sedem Apostolicam diutius litigaverint, negotium tamen non potuit finem habere. Unde cum iidem Episcopi nuper ad præsentiam nostram accessissent, et contendissent super hoc aliquamdiu in auditorio nostro, tandem de consilio fratrum nostrorum prædicto Dunkeldensi Episcopo agendi licentiam super Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ tribuimus contra illum, et eidem Sancti Andreæ Episcopo ad propria redeundi, ad nostram præsentiam sufficienter instructo in constituto sibi termino redituro. Et ne carissimus in Christo filius noster, illustris Scottorum Rex, prosecutionem ipsius negotii sua potestate impediatur, nostris eum litteris commonemus, ut in negotio illo juxta mandati nostri tenorem procedi permittat, et dilectos filios nostros, A. decanum Laodoniæ, et O. senescallum, et R. de Fedic, et alios præscripti Dunkeldensis consanguineos et amicos, regia protectione defendat, nec eos ipse in aliquo aggravet, nec sinat ab aliis aggravari. Ne igitur præscriptum negotium diutius maneat in suspensio, et Ecclesia Sancti Andreæ per hoc rerum suarum detrimentum incurrat, discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, et in obedientiæ virtute præcipimus, quatenus ea, quæ vel per vos ipsos vel per alios de ipsius negotii tenore scire poteritis, redigentes in scriptum, nobis sub sigillorum vestrorum munimine designare curetis; ut nos ex vestra insinuatione instructi, consilio fratrum nostrorum adhibito, sicut procedendum fuerit, in negotio procedamus. Si qui vero in prædictum decanum, O. senescallum, R. de Fedich, vel alios Dunkeldensis Episcopi amicos, et possessiones seu alia bona ipsorum, aut Episcopatus vel aliorum reddituum ipsius Episcopi, ausu temerario manus injecerint, per censuram eos canonicam, auctoritate nostra suffulti, sine appellationis obstaculo, compescatis. Prædictis autem Episcopis ex parte nostra vetetis, quod et nos fecimus viva voce, ne ab Ecclesiis seu clericis sibi subditis accipiant aliquid expensarum intuitu, quas in prosecutione memorati negotii sunt facturi; sed de propriis solummodo redditibus sibi necessaria subministrent. Nolumus enim, ut

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

facto ipsorum Ecclesiæ, vel aliæ ipsius regni personæ, debeant incur-  
 rere detrimentum. Præfato autem Episcopo Sancti Andree auctori-  
 tate nostra districtius injungatis, ut in termino, quem utrique parti  
 statuimus, sufficienter instructus ad præsentiam nostram accedat.  
 Quod si non venerit, ex tunc eum ab Episcopali officio, appellatione  
 postposita, suspendatis. Quod si nec sic adqueverit, excommuni-  
 cationis vinculo eum innodetis, nec sententiam relaxetis, donec  
 nostro se duxerit conspectui præsentandum. Regiæ insuper excel-  
 lentia intimetis, quod supradictus Dunkeldensis Episcopus ita honeste  
 suum est negotium prosecutus, et honori regio detulit, quod nil  
 omnino proposuit quod in derogatione regii nominis valeat redun-  
 dare, vel quo adversus eum debeat commoveri. Unde ipsum instanti  
 exhortatione curetis inducere, ut si ab æmulis ejus in contrarium  
 fuerit suggestum, eorum verbis aurem regiam non apponat. Datum  
 Veronæ, II. Kalendas Augusti. [II. 312-314.]

XIV. A.D. 1186. *Bishop Hugh is suspended and excommunicated.*

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—Harum igitur auctoritate litterarum, Jocelinus Glas-  
 cuensis Episcopus, et collegæ sui, cum tempus quod a summo  
 Pontifice statutum erat prædictis Dunkeldensi et Sancti Andree  
 Episcopis veniendi Romam appropinquasset, semel, secundo, tertio  
 summonuerunt prædictos Episcopos iter suum arripere. Dunkeld-  
 ensis autem profectus est, sed Episcopus Sancti Andree, terminum  
 sibi statutum transgressus, ire distulit; et præfati judices delegati  
 suspenderunt eum ab Episcopali officio, et deinde propter suam  
 contumaciam excommunicaverunt, secundum formam Apostolici  
 mandati. [II. 314.]

XV. A.D. 1188. *February. Clement III. decides in favour of  
 Bishop John.*

HOVEDEN, *ib. in an.* 1188.—Eodem anno Johannes Dunkeldensis  
 Episcopus, post Purificationem Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, rediit a curia  
 domini Papæ, Hugone Episcopo Sancti Andree deposito; et attulit  
 secum litteras domini Papæ in hac forma.—



[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

(A.D. 1188, Jan. 16. Pisa. Pope Clement III. to Jocelin Bishop of Glasgow, Matthew Bishop of Aberdeen, and others.)

Bishop Hugh is  
deposed. John  
is to be elected.

HOVEDEN, *ib.* CLEMENS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM  
DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus, Jocelino Glascuensi et Mathæo  
Aberdensi Episcopis, et dilectis filiis, Ernaldo Abbati de  
Melros, et Bertramno Priori de Coldingham,* salutem et Apostolicam  
benedictionem. Ne in dubitationis recidant scrupulum quæ geruntur,  
dignum est litterarum memoriæ commendari, et ad illorum notitiam,  
quorum interesse videtur, celebri ac veridica insinuatione perferri.  
Meminimus autem, quod bonæ memoriæ Urbanus Papa, prædecessor  
noster, Hugoni, quondam dicto Episcopo Sancti Andreæ, pro contro-  
versia quæ inter eum et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Johannem  
Episcopum vertebatur, sub excommunicationis interpositione man-  
davit, ut ad certum diem responsurus in jure aspectui se Apostolico  
præsentaret. Verum quia conscius actuum suorum, et eventum  
judicii reformidans, venire contumaciter recusavit; nos, et pro hoc  
et pro aliis multis, quæ crebrescente fama Ecclesiæ Dei scandalum  
pepererunt, ipsum ab Episcopatu Sancti Andreæ, de consilio et  
assensu fratrum, perpetuo judicavimus Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate  
remotum, et ab usu Episcopalis officii eo usque suspensum, donec  
Apostolica sedes duxerit de ipso aliter statuendum; absolventes a  
fidelitate subjectos, qua ei tenebantur astricti. Sane, quia vacantes  
Ecclesias diutius regimine pastoralis carere sanctorum canonum inhi-  
bent sanctiones, discretionis vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus,  
quatenus dilectos filios nostros, capitulum Sancti Andreæ, ex parte  
nostra diligentius moneatis, ut sibi talem eligant Episcopum et pas-  
torem, qui digne possit Episcopalis officii dignitate potiri, specialiter  
autem eos, quantum vobis possibile fuerit, inducere laboretis, ut  
memoratum Episcopum Johannem, virum bonæ opinionis, et pro sui  
honestate nobis et fratribus nostris acceptum, ad regimen et præla-  
tionem illius Ecclesiæ sine cujusquam scrupulo difficultatis assumant.  
Quod si omnes his exequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum  
ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Pisæ, decimo septimo Kalendas  
Februarii, Indictione sexta. [II. 347, 348; and *Bened. Abbas*, II.  
42.]



XVI. A.D. 1188. *Same place and date. Pope Clement III. to William King of the Scots.*

Bishop Hugh  
suspended. The  
King to protect  
John.

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—CLEMENS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM  
DEI, *Willelmo illustri Scottorum Regi*, salutem et Aposto-  
licam benedictionem. Oculos Divinæ Majestatis offen-  
dere non modicum æstimamus, si prælatorum excessus, quibus indul-  
gere salva conscientia non possumus, per incuriam sine coercione  
debita relinquimus. Unde, cum bonæ memoriæ Urbanus Papa,  
prædecessor noster, Hugoni quondam dicto Episcopo Sancti Andreæ,  
pro controversia quæ inter eum et venerabilem fratrem nostrum  
Johannem Episcopum vertebatur, sub excommunicationis interposi-  
tione mandaverit, ut ad certum diem responsurus in jure conspectui  
se Apostolico præsentaret; et ipse conscius actuum suorum, et even-  
tum judicii non immerito reformidans, ex contumacia venire con-  
tempnit: nos pro hoc et pro aliis multis, quæ crebrescente fama  
Ecclesiæ Dei scandalum pepererunt, ipsum ab Episcopatu Sancti  
Andreæ, de consilio et assensu fratrum, perpetuo judicavimus Apo-  
stolicæ sedis auctoritate remotum, et ab usu Episcopalis officii eo  
usque suspensum, donec Apostolica sedes duxerit de ipso aliter  
statuendum; absolventes a fidelitate subjectos, qua ei tenebantur  
astrikti. Licet enim ad honorem et profectus tuos, quantum cum  
Deo possumus, firmum habemus propositum intendendi, et in facto  
prædicti Hugonis curia Romana, non absque detractatione multorum,  
hactenus regiæ serenitati detulerit; quia tamen clamor ipsius ad  
nos, indubitata fide, pervenit, nequivimus errata sua ulterius sub  
dissimulatione clausis oculis præterire; propter quod nihil in hac  
parte credimus actum, de quo debeat animus regius quacunque  
ratione moveri. Rogamus autem devotionem tuam, prece et affec-  
tione qua possumus, et monemus in Domino; quatenus memoratum  
Johannem Episcopum, quem nos et fratres nostri pro sui honestate  
sincero corde diligimus, pro reverentia Apostolicæ sedis et nostra,  
in visceribus caritatis commendatum habeas et acceptum, et remissa,  
si qua fuerit, conceptæ indignationis offensa, ipsum in omnibus  
regia clementia et benignitate pertractes. Credimus equidem, quod  
de industria et probitate ipsius, tibi et regno tuo, auctore Domino,  
multum accedere poterit incrementi; et nobis usquequam gratum  
existet, si optatum apud regias aures preces nostræ sortiantur effectum.

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

Datum Pisæ, XVII<sup>o</sup>. Kalendas Februarii, Indictione sexta. [II. 348, 349; and *Bened. Abbas*, II. 42, 43.]

XVII. A.D. 1188. *Same place and date. Pope Clement III. to Henry II. King of England.*

Urges him to use his influence with King William. HOVEDEN, *ib.*—CLEMENS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Henrico illustri Anglorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum ab Apostolica sede preces suscepit regalis excellentia, auctoritas, et potestas, quas Ecclesiis in suo statu servandis et multorum saluti expedit effectui mancipare; diligenter eas debet regia sublimitas exaudire, et tanto fortius et ferventius intendere, ut effectum consequantur optatum, quanto certius fuerit, quod earum devota susceptio, et diligens executio, regalem gloriam respicit pariter et salutem. Hinc est quod serenitati regię pro venerabili fratre nostro Johanne, Episcopo Sancti Andreae, litteras Apostolicas et preces duximus cum fiducia destinandas, altitudinem regalis eminentiæ quanta possumus affectione rogantes, monentes, atque in remissionem peccatorum omnium injungentes, quatenus pro reverentia Beati Petri, et nostra, et persecutionis ejus obtentu quam certum est ipsum jam longo tempore pertulisse, carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Willelmum illustrem Regem Scottorum moneas attentius, et inducas, et si necesse fuerit districtione regali, qua ei præmines, et concessa tuæ regię celsitudini potestate compellas, ut totius indignationis suæ rancorem, quam erga Episcopum ipsum concepit quorundam malitia susurronum, regiam dignitatem et salubria opera pietatis attendens, ei qualibet occasione remota condonet, et diocesim Sancti Andreae, quam de communi fratrum consilio et assensu summus Pontifex sibi perpetuo confirmavit, de cætero ipsum quiete permittat et absque calumnia possidere; cum et ipse paratus existat regię majestati, prout fuerit consentaneum rationi, existere in omnibus obediens et fidelis. Datum Pisæ, XVII<sup>o</sup>. Kalendas Februarii, Indictione sexta<sup>a</sup>. [II. 349, 350; and *Bened. Abbas*, II. 57.]

<sup>a</sup> See, for this date, note <sup>a</sup> on p. 271.

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

XVIII. A.D. 1188. *Same place and date. Pope Clement III. to the Clergy of S. Andrew's.*

John is their Bishop. They are to obey him.

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—CLEMENS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *universo clero Episcopatus Sancti Andreae*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Licet in rebus dubiis valeant aliqui suam astutiam seu malitiam [adumbrare]; cum tamen scrupulus fuerit et articulus dubietatis amotus, et manifestis indiciis apparuerint vestigia veritatis, penitus sunt devia relinquenda, et rectitudinis tramites inquirendi pariter et servandi, ne, quod absit, aliter agentibus, et in sua pertinacia consistentibus, post flagella præsentia pœnasque condignas, perpetuæ mortis interitus et supplicia debeantur æterna. Volentes ergo paterna sollicitudine vestræ saluti prospicere, et utilitatibus et quieti vestræ providere; universitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, atque præcipimus, et in obedientiæ virtute injungimus, quatenus, infra quindecim dies post harum suspensionem, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Johannem, Episcopum vestrum, in pontificali officio canonice subrogatum, sicut patrem proprium et pastorem suscipiatis humiliter et devote, ac ejus de cætero salubribus monitis et mandatis, omni similitudine remota, debitam reverentiam et obedientiam impendere minime postponatis: scientes, quod [si], postquam Hugo, qui vester olim Episcopus dicebatur, per Romanam Ecclesiam a vestri Episcopatus dignitate fuit amotus, vel post ejus decessum, jam dicto Johanne Episcopo vestro superstite, aliquem fortasse Episcopum elegistis, electionem illam auctoritate Apostolica vacuumus: si vero, quod Deus avertat, in eundem Episcopum Johannem, inimico humani generis suadente, aliquam conspirationem facere præsumpsistis; tam vos, quam totum Episcopatum, tamdiu volumus interdicti sententiæ subjacere, donec agnoscentes excessum ad mandatum ipsius Johannis Episcopi redeatis. Datum Pisæ, decimo septimo Kalendas Februarii, Indictione sexta<sup>a</sup>. [II. 350, 351; and *Bened. Abbas*, II. 58.]

<sup>a</sup> See, for this date, note <sup>a</sup> on p. 271.

XIX. A.D. 1188. *Same place and date. Pope Clement III. to Jocelin of Glasgow, Matthew of Aberdeen, Richard of Moray, and others.*

To the like effect.

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—CLEMENS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus Jocelino Glascuensi, et Mathæo Aberdensi, et Ricardo Morefensi Episcopis, et dilectis filiis Ernulfo de*

[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

*Melros, et Hugoni de Neubothle, et de Sancta Cruce, et de Strivellina, et de Scona abbatibus*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ad ea quæ respiciunt honestatem, et salutem pariunt animarum, quamvis absque monitis intendere debeatis, et diligentem operam, juxta vestri officii debitum, tribuere vos credamus; vestram tamen diligentiam ad majorem in his sollicitudinem exhibendam litteris Apostolicis duximus exhortandum, ut eisdem operibus laude dignis tanto ferventius insistatis, quanto vobis salubrius erit in ipsis ad exhortationem Apostolicam exactiorem diligentiam adhibere. Constat utique quosdam Ecclesiarum prælatos, cum iis qui scandalizati fuerint, debere pati juxta normam Apostolicam ustionem, et cum infirmantibus infirmari. Quantas vero persecutiones his temporibus sustinuerit Ecclesia Sancti Andreæ, quantas calamitates incurrerit et pressuras, quam etiam graviter hactenus fuerit perturbata sub umbra indignationis regiæ celsitudinis et quassata; insuper venerabilis frater noster Johannes Episcopus Sancti Andreæ, quot et quanta pericula sustinuerit et labores, pro servanda libertate Ecclesiæ sibi commissæ, et ei a nobis et duobus nostris prædecessoribus confirmatæ; cum ea omnia vobis sint manifesta, illa vestris auribus inculcare supervacuum videtur. Nunc igitur quoniam plurimum expedire dinoscitur, ut de salute regia, et statu præscriptæ Ecclesiæ reformando, atque pace ipsi Episcopo conferenda, nos convenit sollicitudinem gerere congruentem, et circumspectionem vestram ad corroborandam nobis idoneum reputamus; discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus post susceptionem litterarum nostrarum convenientes in unum, sicut decet viros providos et discretos, carissimi in Christo filii nostri Willelmi illustris Regis Scotiæ præsentiam adeatis, et eum moneatis diligentius, et instantius inducatis, ut Episcopo memorato rancorem indignationis suæ remittat, et in hoc Romanam Ecclesiam, quæ serenitati regiæ jam longo tempore detulit, non contemnat: sed ejus et vestris monitis, prout regiæ gloriæ convenit et saluti, sine dilatione salubriter pareat et humiliter adquiescat, ac ipsum Episcopum præscriptum diocesim Sancti Andreæ in pace permittat habere; cum ex debito regiæ dignitatis Ecclesias teneatur cum pastoribus suis non dispergere, sed fovere; non contemnere, sed amare; non persequi, sed tueri. Quod si monitis Apostolicis in propriæ salutis periculum, quod absit, duxerit resistendum; in regnum suæ celsitudinis, et personam suam, et omnes fautores regios, nuncietis interdicti sententiam infra viginti



[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

dies, sine appellationis obstaculo, auctoritate Apostolica a vobis promulgandam. Illos insuper qui Hugoni obedientes exstiterunt, et ei fomentum in sua obstinatione dederunt, postquam eum sedes Apostolica a diocesi Sancti Andreæ removit perpetuo, et excommunicationis sententiam in ipsum promulgavit, simili sententia percellatis, et publice nunciantes excommunicationis subesse tam diu faciatis, et ab aliis arctius evitari, donec ad mandatum Ecclesiæ revertantur, absolutionis beneficium ab eodem Episcopo petitori: ad hæc altaribus et calicibus, in quibus jam dictus Hugo dum in excommunicatione positus celebravit, purificationem et sanctificationem juxta consuetudinem Ecclesiæ conferatis. Ad Ecclesiam quoque Sancti Andreæ pariter accedatis, et fratribus convocatis in unum, intretis capitulum, et de ordine et statu Ecclesiæ diligentius inquiratis; et si quid in eadem Ecclesia per supradictum Hugonem immutatum inveneritis vel statutum, auctoritate nostra id in statum debitum inducatis; et si quid in ipsa fuerit corrigendum, efficaciter studeatis id in melius reformare. Si vero, quod absit, aliquos ex canonicis ad recipiendum humiliter et devote pastorem suum prædictum duos inveneritis et rebelles; eos instantius moneatis, ut illi reverentiam et obedientiam patri debitam exhibeant, et a maligno atque damnabili proposito suo desistant. Quod si contumaces extiterint, eos ab officio pariter et beneficio suspendatis, et excommunicationis vinculo innodetis, quo ipsos faciatis manere ligatos, donec monitis et mandatis Ecclesiasticis adquiescant. Quod si omnes his exequendis interesse nequiveritis, reliqui ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Pisæ decimo septimo Kalendas Februarii, Indictione sexta<sup>a</sup>. [II. 351-353; and *Bened. Abbas*, II. 64.]

<sup>a</sup> This date, and those of the two preceding letters (to King Henry and to the clergy of S. Andrew's), are added by Hoveden, and are not in *Bened. Abbas*, who also separates them from the preceding letters, and gives the third of them at the end of A.D. 1188. All of them, however, appear by their contents to

belong to the same, and that the earlier, date; assuming them to speak of Bishop Hugh as still alive. Of course, if the Pope's words at p. 269 mean that Hugh was really dead, the date must be later than Aug. 4, 1188. But they are placed here according to Hoveden's arrangement.

XX. A.D. 1188. *Final settlement of the dispute by Hugh's death<sup>a</sup>. John translated to Dunkeld; Roger made Bishop of S. Andrew's.*

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—His auditis præfatus Rex Scottorum tandem suorum consilio et prece victus, supradictum Johannem Episcopum in gratiam suam recepit; et concessit ipsum pacifice possidere Episcopatum



[DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. ANDREW'S.]

Dunkeldensem et omnes redditus, quos ipse ante consecrationem suam habuit: ea conditione, quod ipse Johannes quietum clamaret a calumnia sua Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ. Qui licet supradictis litteris domini Papæ esset præmunitus, tamen in omnibus obedivit voluntati Regis, et quietum clamavit Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ a calumnia sua in Dei et Regis misericordia; sciens quod “melior est buccella panis cum gaudio, quam domus plena victimis cum jurgio<sup>a</sup>.” Hugo vero quondam dictus Episcopus Sancti Andreæ, degradatus et anathematizatus, Romam venit, qui data cautione standi judicio Ecclesiæ a domino Papa Clemente absolutus est; sed paucis supervixit diebus, nam mense Augusti tanta extitit aeris corruptio Romæ et in finibus ejus, quod multi Cardinales et ditiores urbis, cum innumera plebis multitudine, interierunt; et ipse Hugo cum tota fere familia sua<sup>b</sup>, et Henricus Dolensis electus cum familia sua, ibidem obierunt.

Rex autem Scotiæ dedit Episcopatum Sancti Andreæ Rogero, filio Roberti comitis Leicestriæ, cancellario suo, præsentem Johanne Dunkeldensi Episcopo, et non contradicente. [II. 353; and see *Bened. Abbas*, II. 43, 44.]

<sup>a</sup> Prov. xvii. 21.

<sup>b</sup> Hugh died at Rome of the pestilence, Aug. 4, A.D. 1188 (*Fordun*, VI. Suppl. 42).

A.D. 1187. CHRON. MANN.—Eodem anno obiit Godredus Rex Insularum iiii<sup>o</sup> idus Novembris in insula Sancti Patricii in Mannia. Prima vero ætate translatus est corpus ejus ad insulam quæ vocatur Hy<sup>a</sup>. [p. 14. *ed. Munch.*]

<sup>a</sup> “Cellach,” who A.D. 1203 erected a monastery in Hy “without any legal right,” is conjecturally identified by Dr. Reeves (ad *Adamn. V. S. Columb.* pp. 411, 412) with Nicolas, who in that year became Bishop of Man. Irish ecclesiastics on that occasion successfully reclaimed their authority in the

island, and pulled down Cellach's monastery (*Reeves, ib.* from the Irish Annals). And we have also, in the same year, the Pope's bull of protection for the Benedictine abbey of Hy, already referred to above on p. 230, note <sup>a</sup>. Thenceforward the island became gradually absorbed into the Scottish Church.

A.D. 1188. *The Scots refuse to pay the Saladin tithe.*

BENED. ABBAS, in *an.* 1188.—Interim Henricus Rex Angliæ misit Hugonem Dunelmensem Episcopum, et quosdam alios familiares suos, tam clericos quam laicos, ad Willelmum Regem Scotorum, ad decimas colligendas de terra sua<sup>a</sup>. . . Cum igitur præfatus Dunelmensis Episcopus et cæteri domini Regis Angliæ nuncii venissent

[CLEMENT III. DECLARES THE SCOTTISH CHURCH DEPENDENT IMMEDIATELY UPON THE POPE.]

in Leoneis, ad locum qui dicitur Brigeam<sup>b</sup>, ad loquendum cum Rege Scotorum de decimis in terra sua colligendis, ipse Rex Scotorum cum omnibus fere Episcopis et Comitibus et Baronibus terræ suæ, et cum infinita hominum suorum multitudine, ad locum prefixum venerunt: et audita adventus nunciorum Regis causa et eorum petitione, habito cum suis consilio, respondit se non posse animos eorum inclinare ad decimam dandam. Et ipsi pro se responderunt se nunquam decimam daturus: nec etiam si Rex Angliæ et dominus eorum Rex Scotiæ juravissent se illam habituros, nunquam illam darent. Nuncii igitur Regis Angliæ, qui ad hoc missi fuerant, videntes se in hac parte nihil posse proficere, licet nunc blandis nunc asperis plurimum attentassent, in patriam suam reversi sunt. [II. 44, 45, *ed. Stubbs*; see also *Hoveden*.]

<sup>a</sup> Scil. the Saladin tithe, for the crusades, imposed by Henry II. and a Council of Bishops (of Normandy principally), at Le Mans, in January A.D. 1188; and also in England, at a Council at Geddington, shortly after (*Bened. Abbas*, II. 33; *Hoved. II.* 338), upon all, both laymen and clerks (except actual crusaders); to be collected by (principally) Church officials in

each parish, under pain of excommunication (*Bened. Abbas*, II. 30, 31). William had promised it as part of the ransom for his castles, conditionally on his Barons' consent. *Hoveden* (II. 338, 339) gives a somewhat different version of the proposed bargain.

<sup>b</sup> Birgham in Berwickshire.

A.D. 1188. March 13. *Lateran. Bull of Clement III. to William King of the Scots concerning the independence of the Church of Scotland*<sup>a</sup>.

HOVEDEN, *ib.*—CLEMENS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *carissimo in Christo filio Willelmo illustri Scotorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum universi Christi jugo subjecti ad sedem Apostolicam patrocinium invenire debeant et favorem, illos tamen specialius convenit munimine protectionis confoveri, quorum fidem ac devotionem in pluribus est experta, ut ad ipsius dilectionis favorem tanto amplius provocentur, et ejus reverentiæ devotiori affectione subdantur, quanto benivolentiæ ipsius et gratiæ pignus se noverint certius assecutos. Ea propter, carissime in Christo fili, reverentiam ac devotionem, quam ad Romanam te habuisse a longis retro temporibus Ecclesiam novimus, attendentes, præsentis scripti pagina duximus statuendum, ut Scotticana Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ sedi, cujus filia specialis existit, nullo mediante debeat subiacere; in qua hæ sedes Episcopales esse noscuntur, Ecclesiæ videlicet Sancti Andreæ, Glascuensis, Dunkeldensis, Dumbinensis, Brehinensis, Aberdonensis, Moraviensis, Rosenensis, Katinensis: et nemini liceat nisi Romano pontifici, vel legato ab ipsius latere destinato, in regnum Scotiæ

[CLEMENT III. DECLARES THE SCOTTISH CHURCH DEPENDENT IMMEDIATELY UPON THE POPE.]

interdicti vel excommunicationis sententiam promulgare, et si promulgata fuerit, decernimus non valere. Adjicimus, ut nulli de cætero qui de regno Scotiæ non fuerit, nisi quem Apostolica sedes propter hoc de corpore suo specialiter destinaverit, licitum sit in eo legationis officium exercere. Prohibemus autem, ut controversiæ, quæ fuerint in regno illo de possessionibus ejus exortæ, ad examen extra regnum positorum judicum non trahantur, nisi ad Romanam Ecclesiam fuerit appellatum. Si qua vero scripta contra hujus libertatis statutum apparuerint impetrata, vel in posterum, istius concessionis mentione non habita, contigerit impetrari; nullum tibi vel ipsi regno circa hujus prærogativæ concessionem præjudicium generetur; præterea libertates et immunitates tibi vel eidem regno, vel Ecclesiis in eo constitutis, a prædecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus indultas, et hactenus observatas, ratas habemus, et illibatas futuris temporibus statuimus permanere. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ constitutionis et prohibitionis infringere, vel ei aliquatenus contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Ejus, se noverit incursum. Datum Laterani, III. Idus Martii, pontificatus nostri anno primo. [II. 360, 361.]

<sup>a</sup> This Bull appears in Benedict Abbas under A.D. 1191. And Hoveden repeats it under A.D. 1191, but then as a Bull of Cælestine III. In Fordun's *Scoticron.*, VIII. 68, nothing is said of Clement, but only of Cælestine; and *ib.* 67, Pope Innocent's repetition of the Bull, A.D. 1208, is given at length. If it belongs to Cælestine, the date is 1192:

see *Bened. Abb.*, II. 234 (*Stubbs ad loc.*). Probably Cælestine repeated it; as other popes did after him. It was obtained at the request of King William—"Willelmus Rex Scottorum misit nuncios suos ad Clementem summum pontificem, et ab eo litteras protectionis suæ obtinuit in hac forma" (*Hoveden, ib.*). See also above, pp. 50, 58.

## APPENDIX A.

### PORTION OF VISITATION OF THE SICK, BELONGING TO THE CELTIC PERIOD OF THE SCOTO-PICTISH CHURCH<sup>a</sup>.

BOOK OF DEER.—Item oratio ante dominicam orationem. Creator naturarum omnium Deus, et parens universarum in celo et in terra originum, has trementis populi Tui relegiosas preces ex illo inaccessibleis lucis trono Tuo suscipe, et inter hiruphin et zaraphin indefessas circumstantium laudes exaudi spei non ambigue preces. Pater noster Qui es—usque in finem.

Libera nos, Domine, a malo ; Domine Christe Ihesu, custodi nos semper in omni opere bona ; fons et auctor omnium bonorum Deus, euacua nos uitiis, et reple nos uirtutibus bonis : per Te, Christe Ihesu.

Hisund dubar sacorfaicc dau. [= Here give the sacrifice to him.]

Corpus cum sanguine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi sanitas sit tibi in uitam perpetuā et salutem.

Refecti Christi corpore et sanguine, Tibi semper dicamus, Domine, Añ. Añ.

Qui satiauit animam inanem, et animam essurientem satiauit bonis, Añ. Añ.

Et sacrificent sacrificium laudis,—et usque exultatione, Añ. Añ.

Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini inuocabo, Añ. Añ.

Refecti Christi corpore, Añ. Añ.

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, Añ. Añ.

Gloria : relecti Christi, Añ. Añ.

Et nunc, et semper, relecti.

Sacrificate sacrificium iustitiæ, et sperate in Domino.

Deus, Tibi gratias agimus, per Quem misteria sancta celebrauimus, et a Te sanctitatis dona deposcimus ; miserere nobis, Domine saluator mundi, Qui regnas in secula seculorum, Amen. Finit. [p. 89, ed. Stuart.]

<sup>a</sup> See Stuart, *Pref. to Book of Deer*, pp. lviii, lix ; and Forbes' *Pref. to the Book of Arbutnot*, pp. x, sq. The fragment is printed here as the one still remaining portion of Scottish-Celtic liturgical documents : unless we are to add a Celtic Kalendar printed by Bishop Forbes (*Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, pp. 79-92, and *Pref.* p. xxx.). All other existing liturgical remains, known to be in, or to belong to, Scotland, either are Irish (as the Drummond Missal, and most probably the

so-called *Missal S. Columbani* in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh) ; or (which is the case with the far larger number) belong to the Sarum order (adopted almost throughout the Scottish dioceses about the middle of the 13th century, and at Glasgow in the 12th, see above, on p. 33) ; or are to be classed with the post-Sarum reforms of Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, about A.D. 1507. See Laing's *Pref. to the Aberdeen Breviary*, and Bishop Forbes as above.

## APPENDIX B.

MS. COTTON. *Tiber. D. III. fol. 217 aa, as printed by Reeves, ad Adamn.*  
*Pref. p. xxix.<sup>a</sup>*

Sancte Columba pater, quem fudit Hibernia [ma]ter,  
 Quem Christi numen dedit [Ecclesie for]e lumen :  
 Que tibi scripta d[amus, tibi si]nt accepta rogamus.  
 Na[m licet indig]ne, tua scripsimus acta [benigne] :  
 Scripsimus et vitam virtu[tis ab arce po]litam.  
 Te petimus per eum . . . . . s dante per evum,  
 In tua *devotos servitia* protege totos.  
 . . . . . us pro cunctis funde precatus :  
 Auge virtutem, fer opem, servaque salutem,  
 Regis Alexandri, qui causa te venerandi  
 Jusserat ecce tuos pingi scribendo triumphos.  
 Huic assiste, pater, quos spiritus *pervolat* ater,  
 Ut nichil in pejus temptatio transferat ejus ;  
 Ut bonus accedat cui se Rex et sua credat.  
 Rex actus Regis, fac, formet ab ordine legis.  
 Malo servatur cum Rex a lege regatur.  
 Protege Reginam, ne sentiat ipsa ruinam.  
 Insula pontificum sibi te cognoscat amicum.  
 Plebem cum clero, Rege Christo principe vero,  
 Omnes, sancte, juva, pater et patrone Columba.  
 Ensis Scottorum sis, et munimen eorum :  
 Auxiliumque boni, prece, fer servo Simeoni,  
 Hec qui verba precum tibi scribere duxerat æquum ;  
 Willelmoque, Iona <sup>b</sup> sacer, affer celica dona,  
 Hunc librum clare qui dignum duxit arare.

<sup>a</sup> Eleven verses of this, viz. the first five and the last six, are in Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Antiq.*, XV.; *Works*, VI. 230, 239), who

had the MS. while yet uninjured by the fire of 1731 : and from him the gaps in the first few lines are supplied by Dr. Reeves. The



[SIMEON OF HY, A.D. 1107×1114.]

verses occur at the end of a Life of S. Columba in a series of lives of saints, transcribed A.D. 1180 (Reeves). They were written (as appears by the lines themselves) by one Simeon, apparently a monk of Hy, by order of King Alexander, necessarily Alexander I., A.D. 1107-1124, and before the death of his Queen (Sibylla, ob. A.D. 1122), under the direction of "William," supposed to be the Bishop William of Man, who was succeeded by Bishop Wymund, A.D. 1109×1114 (see above, p. 189). Consequently they were

written A.D. 1107×1114. See Reeves (as above, *Pref.* p. xxx.). Inchcolm was not founded by Alexander until A.D. 1123, so that Hy must have been Simeon's monastery. They are given here as shewing the continued connection of Hy with Scottish Kings, even after the island had been (at any rate nominally) annexed to Norway and to the see of Man, A.D. 1097, and before its reconquest by Somerled, A.D. 1156.

<sup>b</sup> Iona = Dove = Columba.

## APPENDIX C.

ANTIQUÆ LITANÆ IN VETERI MONASTERIO DUNKELDENS! USITATÆ,  
 QUAS IN PUBLICIS PROCESSIONIBUS CANTARE SOLEBANT KILEDEI COM-  
 MUNITER CULDEI APPELLATI\*.

Kirie eleison.

Kirie eleison.

Kirie eleison.

Christe eleison.

Christe eleison.

Christe eleison.

Pater de cœlis Deus

Filius Redemptor Deus

Spiritus Sanctus Deus

Qui es Trinus et Unus Deus

} Miserere nobis.

Sancta Maria

Sancta Virgo Virginum

Sancta Dei Genetrix

} Ora pro nobis.

### *Nomina Angelorum.*

Sancte Michael Archangele

Sancte Raphael Archangele

} Ora pro nobis.

Sancte Urihel

Sancte Cherubin

Sancte Seraphin

} Ora pro nobis.

Omnes Sancti Chori novem ordinum coelestium Spirituum, Orate pro nobis.

### *Nomina Apostolorum et Evangelistarum.*

Sancte Petre, Princeps Apostolorum

Sancte Andrea, Patrone noster

S. Paule

S. Jacobe

S. Johannes

S. Jacobe

S. Thoma

S. Philippe

} Ora pro nobis.

[KELEDEAN LITANY.]

S. Bartholomaeae	}	Ora pro nobis.
S. Matthaeae		
S. Simon		
S. Judas		
S. Barnabas		
S. Lucas		
S. Marce		
S. Matthias		

Omnes Sancti Chori Apostolorum et Evangelistarum, Orate pro nobis.

*Nomina Sanctorum Martyrum.*

S. Stephane	}	Ora pro nobis.
S. Joseph ab Arimathaea		
S. Aristobule		
S. Albane		
S. Amphibale		
S. Kiliane et Socii ejus		
S. Ocolman		
S. Donnate		
S. Colonach		
S. Constantine Rex		
S. Mordouch		
S. Armkillach		
S. Adelanh		
S. Eobanach		
S. Blaithmach et Socii ejus monachi crudeliter a Danis infidelibus interfecti	}	Orate pro nobis.
S. Hadrianach et omnes Magionenses martyres		
Omnes Chori SS. Martyrum		

*Nomina Sanctorum Episcoporum.*

Sancte Victor Papa	}	S. Ferranach	}	Ora pro nobis.
Romane		S. Makkessoch		
S. Coelestine Papa		S. Makknoloch		
Romane		S. Carnach		
S. Martine		S. Kentiyrn vere		
S. Ninia		Deo[dicte?]Mungo		
S. Palladie		S. Convall		
S. Servane		S. Baldred		
S. Patricie		S. Colmach		
S. Modoch		S. Comach		

## [KELEDEAN LITANY.]

S. Kelloch	}	Ora pro nobis.	S. Nothlan	}	Ora pro nobis.
S. Fothalh			S. Marnan		
S. Cuthberch			S. Rumold		
S. Edhan			S. Tigernach		
S. Finnanach			S. Medanach		
S. Colman			S. Machut		
S. Marnach			S. Cormach		
S. Moloch			S. Dagamach		
Omnes Chori Sanctorum Episcopum,			Orate pro nobis.		

*Nomina Sanctorum Abbatum.*

Sancte Antone	}	Ora pro nobis.	S. Cuninach	}	Ora pro nobis.
S. Pachome			S. Comogell		
S. Oronach			S. Devenach		
S. Columba			S. Com		
S. Benedicte			S. Phillane		
S. Congalle			S. Moach		
S. Brandane			S. Convallane		
S. Quirane			S. Odomnane		
S. Dunichad			S. Romane		
S. Mirine			S. Finnane		
S. Blane			S. Fursee		
S. Baithene			S. Fridelin		
S. Segene			S. Barach		
S. Adamnane			S. Kiernach		
S. Cumminach			S. Ronan		
S. Cahinninach	S. Middan				
S. Ethernach	S. Winoch				
S. Erenach	S. Theinan				
S. Cuganach	S. Drustan				
Omnes Sanctorum Chori Abbatum, Orate pro nobis.					

*Nomina Sanctorum Confessorum et Monachorum.*

S. Dovenald, Rex	}	Ora pro nobis.	S. Comin	}	Ora pro nobis.
S. Crathlinth, Rex			S. Donan		
S. Convallec, Rex			S. Doban		
S. David, Rex			S. Ethbin		
S. Kinath, Rex			S. Fetnoch		
S. Constantine, Rex			S. Eoglodach		
S. Diermit			S. Malcall		

## [KELEDEAN LITANY.]

S. Suranach	}	Ora pro nobis.	S. Molonach	}	Ora pro nobis.
S. Viganach			S. Futtach		
S. Gudloch			S. Sumach		
S. Frefanoich			S. Guenalt		
S. Dronach			S. Gudal		

Omnes Chori Sanctorum Confessorum et Monachorum, Orate pro nobis.

*Nomina Sanctarum Virginum et Viduarum.*

Sancta Maria Magdalena	}	Ora pro nobis.
S. Martha		
S. Brigida Magna		
S. Dairlughtach		
S. Brigida Apurnethig		
S. Scholastica		
S. Ursula cum Sociis suis		
S. Maxentia		
S. Bega		
S. Christinach		
S. Ebba et Sociae suae		
S. Kennocha		
S. Maara		
S. Moduenna		
S. Syra		
S. Mancinach		
S. Muriel		
S. Ninoch		
S. Keneira		
S. Kentigerna		
S. Evilla		
S. Murichach		

Omnes Chori Sanctarum Virginum et Viduarum, Orate pro nobis.

Omnes Sancti Angeli et Archangeli	}	Intercedite pro nobis.
Omnes Sanctae Virtutes		
Omnes Sancti Throni		
Omnes Sanctae Potestates		
Omnes Sanctae Dominationes		
Omnes Sancti Principatus		
Omnes Sancti Chori Novem Ordinum Coelestium		
Omnes Sancti Patriarchae		
Omnes Sancti Prophetæ		



[KELEDEAN LITANY.]

Omnes Sancti Apostoli	}	Intercedite pro nobis.
Omnes Sancti Martyres		
Omnes Sancti Episcopi		
Omnes Sancti Abbates		
Omnes Sancti Confessores et Monachi		
Omnes Sanctae Virgines et Viduae		

Ut per vestras orationes in vera poenitentia perseveremus,  
 Ut per vestras intercessionem vincamus Diabolum et ejus tentationes,  
 Ut per vestras intercessionem perducamur secure ad regnum coelorum.

Propitius esto. R. Libera nos Domine.  
 Propitius esto. R. Exaudi nos Domine.  
 Propitius esto. R. Parce nobis Domine.

Ab omni malo	}	Libera nos Domine.
Ab omni mala concupiscentia		
Ab omni immunditia cordis et corporis		
A spiritu superbiae		
A morbo malo		
Ab insidiis Diaboli		
Ab hostibus Christianae nominis		
A persecutione omnium inimicorum nostrorum		
A mala tempestate		
A fame et nuditate		
A cateranis et latronibus		
A lupis et omni mala bestia		
Ab inundatione aquarum		
A periculo mortis		
In die judicii		
Per Adventum Tuum		
Per Nativitatem Tuam		
Per Circumcisionem Tuam		
Per Baptismum Tuum		
Per Passionem Tuam		
Per Missionem Paracliti Spiritus	}	Te rogamus audi nos.
Peccatores		
Pater Sancte		
Pater Sancte		
Pater Sancte		
Ut pacem et concordiam nobis dones	}	
Ut vitam et sanitatem nobis dones		
Ut fructum terrae nobis dones		

[KELEDEAN LITANY.]

Ut animalia nostra ab omni lue pestifera custodias  
 Ut serenitatem aëris nobis dones  
 Ut pluviam in tempore nobis dones  
 Ut nobis perseverantiam in bonis operibus dones  
 Ut nobis veram poenitentiam agere concedas  
 Ut nobis charitatem illam, quum mundus dare  
 non potest, concedas  
 Ut nobis fervorem in Tuo sancto servitio dones  
 Ut omni populo Christiano pacem et unitatem  
 concedas  
 Ut nos in vera fide et religione conserves  
 Ut Ecclesiam Catholicam conservare et propagare  
 digneris  
 Ut summo et universali Papae Romano vitam et  
 sanitatem longaevam concedas  
 Ut Episcopos, Abbates Kiledeos, et omnem po-  
 pulum totius Albaniae, conserves et protegas  
 Ut Regem nostrum Girich cum exercitu suo  
 ab omnibus inimicorum insidiis tuearis et de-  
 fendas  
 Ut illis victoriam et vitam longaevam concedas  
 Ut omnes congregationes fidelium in vera fide et  
 religione conserves  
 Ut inimicos Christianorum de terra expellas  
 Ut illos ad sacrum Baptisma perducas  
 Ut omnibus Christianis misericordiam Tuam  
 dones  
 Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis requiem aeternam  
 concedas  
 Ut nobis parcas  
 Ut nobis miserearis  
 Ut nos exaudias  
 Fili Dei

Te rogamus audi nos.

Agnus Dei, Qui tollis peccata mundi,  
 Miserere nobis, Domine.

Agnus Dei, Qui tollis peccata mundi,  
 Miserere nobis, Domine.

Agnus Dei, Qui tollis peccata mundi,  
 Dona nobis pacem.

[KELEDEAN LITANY.]

Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.  
 Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.  
 Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.

Christe, audi nos. R. Christe, audi nos.  
 Christe, audi nos.

Kyrie eleison. R. Kyrie eleison.  
 Kyrie eleison.

Christe eleison. R. Christe eleison.  
 Christe eleison.

Tu Christe nobis concede gratiam Tuam.  
 Tu Christe nobis dona gaudium et pacem.  
 Tu Christe nobis concede vitam et salutem.  
 Amen.

Oremus.

Pater Noster, &c.

*Oratio.*

Omnipotens et Almifice Deus, Majestatem Tuam suppliciter exoramus, ut per mirifica merita et orationes Sanctorum recensitorum, et per magnificas intercessionem Sanctae Genitricis Tuae Mariae, omnium Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, Apostolorum, Martyrum, Episcoporum, Abbatum, Confessorum, et Monachorum, Virginum, et Viduarum, Tecum in cœlo regnantium, nobis concedas veniam et indulgentiam omnium peccatorum, augmentum gratiae Tuae coelestis, et efficax auxilium Tuum contra omnes insidias inimicorum nostrorum visibilium et invisibilium; quatenus et corda nostra, solis Tuis mandatis dedita, tandem post hujus mortalis vitae terminum, et eorum Sanctorum speciem et gloriam in regno Dei videre et cum eis congaudere mereamur; praestante Domino Nostro Jesu Christo Redemptore Nostro, Cui et honor et potestas et imperium, una cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

<sup>a</sup> From Bishop Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, *Append. to Pref. no. III.* pp. lvi-lxv; first printed by Dr. G. F. Gordon in *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, vol. ix. pp. 406-409;

from the MSS. of Father Marianus Brockie of S. James' Monastery at Ratisbon. It was "preserved by Father Thomson, formerly a monk of Dunfermline." Father Brockie's collections (for

## [KELEDEAN LITANY.]

a Scottish *Monasticon*) are now at Blairs R. C. College, near Aberdeen (*Report of Hist. MSS. Commission, II.* 201). The Litany as it stands is (if genuine) certainly interpolated; and at best is a præ-Reformation but still 16th century version of a possibly genuine earlier Culdee document. *Keledei* are alleged to have been still at Dunkeld in H. of Silegrave's list of c. A.D. 1272. As the Litany now stands, it prays for King Cyric (A.D. 873-893) as though he were alive, yet commemorates King Constantine (A.D. 900-952), and more still King David I. (A.D. 1124-

1153), as though already dead. And it betrays a date after Boece (commencement of 16th century) by mentioning Crathlinthus (see Bishop Forbes, who gives also other internal evidence of a late date). On the whole, Bishop Forbes's conclusion seems fairly probable (*Pref. to Kalend., &c.*, pp. xxxiv, xxxv)—that in its present form "it is based upon an older document," but belongs as it stands to the time of Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen and Bishop George Brown of Dunkeld (A.D. 1484-1515). If so, it is the latest instance extant of any record mentioning *Keledei* in Scotland.





# COUNCILS

AND

## ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

*GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:*

EDITED, AFTER SPELMAN AND WILKINS,

BY

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VIII. CHURCH OF IRELAND; MEMORIALS OF S. PATRICK.



## NOTICE.

FIVE years have now elapsed since Mr. ARTHUR HADDAN'S death, and the prospect of completing this portion of the work on the plan which he adopted, is as distant as ever. I have therefore recommended the Delegates of the Clarendon Press to issue the following sheets, which contain the matter introductory to the History of the Irish Church, and which constitute all the materials which had been prepared for publication when the work was broken off. The documentary remains of S. Patrick are, as it is believed, here given in their integrity; and no labour was spared in collating the MSS. which furnished the text.

WILLIAM STUBBS.

OXFORD,  
*April 3, 1878.*





# CONTENTS.

A.D.		PAGE
350—1175.	VIII. THE CHURCH OF IRELAND FROM THE BEGINNING UNTIL THE ENGLISH CONQUEST . . . . .	289
350—440.	<i>Period the First. Christians in Ireland or of Irish birth, before S. Patrick . . . . .</i>	289
c. 350.	Mansuetus first bishop of Toul . . . . .	289
415, 416.	Cælestius the Pelagian . . . . .	289
Before 431.	Christians in Ireland before Palladius . . . . .	290
431.	Abortive Mission of Palladius to Ireland . . . . .	290
440—665.	<i>Periods II, III, IV. Introductory . . . . .</i>	292
	Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ (c. A.D. 750) . . . . .	292
440—543.	<i>Period the Second. S. Patrick and the first order of Irish Saints, LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII . . . . .</i>	295
Before 493.	I. Confessio Sancti Patricii . . . . .	296
	II. Epistola Sancti Patricii . . . . .	314
440 X 493.	The <i>Lorica</i> of S. Patrick . . . . .	320
Before 448.	Hymn of S. Sechnall in praise of S. Patrick . . . . .	324
	Appendix A. Canons attributed to S. Patrick . . . . .	328
	I. Synod of S. Patrick, Auxilius and Isseminus . . . . .	328
	II. Single Canons . . . . .	331
	III. Canons of a Second Synod . . . . .	333
	B. Extracts from the Ancient Laws of Ireland, called Senchus Mor, relating to the Church . . . . .	339



COUNCILS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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VIII.  
THE CHURCH OF IRELAND  
FROM THE BEGINNING UNTIL THE ENGLISH CONQUEST,

A. D. 350 (?)—1175.

Period I.—*Before S. Patrick.* A.D. 350 (?)–440 (?).

Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cœlestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur. [PROSPER., *Chron. in an.* 431 (A.D. 455 × 463).]

Period II.—*S. Patrick, and the first Order of Irish Saints.* A.D. 440 (?)–543.

Quem Deus misit ut Paulum ad Gentes Apostolum. [S. SECUNDIN., *Hymn. in Laudem S. Patricii*, v. 27 (shortly before A.D. 448).]

Period III.—*S. Columba; Gildas; the Second Order of Irish Saints.*

A.D. 543–599.

Hi ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a sanctis viris de Britannia, scilicet a Sancto David, a S. Gilda, et a S. [Ca]doco. [CATAL. ORD. SS. IN HIBERNIA (c. A.D. 750).]

Period IV.—*The Third Order of Irish Saints. Easter Disputes. Missions.*

A.D. 599–665.

Roma errat; Hierosolyma errat; Alexandria errat; Antiochia errat; totus mundus errat: soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt! [CUMMIAN., *Epist. ad Segien.* (A.D. 634).]

Period V.—*Termination of Easter Disputes. Missions.* A.D. 665–795.

Hibernia insula Scottorum sanctis viris plena habetur. [MARIAN. SCOT., *in an.* 674 (A.D. 1086).]

Period VI.—*Northman Invasions. Irish Teachers abroad.* A.D. 795–1014.

Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam, cum grege philosophorum, ad littora nostra migrantem? [ERRIC. AUTISIOD., *Pref. ad V. S. Germani* (c. A.D. 881).]

Period VII.—*Ostmen in Ireland Christianized. Canterbury claim over Irish Bishoprics. Settlement of Diocesan Episcopacy in Ireland.* A.D. 1014–1152.

Cantuariensis Ecclesia, totius Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, necnon adjacentium insularum mater. [EADMER, *Hist. Nov., I.* (A.D. 1122).]

Period VIII.—*Subjection of Ireland. Irish Church remodelled after the English pattern.* A.D. 1152–1175.

Insulas omnes [Papæ] sibi speciali quodam jure respiciunt. [GIR. CAMBR., *Hibern. Expugnata*, II. 6; *Opp. V.* 320 (c. A.D. 1189).]



# CHURCH OF IRELAND

FROM THE BEGINNING UNTIL THE ENGLISH CONQUEST,

A.D. 350 (?)—1176.

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## PERIOD THE FIRST.

CHRISTIANS IN IRELAND OR OF IRISH BIRTH, BEFORE S. PATRICK.

A.D. 350 (?)—440 (?).

c. A.D. 350 (?). *Mansuetus first Bishop of Toul, an Irish Scot*<sup>a</sup>.

ACTA TULLENS. EPISC.—Mansuetus primus Tullensium Episcopus . . . . nobili Scotorum genere oriundus. [*ap. Martene et Durand., Thes. Nov. III.* 991.]

ADSO, *V. Mansueti* [end of 10th century]:—

Inclyta Mansueti claris natalibus orti

Progenies titulis fulget in orbe suis :

Insula Christicolas gestabat Hibernia gentes ;

Unde genus traxit, et satus inde fuit.

[*ap. Ussher, De Antiq. Brit. Eccl., XVI. ; Works, VI.* 279.]

<sup>a</sup> So likewise Adso's prose *Life of S. Mansuetus* (*Bosquet, Hist. Eccl. Gallic. I.* ii. 23, sq.). See also *Ussher* (as above, pp. 296, sq.), *Calmet* (*Dissert.* prefixed to *Hist. Eccl. et Civ. de Lorraine*, p. xxvii., and *Preuves*, p. 86), *Todd* (*S. Patrick*, pp. 193, 194). Mansuetus

was also the name of the first known Bréton Bishop, A.D. 461 (see above, p. 72). And Dr. Reeves notes, that it is given as the Latin equivalent for Fethgna in the *Martyr. Donegal.* p. 417.

A.D. 415, 416. *Cælestius the Pelagian an Irish Scot*<sup>a</sup>.

PORPHYRIUS [c. A.D. 415], *ap. Hieron. ad Ctesiph.* [*Opp., IV.* ii. 481 ; as quoted above in vol. i. p. 12].

HIERON., *Comment. in Jerem., Prolog.* [c. A.D. 416].—Ut nuper indoctus calumniator erupit, qui Commentarios meos in Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios reprehendendos putat. Nec intelligit, nimia

[CHRISTIANS IN IRELAND BEFORE S. PATRICK.]

stertens vecordia, leges Commentariorum. . . . Nec recordatur stolidissimus, et Scotorum pultibus prægravatus, nos in ipso opere dixisse, Non damus digamos, immo nec trigamos, nec, si fieri possit, octogamos. [*Opp.*, III. 527.]

Id. *ib.* Lib. III., *Præf.* [c. A.D. 416].—Ipseque [diabolus] mutus latrat per Alpinum canem, grandem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit sævire quam dentibus. Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia: qui juxta fabulas poetarum, instar Cerberi, spirituali percutiendus est clava, ut æterno cum suo magistro Plutone silentio conticescat. [*Opp.* III. 586.]

<sup>a</sup> It seems the simplest interpretation of S. Jerom's words to refer them to Pelagius' coadjutor Cælestius. Pelagius himself is called a Briton by all authorities (S. Augustine, Prosper, Marius Mercator, Orosius, Gennadius). S. Jerom speaks of a "Scot" from the "neighbourhood of the Britons." Whether Cælestius

was a Christian before he quitted Ireland is left uncertain. He wrote "ad parentes suos de monasterio," while still a young man (*Gennad.*); but it may be almost certainly taken for granted that the monastery in question was not in Ireland.

Before A.D. 431. *Christians in Ireland before Palladius, but Ireland as a country still Pagan*<sup>a</sup>.

PROSPER AQUITAN., *Chron. in an.* 431. [A.D. 455 × 463].—Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur. [*Opp.* I. 401, *Bassani.*]

Id., *Cont. Collat.* XXI. [c. A.D. 432].—Ordinato Scotis Episcopo, dum Romanam insulam [Cælestinus] studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam. [*Ib.* I. 197.]

<sup>a</sup> S. Jerom also (*Adv. Jovin. II.*) speaks of seeing in Gaul, when a very young man, "Scotos gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus." Little stress can be laid on S. Chrysostom's words, who thrice speaks of τὰς

Βρεταννικὰς νήσους in the plural as Christian (see above, vol. I. pp. 10, 11) at the end of the 4th century. For Irish native legends of Irish Christianity before S. Patrick, see note <sup>b</sup> to the next article.

A.D. 431. *Abortive Mission of Palladius to Ireland*<sup>a</sup>.

PROSPER AQUITAN. [as in last article].

V. S. PATRICII [earlier than A.D. 807; prob. c. A.D. 700].—Certe enim erat, quod Palladius, Archidiaconus Papæ Cælestini urbis Romæ Episcopi, qui tunc tenebat sedem Apostolicam quadragesimus quintus a Sancto Petro Apostolo, ille Palladius ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insolam sub brumali rigore possitam convertendam. Sed prohibuit illum, quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra

[CHRISTIANS IN IRELAND BEFORE S. PATRICK.]

nisi datum ei fuerat de cœlo. Nam neque hii feri et immites homines facile recipiunt doctrinam ejus, neque et ipse voluit transigere tempus in terra non sua; sed reversus ad eum qui misit illum. Revertente vero eo hinc, et primo mari transito, cœptoque terrarum itinere, Britonum finibus vita factus [*leg. functus*]. [*Book of Armagh, fol. 2. a. a.*<sup>b</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> The *Vita Secunda* of S. Patrick, c. 23 (*Colgan, Tr. Tbaum.* p. 13), makes Palladius die "in Pictavorum finibus," meaning "Pictorum," and at Fordun. The *Annotations of Tirechan* on the Life of S. Patrick (*Book of Armagh, fol. 16. a. a.*), state, that Palladius was also called Patrick, and that "martyrium passus est apud Scottos," i. e. in Ireland. The Scholia on Fiacc's Hymn (*Colg. Tr. Tb.* p. 5) take him expressly to Fordun (see above, in vol. I. p. 18). And the balance of evidence, such as it is, seems in favour of modern as against ancient Scotland, as the locality of his death or martyrdom. See Todd's *S. Patrick*, pp. 286–306; and Bp. Forbes, *Calendars of Scottish Saints*, pp. 427–430. The same *Vita Secunda* (c. 24, *Colg. Tr. Tb.* p. 13), which is conjecturally dated c. A.D. 900, adds some particulars of his Irish proceedings, as that he landed among the Hy Garchon (in County Wicklow), built there three (wooden, so *IV. Mag.*) churches (which are named), and left, when he withdrew, some relics of SS. Peter and Paul and others, and a copy of the Old and New Testaments, which Pope Cælestine had given him, together with the tablets on which he himself used to write.

<sup>b</sup> The chief claim, of Irish origin, for the existence of an Irish Church before Palladius and S. Patrick, is in the eleventh century legends respecting the four Irish Munster Bishops, SS. Kieran, Ailbe, Declan, and Ibar, accepted by Colgan (*Tr. Tb.* p. 250), and not rejected by Ussher (*Antiq. Brit. Eccl. XVI.; Works, VI.* 332, 342–348), but which Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 198–221) conclusively refutes; some of these bishops being connected, in fact, with the Second Order of Irish Saints, and all of them dying in years between A.D. 500 and A.D. 600. The fourth of them, Ibar, is connected with S. Brigit by the Litany

of Aengus the Culdee, and by the hymn attributed to S. Brigit herself; as quoted in O'Curry's *Lectures on Materials of Anc. Irish Hist., App. CXXXIV.* pp. 615, 616. There are also one or two indirect allusions in the legendary Lives of S. Patrick, which cannot bear much stress, although of ancient origin, e. g. the alleged discovery of an "altare mirabile lapideum in monte nepotum Ailello," i. e. in a district of Co. Sligo (*Bk. of Armagh, fol. 11 b. a.*), by S. Patrick; to which the *Vita Tripart. II.* 35 (*Colg. Tr. Tb.* p. 134) adds a "stone cave of wonderful workmanship," and "four glass chalices." See Todd (*S. Patr.* pp. 221–224). An allusion also occurs in the Book of Armagh (fol. 17 a. a), quoted by Dr. Petrie (*Tara, p. 47, in Trans. of Royal Irish Acad., vol. xviii.*), to a church of S. Colman at "Cluain Cain in Achud," which that Bishop gave over to S. Patrick, and which is presumed therefore to have been founded before S. Patrick came.

That Sedulius, the Christian poet of the 5th century, was a Scot, rests solely upon his name (= *Siudbul* or *Siadbal*, and supposed to be modernized into "Shiel"), and upon a confusion between him and two others of the same name who were undoubtedly Scots, viz. the Bishop Sedulius of the Roman Council of A.D. 721, and the author of the Commentary on S. Paul's Epistles (see Art. *Sedulius* in Smith's *Dict. of Ancient Biography*). Cathaldus, Bishop of Tarentum, was certainly an Irish Scot, but he lived in the 7th century at the earliest (see Todd, *S. Patr.* pp. 195, 196). The legend of Brynach the Irishman, who settled in Pembrokeshire or Brecknock early in the 5th century (*Lives of Welsh SS., pp. 1, sq.; Rees, Welsh SS., 150, 156*), hardly deserves mention.

PERIODS II, III, IV, A.D. 440(?)–665. (*Introductory.*)ANCIENT SKETCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE IRISH CHURCH<sup>a</sup>.

ANON. [c. A.D. 750]. *Incipit Catalogus*<sup>1</sup> *Sanctorum*<sup>2</sup> *Hiberniæ, secundum*<sup>3</sup> *diversa tempora*<sup>b</sup>.

First Order of Irish Saints, A. D. 440 (?)–543. Primus Ordo<sup>4</sup> Catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant Episcopi omnes, clari et sancti et Spiritu Sancto pleni,<sup>5</sup> CCCL. numero, Ecclesiarum fundatores. Unum Caput Christum<sup>6</sup>, et unum ducem Patri-  
cium,<sup>7</sup> habebant; unam<sup>8</sup> missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsuram ab aure usque ad aurem sufferebant. Unum Pascha,<sup>9</sup> quarta decima luna post æquinoctium vernale, celebrabant; et quod excommunicatum esset ab una Ecclesia, omnes excommunicabant.  
<sup>10</sup> Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant; quia super petram Christi fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant. Hic Ordo Sanctorum per quaterna duravit regna; hoc est, <sup>11</sup> pro tempore Læogarii<sup>12</sup>, et <sup>13</sup> Aila Muilth, et <sup>14</sup> Lugada filio Læogarii, et <sup>15</sup> Tuathail.  
<sup>16</sup> Hi omnes Episcopi de Romanis<sup>c</sup> et Francis et Britonibus et Scotis exorti sunt.

Second Order of Irish Saints, A.D. 543–599. Secundus<sup>17</sup> ordo<sup>18</sup> Catholicorum presbyterorum. In hoc enim<sup>19</sup> Ordine pauci erant Episcopi et multi presbyteri, numero CCC. Unum Caput Dominum<sup>20</sup> nostrum habebant; <sup>21</sup>diversas missas celebrabant, et diversas regulas<sup>22</sup>: unum Pascha quartadecima luna <sup>23</sup>post æquinoctium, unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem. <sup>24</sup>Abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis. Hic Ordo per quaterna adhuc regna duravit; <sup>25</sup>hoc est, ab extremis <sup>26</sup>Tuathail, et per totum Diarmata Regis

<sup>1</sup> Ordinum, *add.* F. <sup>2</sup> in Hibernia, F. <sup>3</sup> divisa, F. <sup>4</sup> om. F. <sup>5</sup> quadringenti quinquaginta, F. <sup>6</sup> colentes, *add.* F. <sup>7</sup> sequentes, F. <sup>8</sup> tonsuram habentes, et unam celebrationem missæ, et unum, F. <sup>9</sup> scilicet, F. <sup>10</sup> Nec laicos nec foeminas de Ecclesiis repellabant, *var. read. given by Ussher.* <sup>11</sup> a, F. <sup>12</sup> filii Neil, qui regnavit XXXVII. annis, *add.* F. <sup>13</sup> Ailildi cognomento Molt, qui XXX. annis regnavit, F. <sup>14</sup> Lugadii, qui VII. regnavit, F. <sup>15</sup> et hic Ordo Sanctorum usque ad tempora extrema Tuathalii, cognomento Moel Garbh, duravit, F. <sup>16</sup> Hi . . . sunt, *om. F. et add.*, sancti Episcopi omnes permanserunt. <sup>17</sup> vero, *add.* F. <sup>18</sup> Sanctorum talis erat, F. <sup>19</sup> secundo, *add.* F. <sup>20</sup> colentes, F. <sup>21</sup> diversos celebrandi ritus habebant, F. <sup>22</sup> vivendi, et, *add.* F. <sup>23</sup> celebrabant; et hi uniformem tonsuram, scilicet ab aure usque ad aurem, faciebant, F. <sup>24</sup> Mulierum quoque consortia ac administrationem fugiebant, atque a monasteriis suis eas excludebant, F. <sup>25</sup> scilicet, F. <sup>26</sup> Tuathalii cognomento Moel Garbh temporibus, et XXX. annos quibus Dermotius Mackearvail regnavit, et pro tempore quo duo nepotes Muredachi qui VII. annis regnaverunt, et pro tempore quo Aidus filius Anmirei qui XXX. annos regnavit, F.

regnum, et duorum Muredaig nepotum, et Ædo filii Ainmereich'. <sup>1</sup> A Davide Episcopo et Gilla et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt. Quorum nomina hæc sunt': <sup>2</sup> duo Finiani, duo Brendani, Jairlathia Tuama, Comgallus, Coemgenus, Ciaranus, Columba, Cainecus, Eogenius Mac Laisreus, Lugeus, Ludeus, Moditeus, Cormacus, Colmanus, Nesanus, Laisreanus, Barrindeus, Coemannus, Ceranus, Comanus, [Endeus, Ædeus, Byrchinus,] et alii multi <sup>3</sup>.

Third Order of Irish Saints, A.D. 599–665. Tertius Ordo Sanctorum erat talis. Erant <sup>4</sup> presbyteri sancti, et pauci Episcopi, numero centum: qui in locis desertis habitabant, <sup>5</sup> et oleribus et aqua et elemosynis [<sup>6</sup> fidelium] vivebant, <sup>7</sup> propria devitabant, et' diversas regulas et <sup>8</sup> missas habebant, et diversam <sup>9</sup> tonsuram (<sup>10</sup> alii enim habebant coronam, <sup>11</sup> alii cæsariem), et <sup>12</sup> diversam solemnitatem Paschalem <sup>13</sup> (alii enim <sup>14</sup> Resurrectionem XIV. luna <sup>15</sup> vel XVI., cum duris intentionibus', celebrabant). <sup>16</sup> Hi per <sup>17</sup> quaterna regna <sup>18</sup> vixerunt; hoc est, <sup>19</sup> Æda Allain (qui tribus annis, <sup>20</sup> pro cogitatione mala', tantum regnavit), et <sup>21</sup> Domnail, et filiorum Mailcobi et Æda' Slaine <sup>22</sup> permixta tempora; et' usque ad mortalitatem illam magnam <sup>23</sup> perduraverunt. <sup>24</sup> Hæc sunt' nomina <sup>25</sup> eorum: Petranus Episcopus, Ultanus Episcopus, Colmanus Episcopus, <sup>26</sup> Murgeus Episcopus', Ædanus Episcopus, <sup>27</sup> Lomanus Episcopus, Senachus Episcopus,—hi <sup>28</sup> sunt Episcopi <sup>29</sup>;—et alii plures. Hi vero presbyteri: Fechinus presbyter, Airedanus, Failanus, <sup>30</sup> Comanus, <sup>31</sup> Commianus, Colmannus, Ærnanus, Cronanus; et alii <sup>32</sup> plurimi <sup>33</sup> presbyteri.

<sup>34</sup> Nota, quod primus Ordo erat <sup>35</sup> sanctissimus; secundus, <sup>36</sup> sanctus sanctorum'; tertius, sanctus. Primus sicut sol in fervore claritatis calescit; secundus sicut luna pallescit; tertius sicut aurora splendescit. Hos tres Ordines beatus Patricius, superno oraculo edoctus,

<sup>1</sup> Hi ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a sanctis viris de Britannia, scilicet a S. David, et a S. Gilda, et a S. Deco. Et horum nomina sunt hi; scilicet, F. <sup>2</sup> Finnianus, Endeus, Colmannus, Congallus, Ædeus, Queranus, Columba, Brandanus, Bricynius, Cainnechus, Caimginus, Lasreanus, Lasreus, Lugeus, Barreideus, F. Lasreus is given as an alternative for Lasreanus, in the *Cod. Salmantic.* <sup>3</sup> qui erant de secundo gradu Sanctorum, *add.* F. <sup>4</sup> enim, *add.* F. <sup>5</sup> hi, F. <sup>6</sup> *add.* F. <sup>7</sup> et omnia terrena contemnebant, et omnem susurationem et detractionem penitus evitabant. Hi, F. <sup>8</sup> diversos celebrandi ritus, F. <sup>9</sup> etiam, *add.* F. <sup>10</sup> aliqui, F. <sup>11</sup> aliqui, F. <sup>12</sup> hi, *add.* F. <sup>13</sup> habebant, *add.* F. <sup>14</sup> *om.* F. <sup>15</sup> alii XIII., F. <sup>16</sup> Hic Ordo, F. <sup>17</sup> quatuor, F. <sup>18</sup> duravit, F. <sup>19</sup> pro tempore Aidi, F. <sup>20</sup> *om.* F. <sup>21</sup> per tempora Moelcavæ, et pro tempore Aidi, F. <sup>22</sup> et hic Ordo, F. <sup>23</sup> duravit, F. <sup>24</sup> Quorum, F. <sup>25</sup> sunt hi, F. <sup>26</sup> *om.* F. <sup>27</sup> Lompanus, F. <sup>28</sup> *om.* F. <sup>29</sup> omnes, *add.* F. <sup>30</sup> *om.* F. <sup>31</sup> Cumenianus, F. <sup>32</sup> *om.* F. <sup>33</sup> plures, F. <sup>34</sup> The paragraph, *Nota . . . conspexit*, stands thus in the earlier of the MSS. used by Ussher—Primus Ordo sanctissimus, secundus Ordo sanctorum, tertius sanctus. Primus sicut sol ardescit, secundus sicut luna, tertius sicut stella. The text is here taken from Ussher's 2nd MS., and alludes to a vision of S. Patrick described in Jocelyn's Life. <sup>35</sup> sanctus sanctissimus, F. <sup>36</sup> sanctorum, F.



intellexit; cum in visione illa prophetica vidit totam Hiberniam flamma ignis repletam, deinde montes tantum ardere, postea lucernas ardere in vallibus conspexit.

<sup>a</sup> Printed by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Antig. XVI., Works, VI.* 477-479), from two MSS., from the earlier of which he gives the first three paragraphs as above printed, and adds to the fourth its longer form from the other and later one. Another form of the same document was subsequently printed by Fleming (*Collect.* pp. 430, 431) from another MS., of which the various readings are given here, marked *F*. There is a copy of it in the *Codex Salmanticensis*, fol. 78 *b. a* (a MS. vol. of Lives of Irish Saints, in the Burgundian Library at Brussels); which was probably among Fleming's authorities, as its readings appear to agree almost exactly with his: if we may judge by an extract kindly communicated by Dr. Reeves. It appears to have been appended to MS. Lives of SS. Kieranus and Finnianus. O'Connor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* II. 162-165) reprints it after Fleming: and Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 88, 89) translates it from Ussher. It has been conjecturally attributed to Tirechanus, but is at all events not later than the middle of the 8th century. See Todd (as above), and Reeves (*ad Adamn. Add. Notes*, p. 334 *n*): and for a full commentary upon it, see Ussher and Todd as above quoted.

<sup>b</sup> The following list of the Kings named in the document or included within its range (from Ussher, as above, pp. 514, 515, and Todd, p. 256), and of their probable dates, will supply the proof of the chronology above given; with the addition, that A.D. 440 is taken for the commencement, as the most probable approximation to the date of S. Patrick's mission, and A.D. 665 for the termination, as being the year of the death, by the great plague, of Kings Blathmac and Diarmait; that plague raging in England,

A.D. 664, according to Bede (*H. E.*, III. 27).

Period I. (1) Laoghaire Mac Neil, A.D. 428-463. (2) Oilioll Molt, A.D. 463-483. (3) Lugaidh Mac Laoghaire, A.D. 483-508. [Interregnum, A.D. 508-513.] (4) Muirchertach Mac Ere, A.D. 513-533. (5) Tuathal Meelgarbh, A.D. 533-544.

Period II. (1) Diarmait, A.D. 544-565. (2) Domhnall and Fergus, sons of Muirchertach Mac Ere, A.D. 565, 566. (3) Baotan and Eochaidh, A.D. 566-568. (4) Ainmire Mac Sedna, A.D. 568-571. (5) Another Baotan, A.D. 571, 572. (6) Aodh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 572-599. [Ussher inverts the order of (3) and (4) and omits (5).]

Period III. (1) Aodh Sláine and Colman Rimhe, A.D. 599-605. (2) Aodh Uariodhnach, A.D. 605-612. (3) Maolcobha, son of Aodh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 612-615. (4) Suibhne Meann, A.D. 615-628. (5) Domhnall, son of Aodh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 628-642. (6) Cellach and Conall Caol, A.D. 642-658. (7) Blathmac and Diarmait, sons of Aodh Sláine, A.D. 658-665.

O'Connor's dates differ slightly; and those given in Fleming's copy of the document itself, considerably. But the Annals, which are Ussher's and Todd's authorities, are the better evidence.

<sup>c</sup> It appears by this, that Roman ecclesiastics were among S. Patrick's company; although the language of the Hymns of S. Sechnall and of S. Fiacc, and of S. Patrick's own *Confessio*, and the silence of Prosper, besides chronological difficulties, disprove, upon purely historical grounds, the supposed mission from Rome of S. Patrick himself; which first appears in the *Scholia* on *S. Fiacc's Hymn*. See Todd at length.

## PERIOD THE SECOND.

## S. PATRICK, AND THE FIRST ORDER OF IRISH SAINTS, A.D. 440(?)–543.

[A.D. 440<sup>a</sup>. Probable date of the mission to Ireland of S. Patrick: (who is described by himself as “Hiberione constitutus Episcopus” [*Conf. S. Patric.*], and by a contemporary as “Episcopus Scotorum” [*Title of S. Sechnall’s Hymn*]; then as “Archipostulus Scotorum” [*Ann. Ult.*]; but, in later times, as “Ab Eireann uile,” *Abbat of all Ireland* [*Flann of Monasterboyce*, ob. A.D. 1066, *IV. Mag. in an.* 432], and as “Airdeaspuc, Ceitt Priomaid, 7 Ardapstol Eireann,” *Archbishop, First Primate, and chief Apostle of Ireland* [*IV. Mag. in an.* 493].)

A.D. 445. Alleged date of the foundation of Armagh (*Ann. Ult.*—A.D. 457, *IV. Mag.*).

A.D. 448. Death of S. Sechnall, or Secundinus, of Domhnach Sechnall or Dunshaughlin, co. Meath (*Ann. Ult.*), who “primus Episcopus sub humo Hiberniæ exivit” (*V. S. Declan.*).

After A.D. 448. S. Fiacc made Bishop of Sletty (Queen’s County).

A.D. 460. Death of Auxilius (of Killossy, co. Kildare); A.D. 468, of Benignus (of Armagh); A.D. 469, of Isserninus (of Kilcullen, co. Kildare): acc. to *Ann. Ult.*

c. A.D. 480. Nunnery founded at Kildare by S. Brigit.

A.D. 493. “Patricius archipostulus Scotorum quievit” (*Ann. Ult.*, so also *IV. Mag.*).

A.D. 500. Death of S. Ibar, of Begerin, co. Wexford (*Ann. Ult.*, &c.).

A.D. 523, 5, or 7. Death of S. Brigit (*Ann. Ult.*, *IV. Mag.*).

A.D. 530. Clonard founded by S. Finnian of Clonard (co. Meath).

A.D. 534 (535) or 536 (537). “Dormitatio Moctai” (of Louth) “discipuli Patricii” (*Ann. Tigh.*, *Ult.*).

A.D. 540. Maghbile (Moville, co. Down) founded by S. Finnian of Maghbile.]

<sup>a</sup> These dates are of course not given as more than conjectural and near the truth. Both Tillemont and Todd select A.D. 440 for S. Patrick’s mission, as being at a reasonable interval after the certain date of Palladius, A.D. 431, besides its agreement with all the

evidence, except the unhistorical statement of S. Patrick’s own mission by Celestine. The other dates also in the above list are uncertain, being variously given in the different Annals.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

INCIPIUNT LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII<sup>a</sup>.[I. *Shortly before* A.D. 493(?). - INCIPIIT CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

1. Ego Patricius, peccator rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et <sup>1</sup> contemptibilis sum' apud plurimos. Patrem habui <sup>2</sup> Calpornum <sup>3</sup> diaconum, filium <sup>4</sup> quendam Potiti <sup>5</sup> filii Odissi' presbyteri qui fuit <sup>6</sup> vico <sup>7</sup> Bannaum Taberniæ, <sup>8</sup> villulam enim prope habuit, ubi ego <sup>9</sup> capturam dedi.' Annorum eram tunc fere xui: Deum<sup>10</sup> verum ignorabam, et Hyberione <sup>11</sup> in captiuitate adductus sum' cum tot <sup>12</sup> milia hominum, secundum merita nostra quia a Deo recessimus, et precepta Eius non custodiimus, et sacerdotibus nostris <sup>13</sup> non

<sup>1</sup> contemptibilissimus, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>2</sup> Calpornum, C.F<sub>3</sub>.B. Calpurnium, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>3</sup> diaconem, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>4</sup> quondam, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>5</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. The two words are added in the margin of the Book of Armagh. <sup>6</sup> in, add. C.F<sub>3</sub>.; e, add. F<sub>1</sub>.B. <sup>7</sup> Bannaum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; Banaven, B. <sup>8</sup> villam, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>9</sup> in capturam decidi, *correx*it B. <sup>10</sup> enim, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>11</sup> a. s. in c., B. <sup>12</sup> milib, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure); millibus, B. <sup>13</sup> inobedientes, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B.

<sup>a</sup> The text of the *Confessio* is taken from the Book of Armagh, fol. 22 a. a, sq.: with various readings and additions from three other MSS., Cott. MS. Nero E. I. fol. 167, sq. (C.), Fell MSS. Bodl. vol. I. fol. 7 a-11 b (F<sub>1</sub>), and vol. III. fol. 158 a-164 a (F<sub>3</sub>), both of which were formerly in the library of Sarum Cathedral; and from the *Acta SS.*, March 17, vol. II. pp. 533, sq., which follows a fourth MS., then at S. Vedast's at Noialle near Arras (B). Of these five MSS., that in the Book of Armagh was transcribed before A.D. 807, from a MS. alleged to have been written by S. Patrick himself, and at that time difficult to decipher, probably from its antiquity (so far the MS. itself states, and see for the date, Dean Graves in the *Trans. of Royal Irish Academy*, III. 316; Petrie, *Essay on Tara*, p. 107; Todd's *S. Patrick*, pp. 288, 346-349; Dr. Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq. of Down, &c.*, p. 224). It was also written at Armagh itself. It has therefore the strongest external evidence to the genuineness of its text. It is also marked unmistakably by the peculiarities of early Irish Latin. On the other hand, its marginal notes, indicating uncertainty and incompleteness (see below, note 6 on p. 297), and the phrases *et cetera, et reliqua*, which occur in some places of it, point to its being an abridgment of the original (as Dean Graves seems rightly to argue), and also to its having a text more or less corrupt. And this is confirmed by the fact, that in the other four MSS., long passages occur in the later half

of the tract, and almost equal in length to the remainder of it, which are not in the Book of Armagh, yet bear no sign of want of genuineness, and are in sense hardly separable from the context. The text, however, of these MSS., especially that of B, has been improved in grammar, while all four, but especially C, F<sub>1</sub>, and F<sub>3</sub> (of which the last is corrected throughout by a better Latinist than its original scribe), present independent copies of the same original; and that both more correct in language, and fuller, than the Armagh text. These three are of the 11th century. The title above given is from the Cotton MS. The tract was first printed in Sir J. Ware's *Opuscula S. Patricio Ascripta* in 1656, from the first four of the above-mentioned MSS.; next, in the *Acta SS.* (as above) in 1668, from the S. Vedast MS.; then by O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* I. cvii. in 1814, from the Cotton MS., corrected by the Book of Armagh; by Sir W. Betham, *Irish Antiq. Researches*, P. II. in 1827, from the Book of Armagh, but inaccurately; and by Villanueva, *Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 184, in 1835, from the *Acta SS.* It is also in Migne's *Patrologia*. The Bollandists "improve" S. Patrick's Creed, as well as his Latin, by inserting the *Homomousion* into it, which is absent in all the other MSS. (it is, however, in S. Sechnall's Hymn, l. 88, below p. 326), besides other minor alterations. Several unimportant corrections of mere spelling in F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>, have been left unnoticed in the various readings.

## [CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

obedientes' fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant. Et Dominus induxit super nos iram <sup>1</sup>animationis Suæ, et dispersit nos in gentibus multis, etiam usque ad ultimum terræ, ubi nunc paruitas mea <sup>2</sup>esse videtur' inter <sup>3</sup>alienigenas; et <sup>4</sup>ibi Dominus aperuit <sup>5</sup>sensum incredulitatis meæ, ut vel <sup>6</sup>serorem orarem dilicta' mea, et ut <sup>7</sup>confirmarem toto corde ad Dominum meum, Qui respexit humilitatem meam, et missertus est <sup>8</sup>adulescentiæ ignorantæ meæ, <sup>9</sup>et custodiuit me, antequam <sup>10</sup>scirem Eum, et antequam' saperem vel distinguerem inter bonum et malum, et <sup>11</sup>muniuit me et <sup>12</sup>consulatus est <sup>13</sup>mei, ut pater filium. Unde <sup>14</sup>autem tacere non possum, neque expedit <sup>15</sup>quidem, tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam, quam mihi <sup>16</sup>dignatus <sup>17</sup>in terra captiuitatis meæ: quia hæc est retributio nostra, ut post <sup>18</sup>correctionem vel agnitionem <sup>19</sup>Dei <sup>20</sup>exaltare, et <sup>21</sup>confiteri mirabilia Eius coram omni natione, quæ <sup>22</sup>est sub omni caelo.' <sup>23</sup>Quia non' est alius Deus, nec umquam fuit, <sup>24</sup>nec ante, nec erit post hunc, præter <sup>25</sup>Deum, Patrem ingenitum, sine principio, a Quo est omne principium; <sup>26</sup>omnia tenentem, ut <sup>27</sup>dicimus: et <sup>28</sup>Eius Filium Jesum Christum, <sup>29</sup>Qui cum Patre scilicet <sup>30</sup>semper fuisse testamur' ante originem sæculi spiritualiter apud Patrem, <sup>31</sup>inerrabiliter genitum ante omne principium, <sup>32</sup>et per Ipsum facta sunt visibilia <sup>33</sup>; <sup>34</sup>hominem <sup>35</sup>factum <sup>36</sup>morte devicta' in cælis <sup>37</sup>; et dedit Illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen cælestium <sup>38</sup> et terrestrium et infernorum, <sup>39</sup>et omnis lingua confiteatur <sup>40</sup>Ei quia Dominus <sup>41</sup>et Deus est Jesus Christus <sup>b</sup>: Quem credimus, et expectamus aduentum, <sup>42</sup>mox <sup>43</sup>futurum <sup>44</sup>iudex viuorum atque mortuorum,

<sup>1</sup> indignationis, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. (C. om. iram i. S., et d. nos). <sup>27</sup> v. e., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>3</sup> alienigenas, C.F<sub>3</sub>.B.; alienienas, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>4</sup> ubi, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>5</sup> sensus cordis mei incredulitatis, C.F<sub>1</sub>; sensus c. mee i., F<sub>1</sub>.; sensum incredulitatis c. mei, B. <sup>6</sup> sero rememorarem delicta, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. (A mark in the margin of the Book of Armagh, notes this passage as difficult to decipher. Dr. Graves supposes it to stand for  $\zeta$ , =  $\zeta\eta\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ . There is another mark also attached to some passages, indicating omission, viz.  $\cdot$  =  $\text{dele}$ ). <sup>7</sup> conuerterer, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; me conuerterem ex, B. <sup>8</sup> adulescentie mee et ignorantie, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; adolescentiæ et ignorantæ meæ, B. <sup>9</sup> om. B. <sup>10</sup> om. B. <sup>11</sup> monuit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>12</sup> consolatus, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>13</sup> me, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>14</sup> ego, add. B. <sup>15</sup> om. B. <sup>16</sup> Dominus prestare, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>17</sup> est, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>18</sup> correctionem, F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>19</sup> Domini, C. <sup>20</sup> exaltaremur, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>21</sup> confiteremur, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>22</sup> sub celo est, B. <sup>23</sup> Non enim, B. <sup>24</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>25</sup> Dominum, B. <sup>26</sup> o. tenens, F<sub>1</sub>.: B. om. from omnia to ante omne principium, by an homœoteleuton. <sup>27</sup> diximus, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>28</sup> Huius, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>29</sup> Quem, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>30</sup> f. s. t., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>31</sup> inenarrabiliter, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>32</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>33</sup> et inuisibilia, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; et inuisibilia, Qui Filium sibi consubstantialem genuit, add. B. <sup>34</sup> Homo, F<sub>1</sub>.; Hominum, C. <sup>35</sup> factus, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>36</sup> d. m., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; et victa morte, B. <sup>37</sup> ad Patrem receptum, add. C.F<sub>3</sub>.B.; ad P. receptus, add. F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>38</sup> om. B. <sup>39</sup> ut, C.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>40</sup> Ei, om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>41</sup> Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris, B. <sup>42</sup> Ipsius, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>43</sup> futurus, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure). <sup>44</sup> iudicem, B.

<sup>b</sup> Phil. ii. 9–11 (not Vulg.). See, for these quotations from the Bible, above in vol. i. pp. 180, 181.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

Qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua: et <sup>1</sup>effudit in uobis habunde <sup>2</sup>Spiritum Sanctum' donum et pignus immortalitatis; Qui facit credentes <sup>3</sup>ac oboedientes ut sint filij Dei <sup>4</sup>et coheredes Christi', Quem confitemur et <sup>5</sup>adoramus unum Deum' in Trinitate <sup>6</sup>sacri nominis: Ipse enim dixit per Prophetam, "<sup>7</sup>Inuoca Me in die tribulationis tuæ, et liberabo te, et magnificabis Me<sup>c</sup>." Et iterum inquit: "Opera autem Dei reuelare et confiteri honorificum est<sup>d</sup>." Tamen, et si in multis imperfectus sum, opto <sup>8</sup>fratribus et cognatis meis' scire qualitatem meam, ut possint <sup>9</sup>perficere votum animæ meæ. Non <sup>10</sup>ignoro testimonium Domini mei, Qui in Psalmo testatur: "Perdes <sup>11</sup>eos qui loquuntur mendacium<sup>e</sup>." Et iterum inquit: "Os quod mentitur occidit animam<sup>f</sup>." Et <sup>12</sup>idem Dominus <sup>13</sup>: "Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent <sup>14</sup>rationem de eo' in die iudicii<sup>g</sup>." Unde <sup>15</sup>autem vehementer' cum timore et tremore metuere hanc sententiam in die illa, ubi nemo se poterit subtrahere vel abscondere; sed omnes omnino reddituri sumus rationem etiam minimorum peccatorum <sup>16</sup>ante tribunal <sup>17</sup>Domini Christi.' Quapropter olim cogitavi scribere, sed <sup>18</sup>et usque nunc hessitavi: timui enim ne <sup>19</sup>incederem in' linguam hominum: <sup>20</sup>quia non dedici' sicut caeteri, qui optime <sup>21</sup>itaque jure et sacras literas utroque pari modo combiberunt' et <sup>22</sup>sermones illorum' ex infantia numquam <sup>23</sup>motarunt; sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt: nam sermo et <sup>24</sup>loquela <sup>25</sup>mea translata est in linguam alienam. <sup>26</sup>Sicut facile potest probari <sup>27</sup>ex aliue scripturæ meæ qualiter <sup>28</sup>sum ego' in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus: quia, inquit Sapiens, "Per linguam <sup>29</sup>dignoscetur <sup>30</sup>et sensus, et scientia, et doctrina <sup>31</sup>veritatis<sup>h</sup>." Sed <sup>32</sup>quid prodest excussatio iuxta veritatem, præsertim cum præsumptione, <sup>33</sup>quatinus modo ipse adpeto

<sup>1</sup> infudit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>2</sup> Spiritus Sancti, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>3</sup> et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>4</sup> Patris et c. Christi, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; Patris, B. <sup>5</sup> u. D. a., B. <sup>6</sup> sacrosancti, B. <sup>7</sup> Inuocabis, B. <sup>8</sup> fratres et cognatos meos. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>9</sup> perspicere, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>10</sup> enim, add. B. <sup>11</sup> om. C.; eos omnes, B. And F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. om. inquit in the next line. <sup>12</sup> isdem, C.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> in Evangelio inquit, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>14</sup> pro eo rationem, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>15</sup> autem uehementer debueram, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; ego deberem uehementer, B. <sup>16</sup> nostrorum, add. B. <sup>17</sup> Christi D., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; Domini nostri Iesu Christi, B. <sup>18</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>19</sup> incederem, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; incederem in, B. <sup>20</sup> et quia non legi, C.F<sub>3</sub>; et qui legi, F<sub>1</sub>; quia non legi, B. <sup>21</sup> i. iure et s. l. utraque p. m. cumbiberunt, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. (but with combiberunt in F<sub>3</sub>. on erasure); sacris litteris sunt imbuti, B.— Incertus liber hic, add. in marg. of Bk. of Armagh. <sup>22</sup> sermonem illorum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; studium suum, B. <sup>23</sup> mutauerunt, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>24</sup> lingua, B. <sup>25</sup> nostra, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>26</sup> sed, B. <sup>27</sup> ex salua, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>28</sup> e. s., B. <sup>29</sup> dinoscitur, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>30</sup> om. B. <sup>31</sup> uarietatis, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>32</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>33</sup> ut, B.

<sup>c</sup> Ps. l. 15.<sup>d</sup> Tobias xii. 7.<sup>e</sup> Ps. v. 6.<sup>f</sup> Wisd. i. 11.<sup>g</sup> Matt. xii. 36.<sup>h</sup> Ecclus. iv. 24.



## [CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

in senectute <sup>1</sup> mea, quod in iuuentute' non comparau; <sup>2</sup> quod obstituerunt' vt confirmarem, <sup>3</sup> quod ante <sup>4</sup> perlegeram; sed <sup>5</sup> si quis <sup>6</sup> me <sup>7</sup> credidit? Et si dixero, quod ante præfatus sum; <sup>8</sup> adoliscens, immo pene puer <sup>9</sup> inuerbis, capturam dedi, antequam scirem quid <sup>10</sup> peterem vel quid' <sup>11</sup> adpeterem vel quid vitare debueram. Unde <sup>12</sup> ergo hodie erubesco et vehementer <sup>13</sup> pertimeo denudare imperitiam meam, quia <sup>14</sup> non deeritis' breuitate <sup>15</sup> sermone explicare <sup>16</sup> nequeo, sicut enim spiritus <sup>17</sup> gestit et <sup>18</sup> animas, et sensus <sup>19</sup> monstrat adfectus: sed si <sup>20</sup> itaque datum mihi' fuisset sicut <sup>21</sup> et caeteris; verum tamen non silerem, propter retributionem. Et, si forte videtur apud aliquantos me in hoc præponere cum mea <sup>22</sup> inscientia et tardiori <sup>23</sup> lingua, <sup>24</sup> sicut scriptum est <sup>25</sup>, "Linguæ balbutientes velociter <sup>26</sup> discent loqui' pacem i:" quanto magis <sup>27</sup> nos adpetere debemus, qui sumus <sup>28</sup> nos aepistola Christi <sup>29</sup> in salutem' usque ad ultimum terræ<sup>k</sup>, et si non <sup>30</sup> deserta, sed <sup>31</sup> ratum fortissimum scriptum' in cordibus <sup>32</sup> vestris, non atramento sed Spiritu Dei viuim; <sup>33</sup> et iterum Spiritus testatur, et' " <sup>34</sup> Rusticationem ab Altissimo creata est m." <sup>35</sup> Unde <sup>36</sup> ego primus rusticus,' profuga, indoctus <sup>37</sup> scilicet, qui nescio' in posterum <sup>38</sup> prouidere. Sed <sup>39</sup> illud scio' certissime, quia vtique, priusquam humiliarer, ego eram velut lapis, qui iacet in luto profundo, et <sup>40</sup> venit Qui potens est, et in Sua missericordia sustulit me: et quidem scilicet sursum adleuauit, et collocauit me in <sup>41</sup> sua parte.' Et inde fortiter debueram exclamare ad <sup>42</sup> retribuendam quoque aliquid Domino pro tantis beneficijs Eius, hic et in æternum, quæ mens <sup>43</sup> hominum æstimare non potest. Unde autem ammiramini, <sup>44</sup> magni et pusilli <sup>45</sup>, et vos <sup>46</sup> dominicati qui timetis Deum, rethorici:'

<sup>1</sup> om. C. <sup>2</sup> quia o., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; and F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. add. peccata mea; o. enim, B. <sup>3</sup> quodque, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>4</sup> non, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>5</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>6</sup> mihi, B. <sup>7</sup> credit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>8</sup> aduliscens, C.; adhuliscens, F<sub>1</sub>; adoliscens, F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>9</sup> (= imberbis); in uerbis, B. <sup>10</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>11</sup> adpetere, B. <sup>12</sup> ergo, B. <sup>13</sup> pertimesco, B. <sup>14</sup> non possûm dē deeritis, in the Arm. MS.; desertis, F<sub>3</sub>; desertis, C.F<sub>1</sub>; deserti, B. <sup>15</sup> sermonis, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure), B. <sup>16</sup> non possum, B. <sup>17</sup> gessit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> animus, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>19</sup> monstrare, F<sub>1</sub>; monstrat et, B. <sup>20</sup> ita mihi datum, B. <sup>21</sup> om. F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>22</sup> inscitia, C. <sup>23</sup> lingue, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>24</sup> sed etiam, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. (om. B.). <sup>25</sup> enim, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>26</sup> i. d., B. <sup>27</sup> non, B. <sup>28</sup> inquit, C.; inquit, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; om. B. <sup>29</sup> om. B. <sup>30</sup> deserta, B. <sup>31</sup> r. et f. scripta, C.F<sub>1</sub>; rata et fortissima scripta, F<sub>3</sub>; B has scripta only, but with a blank preceding it. <sup>32</sup> nostris, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>33</sup> om. B. <sup>34</sup> Rusticatio, C.F<sub>3</sub>; Rusticatio, F<sub>1</sub>.B. <sup>35</sup> teste eodem Spiritu Dei uiui, add. B. <sup>36</sup> ego p. rusticus, C.F.; ergo p. r., F<sub>1</sub>; ego primum rusticus, B. <sup>37</sup> qui scilicet nescit, B. <sup>38</sup> prœuidere, B. <sup>39</sup> scio illud, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; illud, B. (ont. scio). <sup>40</sup> veniens in the Arm. MS., with t under the i. <sup>41</sup> summo pariete, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>42</sup> retribuendam, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure), B. <sup>43</sup> humana, B. <sup>44</sup> itaque, add. F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>45</sup> qui timetis Dominum, add. C.B.; q. t. Deum, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>46</sup> domini ignari nethorici, C.F<sub>3</sub>; d. i. rethorici, F<sub>1</sub>; d. i. rhetorici, B.

<sup>i</sup> Isai. xxxii. 4.<sup>k</sup> Acts xiii. 47.<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.<sup>m</sup> Eccles. vii. 15.

## [CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

audite<sup>1</sup> et scrutamini, Quis me stultum excitauit de medio eorum, qui videntur<sup>2</sup> esse sapientes et leges periti,<sup>3</sup> et potentes in sermone et in omni re. Et me quidem, <sup>4</sup>detestabilis huius mundi, præ cæteris inspirauit, <sup>5</sup>si talis essem; dummodo <sup>6</sup>autem ut cum metu et reuerantia et sine querella fideliter <sup>7</sup>genti, ad quam caritas Christi transtulit<sup>8</sup> et donauit me in vita mea, si dignus fuero, denique vt cum <sup>9</sup>omni humilitate et naturaliter deseruirem <sup>10</sup>illis. In mensura itaque <sup>11</sup>fidei Trinitatis <sup>12</sup>oportet distinguere, sine reprehensione periculi notum facere donum Dei, et consulationem æternam, <sup>13</sup>sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen <sup>14</sup>ubique expandere, <sup>15</sup>ut etiam post obitum meum <sup>16</sup>ex a Gallias<sup>17</sup> relinquere fratribus et filiis meis, quos <sup>18</sup>in Domino ego baptizauit, tot <sup>19</sup>milia hominum; <sup>20</sup>et non <sup>21</sup>eram dignus, neque talis vt hoc Dominus <sup>22</sup>seruulo Suo concederet; <sup>23</sup>post <sup>24</sup>erumpnas <sup>25</sup>et tantas moles, post captiuitatem, post annos multos, in <sup>26</sup>gentem illam, tantam gratiam mihi donaret, quod <sup>27</sup>ego aliquando<sup>28</sup> in iuuentute mea <sup>29</sup>numquam sperauit<sup>30</sup> neque cogitaui. Sed postquam Hiberione deueneram, cotidie <sup>31</sup>itaque pecora pascebam, et <sup>32</sup>frequens in die orabam, <sup>33</sup>magis ac magis accedebat <sup>34</sup>amor Dei, et timor <sup>35</sup>Ipsius et fides augebatur, et Spiritus <sup>36</sup>agebatur, vt in die una usque ad centum orationes, <sup>37</sup>et in nocte prope similiter: <sup>38</sup>ut etiam in siluis <sup>39</sup>et monte<sup>40</sup> manebam, <sup>41</sup>ante lucem <sup>42</sup>excitabar ad orationem per niuem, per gelu, per <sup>43</sup>pluiam; et nihil mali sentiebam neque ulla pigritia erat in me, sicut modo video: quia tunc <sup>44</sup>Spiritus in me<sup>45</sup> feruebat. Et ibi scilicet <sup>46</sup>quadam nocte in somno audiui vocem dicentem mihi: Bene ieiunas, cito iturus ad patriam tuam<sup>47</sup>. Et <sup>48</sup>iterum post paululum tempus <sup>49</sup>audiui responsum dicentem<sup>50</sup> mihi: Ecce nauis tua parata est. Et <sup>51</sup>non erat prope: sed forte <sup>52</sup>habebat .cc. milia passus: et ibi numquam

<sup>1</sup> ergo, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>2</sup> s. esse et legisperiti, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>3</sup> detestabilem, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>4</sup> etsi, B. <sup>5</sup> om. B. <sup>6</sup> prodessem, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>7</sup> ut, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>8</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>9</sup> Illi, F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>10</sup> quæ, add. B. (*which also joins in mensura to the preceding sentence*). <sup>11</sup> sunt, add. B.; and et before sine. <sup>12</sup> ac, add. B. <sup>13</sup> nomine, add. C.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>14</sup> et, B. <sup>15</sup> ex Gallias, C.F<sub>1</sub>; ex Gallicis, F<sub>3</sub>; om. B. (*Incertus liber, marginal note in Book of Armagh.*) <sup>16</sup> e, in D. b., C.B.; e. b. in D., F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>17</sup> millia, B. <sup>18</sup> etsi, B. <sup>19</sup> etiam, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>20</sup> seruo, B. <sup>21</sup> et, add. B. <sup>22</sup> erumpnas, C.B. <sup>23</sup> et tante molis, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; tantæ molis, B. <sup>24</sup> gente illa, B. <sup>25</sup> a. e., B. <sup>26</sup> nonqua desperauit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27</sup> igitur, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; om. B. <sup>28</sup> frequent, F<sub>3</sub>. (*on erasure*). <sup>29</sup> magisque, B. <sup>30</sup> timor, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>31</sup> Illius, C.F<sub>3</sub>.B.; illis, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>32</sup> augebatur, F<sub>1</sub>.B. <sup>33</sup> facerem, add. B., but not in their MS. <sup>34</sup> et, B. <sup>35</sup> et in mente, C.; et in mnte, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>36</sup> et, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>37</sup> exercitabar, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>38</sup> pluuiam, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>39</sup> in me S., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>40</sup> quidam, C. <sup>41</sup> et terram, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>42</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>43</sup> a. r. dicens, F<sub>2</sub>. (*on erasure*); r. a. dicens, B. <sup>44</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>., and MS. of B. <sup>45</sup> aberat, B.

## [CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

fueram, nec ibi <sup>1</sup>notum quemquam de hominibus habebam.' Et deinde postmodum conuersus sum in fugam; et intermissi hominem cum <sup>2</sup>fueram <sup>3</sup>.ui. annis; et <sup>4</sup>veni in virtute Dei, Qui viam meam <sup>5</sup>ad bonum' dirigebat, <sup>6</sup>et <sup>7</sup>nihil metuebam, <sup>8</sup>donec perueni ad nauem illam. Et <sup>9</sup>illa die qua' perueni, profecta est <sup>10</sup>navis de loco suo; et locutus sum ut <sup>11</sup>abirem <sup>12</sup>unde <sup>13</sup>nauigarem cum illis. <sup>14</sup>Et gubernatori' displicuit <sup>15</sup>illi, et acriter cum indignatione respondit: Nequaquam tu nobiscum <sup>16</sup>adpetes ire. Et cum hæc audiissem, separavi me ab illis, vt <sup>17</sup>venirem ad <sup>18</sup>tegorium <sup>19</sup>ubi hospitabam, et in itinere cæpi orare: et antequam orationem consummarem, audiui unum ex illis <sup>20</sup>et fortiter <sup>21</sup>exclamabat post me: Veni cito: quia vocant te homines isti. Et statim ad illos reuersus sum, et coeperunt mihi dicere: Veni, quia ex fide <sup>22</sup>recipimus te; fac nobiscum amicitiam, quomodo volueris. Et in illa die <sup>23</sup>itaque reppuli sugere mammellas eorum' propter <sup>24</sup>timorem Dei': <sup>25</sup>sed verumtamen ab illis speravi venire in fidem Jesu' Christi; quia <sup>26</sup>gentes erant; et <sup>27</sup>ob hoc obtinui cum illis. <sup>28</sup>Et post triduum terram <sup>29</sup>cæpimus: et <sup>30</sup>xxviii. dies per <sup>31</sup>desertum iter fecimus. <sup>32</sup>Et cibus defuit illis, et <sup>33</sup>fames inualuit super <sup>34</sup>eos. Et <sup>35</sup>alio die coepit gubernator mihi dicere: Quid, <sup>36</sup>Christiane, tu dicis? Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est: quare ergo <sup>37</sup>pro nobis orare non potes? Quia <sup>38</sup>nos a' fame periclitamur: difficile <sup>39</sup>enim umquam' ut <sup>40</sup>aliquem hominem videamus. Ego <sup>41</sup>enim euidenter dixi illis: <sup>42</sup>Conuertimini ex <sup>43</sup>fide ad Dominum Deum meum; <sup>44</sup>Cui nihil est' impossibile, ut <sup>45</sup>cibum mittat vobis' in viam <sup>46</sup>vestram, usque dum <sup>47</sup>satiamini: quia ubique habundat Illi. <sup>48</sup>Et adiuuante Deo ita factum est. Ecce grex

<sup>1</sup> n. h. q. de h., C.F.<sub>3</sub>; q. n. de h. habebam, B. <sup>2</sup> quo, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>3</sup> a. sex, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>4</sup> om. B. <sup>5</sup> om. B. <sup>6</sup> ueni ad Benum, add. B.; et, om. C. <sup>7</sup> ex nihilo, C.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>8</sup> om. F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>9</sup> illa qua, C.F.<sub>1</sub>; illa quam, F.<sub>3</sub>; mox cum, B. <sup>10</sup> om. B. <sup>11</sup> haberem, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>12</sup> inde, F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>13</sup> nauigare, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>14</sup> Et gubernator, C.; Gubernator, B. <sup>15</sup> erasure in F.<sub>3</sub>; om. B. <sup>16</sup> adpetas, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>17</sup> et, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> tугоріум, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B.; ad, om. F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> et ibi, F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>20</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>21</sup> exclamare, F.<sub>1</sub>.B.; exclamantem, F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>22</sup> recipimus, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>; reperimus, B. <sup>23</sup> itaque repulsus sum fugere amicitias illorum, C.F.<sub>3</sub>; itaque repulis fugere mamas illorum, F.<sub>1</sub>; debui surgere in nauem eorum, corr. B.; but their MS. has repuli sugere mamas eorum. <sup>24</sup> Deum, B. <sup>25</sup> Sed uerumtamen s. ab illis ut mihi dicerent, Ueni in fide Jesu, C. (and so also, but om. sed, F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>); Sed u. non s. ab i. ut m. d., U. in fide, B.; but their MS. om. non. <sup>26</sup> gentiles, B. <sup>27</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>28</sup> Et protinus nauigauimus, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>29</sup> cepimus, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>30</sup> viginti et septem, C.F.<sub>1</sub> (but om. et). F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>31</sup> desertum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>32</sup> cibus autem et potus defecit nobis, B. <sup>33</sup> famis, C.F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>34</sup> nos, B. <sup>35</sup> alia, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>36</sup> est, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>37</sup> non potes pro n. o., C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>; n. p. pro (and the note of interrogation after Christiane). <sup>38</sup> a. h. umquam, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>; n. o.; ora pro nobis, B. <sup>39</sup> om. B. <sup>40</sup> a. h. umquam, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>; h. a. umquam, B. <sup>41</sup> uero, B. <sup>42</sup> conuertimini, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>43</sup> fide et ex toto corde, C.F.<sub>3</sub>; fide ex toto corde, F.<sub>1</sub>; toto corde, B. <sup>44</sup> quia nihil est Illi, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>45</sup> hodie cybum m. nobis, F.<sub>1</sub>; m. nobis c., B. <sup>46</sup> nostram, B. <sup>47</sup> satiimini, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>48</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

porcorum in via <sup>1</sup> ante oculos nostros <sup>2</sup> apparuit, et multos ex illis <sup>3</sup> interfecerunt: et ibi .ij. noctes manserunt <sup>4</sup> et bene refecti. Et <sup>5</sup> canes eorum <sup>6</sup> repleti sunt, quia multi ex illis <sup>7</sup> secus viam semiuiui <sup>8</sup> relictus sunt. Et post <sup>9</sup> hæc summas gratias egerunt Deo; et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum <sup>10</sup>. Etiam mel <sup>11</sup> siluistre inuenierunt, et mihi partem obtulerunt: et unus <sup>12</sup> ex illis dicit: <sup>13</sup> Immolaticum est. Deo gratias. Exinde nihil gustavi. Eadem vero <sup>14</sup> eram dormiens, et fortiter temptauit me Satan, <sup>15</sup> quod memor ero quandiu <sup>16</sup> fuero in hoc corpore: <sup>17</sup> et cecidit super me <sup>18</sup> veluti saxum ingens, et <sup>19</sup> nihil membrorum præualens. Sed unde <sup>20</sup> mihi venit <sup>21</sup> in <sup>22</sup> spiritum <sup>23</sup> ut Heliam uocarem. Et <sup>24</sup> in hoc vidi in <sup>25</sup> cælum solem oriri; et dum <sup>26</sup> clamarem <sup>27</sup> Heliam <sup>28</sup> viribus meis, ecce splendor solis illius <sup>29</sup> decedit super me, et statim discussit a me <sup>30</sup> grauitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo <sup>31</sup> Domino meo <sup>32</sup> clamabat pro me: <sup>33</sup> et spero quod sic erit in die presuræ meæ, sicut in *Æuangelio* inquit Dominus, Non vos estis <sup>35</sup>. Multos adhuc <sup>36</sup> capturam dedi. <sup>37</sup> Ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis: responsum autem Diuinum audiui, <sup>38</sup> Duobus autem mensibus eris cum illis: quod ita factum est. Nocte <sup>39</sup> illa <sup>40</sup> sexagesima liberauit me Dominus de manibus eorum. <sup>41</sup> Etiam in itinere <sup>42</sup> prævidit nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem cotidie, donec <sup>43</sup> decimo die <sup>44</sup> peruenimus omnes; sicut superius insinuauimus. Xx. et viij. <sup>45</sup> disertum iter

<sup>1</sup> ueniebat, *add.* B. <sup>2</sup> *om.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>3</sup> interfecerunt, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>4</sup> *om.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>5</sup> carnes, C.; carne, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>6</sup> releuati, C.F<sub>3</sub>.B.; reuelati, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>7</sup> defecerunt et, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B.; and eis for illis, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>8</sup> derelicti, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>9</sup> hoc, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>10</sup> Et ex hac die abundanter cibum habuerunt, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B.; Ex illa autem die c. a. h. sed, *add.* B. <sup>11</sup> siluestre inuenierunt, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>12</sup> illorum, B. <sup>13</sup> Hoc immolaticum, C.; Hoc immolatum, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. (*on erasure*); Hoc immolatum, B. <sup>14</sup> nocte, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>15</sup> cuius, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>16</sup> fueram, C.F<sub>1</sub>.; fuero, F<sub>3</sub>. (*on erasure*). <sup>17</sup> et cecidit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; cecidit enim, B. <sup>18</sup> ueluti saxa ingentia, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; uelut saxum ingens, B. <sup>19</sup> nihil m. meorum præualui, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B; omnium m. meorum uires abstulit, *corr.* B. <sup>20</sup> me, C.F<sub>1</sub>.; *om.* B. <sup>21</sup> ignarum in, C.; ignarum, et, F.; ignoro in, F<sub>3</sub>. (*on erasure*); ignoro, ut, B. <sup>22</sup> spiritu, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>23</sup> Heliam uocarem, C.; Heliam uocare, F<sub>3</sub>.; Eliam invocarem, B. <sup>24</sup> inter hæc, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>25</sup> cælo, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>26</sup> clamabam, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27</sup> Heliam (*bis*), C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; Eliam (*bis*), B. <sup>28</sup> totis, *add.* B. And et ecce, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>29</sup> cecidit, B. <sup>30</sup> omnem, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>31</sup> Deo, C.F<sub>1</sub>.; Domino, F<sub>3</sub>.; *om.* B. <sup>32</sup> subuentus sum, et Spiritus Eius iam tunc clamauit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>33</sup> s. autem, B. <sup>34</sup> inquit, In illa die, Dominus testatur, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; Dominus testatur; In illa die, inquit, B. <sup>35</sup> qui loquimini; sed Spiritus Patris uestri, Qui loquitur in uobis. Et iterum post annos, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; qui l., sed S. P. u. Qui l. in uobis. In itinere autem nostro (*as four lines further on in the text, down to*) cibo uero nihil habuimus. Et iterum post annos non, *add.* B. <sup>36</sup> in capturam decidi, B. <sup>37</sup> Nocte uero prima, B. <sup>38</sup> dicentem mihi: Duos menses, C.; dicente mihi: Duos menses, F<sub>1</sub>.; dicens mihi: Duos menses, F<sub>3</sub>. (*on erasure*). B. <sup>39</sup> igitur, *add.* B. <sup>40</sup> sexagesimo die, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; sexagesima, B. <sup>41</sup> Ecce, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; *om.* B. <sup>42</sup> prouidit, C.; autem nostro prouidit, B. <sup>43</sup> quarto, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>44</sup> p. ad homines, C.F<sub>3</sub>.; peruenimus ad homines, B. (F<sub>1</sub>. *has* peruenimus omnes, and *om.* by an *homæoteleuton down to* de cibo uero). <sup>45</sup> per desertum iter fecimus. Et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.B.; dies per d. i. f. Et, F<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>n</sup> See I Cor. x. 28, 29.<sup>o</sup> Matt. x. 20.



fecimus ex' ea nocte qua peruenimus <sup>1</sup> omnes, de cibo uero nihil habuimus. <sup>2</sup> Et iterum post paucos annos in <sup>3</sup> Britannis eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium <sup>4</sup> suscipiunt; et ex fide rogauerunt me, ut vel modo <sup>5</sup> ego post tantas tribulationes, quas ego pertuli, <sup>6</sup> nusquam ab illis discederem. Et ibi scilicet <sup>7</sup> in <sup>8</sup> sinu noctis' virum venientem quasi de Hiberione, <sup>9</sup> cui nomen Victoricus, cum æpistolis innumerabilibus <sup>10</sup> vidi: et dedit mihi unam ex <sup>11</sup> his, et <sup>12</sup> legi principium æpistolæ <sup>13</sup> continentem: Vox <sup>14</sup> Hyberionacum. Et <sup>15</sup> dum recitabam <sup>16</sup> principium æpistolæ, putabam <sup>17</sup> enim ipse in mente' audire vocem ipsorum qui erant iuxta <sup>18</sup> siluam Focluti, quæ est prope mare <sup>19</sup> Occidentale, et sic exclamauerunt: <sup>20</sup> Rogamus te, <sup>21</sup> sancte puer, ut venias et adhuc <sup>22</sup> ambulas inter nos. Et valde compunctus sum corde, et amplius non potui legere: et sic <sup>23</sup> expertus sum. Deo gratias, quia post plurimos annos præstitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem <sup>24</sup> illorum. Et alia nocte, nescio, Deus scit; utrum in me, an iuxta me, verbis <sup>25</sup> peritissime, quos ego audiui et non potui <sup>26</sup> intellegere, nisi ad <sup>27</sup> posterum orationis sic <sup>28</sup> efficiatus est: Qui <sup>29</sup> dedit animam suam pro te, Ipse est Qui loquitur in te. Et sic <sup>30</sup> expertus sum gaudibundus. Et iterum <sup>31</sup> uidi in me ipsum orantem: et <sup>32</sup> eram quasi' intra corpus meum, et audiui, <sup>33</sup> hoc est, super interiorem hominem, et ibi fortiter orabat <sup>34</sup> gemitibus. Et inter hæc stupebam et <sup>35</sup> ammirabam et cogitabam, quis esset qui <sup>36</sup> in me orabat. Sed ad postremum orationis <sup>37</sup> sic efficiatus est, <sup>38</sup> ut sit Episcopus; <sup>39</sup> et sic expertus sum, et recordatus sum <sup>40</sup> Apostolo dicente: "Spiritus adiuuat <sup>41</sup> infirmitatis orationis nostræ:"

<sup>1</sup> ad homines, C.F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>2</sup> om. B. <sup>3</sup> Britanniis, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; Britannia, B. <sup>4</sup> suscep-  
perunt, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; exceperunt, B. <sup>5</sup> me, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; om. B. <sup>6</sup> nunquam, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>7</sup> uidi,  
add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>8</sup> uisu nocte, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; uisu de nocte, B. <sup>9</sup> Victoricius nomen, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>;   
Victoricus nomen, B. <sup>10</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>11</sup> illis, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>12</sup> lego, B. <sup>13</sup> conti-  
nenter, B. <sup>14</sup> Hiberionarum, B. (*miswritten and corrected*, F.<sub>1</sub>). <sup>15</sup> cum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B.   
<sup>16</sup> initium, B. <sup>17</sup> ipso momento, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>18</sup> silua uirgulti uolutique, C.; siluam uirgulti-  
que, F.<sub>1</sub>; siluam uirgulti uolutique, F.<sub>3</sub>; s. uirgulti, MS. of B. <sup>19</sup> Occidentem, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>20</sup> quasi ex uno ore, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>21</sup> sanctum puerum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>22</sup> ambules, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B.  
<sup>23</sup> experfactus, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>24</sup> eorum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>25</sup> *Marked as doubtful in marg. of the Arm.*  
MS.; peritissimis, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; peritissimis audiebam quosdam ex Spiritu psallentes intra me, et nes-  
ciebam qui essent, B. <sup>26</sup> intelligere, F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>27</sup> postremum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>28</sup> affatus, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B.  
<sup>29</sup> pro te animam suam posuit, C.F.<sub>3</sub>; p. t. a. s., F.<sub>1</sub>; dedit pro te animam suam, B. <sup>30</sup> ex-  
perfactus s. g., C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; euigilaui, B. <sup>31</sup> audiui, B. <sup>32</sup> eram, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; erat, B. <sup>33</sup> super  
me, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>34</sup> cum, add. B., *but it is not in their MS.* <sup>35</sup> admirabar, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B.  
<sup>36</sup> oret in me, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; oraret in me, B. <sup>37</sup> sic effatus est, C.F.<sub>3</sub>; s. effectus e., F.<sub>1</sub>; dixit, B.  
<sup>38</sup> (Eps. *miswritten for* Sps.).—ut sit Spiritus, F.<sub>3</sub>; Se esse Spiritum, B. <sup>39</sup> om. B. <sup>40</sup> Apostoli  
dicentis, B. <sup>41</sup> infirmitatem n. o., C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; infirmitatem o. n., B.

P Near Killala, co. Mayo. The readings in the other MSS. agree with the facts, that the Armagh MS. was written at an early time in Ireland, while the knowledge of ancient

localities was still retained, whereas C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. were copied at a later period, when they had been forgotten.

q 1 John iii. 16.



[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

<sup>1</sup> nam quod' oremus <sup>2</sup> sicut oportet, nescimus, sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus ine[n]arrabilibus, quæ verbis <sup>3</sup> exprimi non possunt<sup>r</sup>." Et iterum: " <sup>4</sup> Dominus aduocatus noster <sup>5</sup> postulat pro nobis<sup>s</sup>." [<sup>6</sup> Et quando tentatus sum ab aliquantibus senioribus meis, qui venerunt, <sup>7</sup> ob peccata mea, contra laboriosum Episcopatum meum, <sup>8</sup> nonnumquam in illo die fortiter impulsus sum, ut caderem hic et in æternum: sed Dominus pepercit proselyto et peregrino propter nomen suum, <sup>9</sup> et mihi' benigne <sup>10</sup> valde <sup>11</sup> subuenit in hac conculcatione, quod in <sup>12</sup> labem et opprobrium non male deueni. Deum oro, ut non illis in peccatum reputetur <sup>13</sup> occasio: <sup>14</sup> nam post annos triginta inuenerunt me, <sup>15</sup> aduersus verbum, quod confessus fueram <sup>16</sup> antequam essem Diaconus. Propter anxietatem mœsto animo insinuaui amicissimo meo, quæ in pueritia mea vna die gesseram, imo in vna hora, quia necdum præualebam. Nescio, Deus scit, si <sup>17</sup> habebam tunc annos' quindecim, et Deum <sup>18</sup> vnum non credebam <sup>19</sup> ab infantia mea: sed in morte et in incredulitate mansi, donec valde castigatus sum: et in veritate humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate; et quotidie contra <sup>20</sup> Hiberionem non sponte pergebam, donec prope deficiebam. Sed hoc potius <sup>21</sup> mihi bene' fuit: quia ex hoc emendatus sum a Domino, et aptauit me ut hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me erat, ut ego curas haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum, quando <sup>22</sup> etiam de me ipso non cogitabam. Igitur in illo die quo reprobatus sum a memoratis supradictis ad noctem illam,] <sup>23</sup> vidi in visu noctis' scriptum <sup>24</sup> erat contra faciem meam sine honore, et inter hæc audiui responsum <sup>25</sup> dicentem mihi: Male <sup>26</sup> audiuius faciem <sup>27</sup> designati, nudato nomine. Nec sic prædixit: Male vidisti; sed, Male vidimus: quasi <sup>28</sup> Sibi Se iunxisset'; sicut dixit: " Qui vos <sup>29</sup> tangit, <sup>30</sup> quasi qui' tangit pupillam oculi Mei<sup>t</sup>." Idcirco gratias ago Ei, Qui me in omnibus confortauit, ut

<sup>1</sup> nam quid, F<sub>3</sub>.B.; numquid, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>2</sup> om. B. <sup>3</sup> exprimi non potest, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; exprimere non possum, B. <sup>4</sup> Deus, C.; Dominus est, B.; D. a. est, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>5</sup> et Ipse, add. B.

<sup>6</sup> The passage in brackets, Et quando to noctem illam, is omitted by the Book of Armagh. It is given here (as are also the following passages of the same kind) from B., with various readings from C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>, in all of which four MSS. it and the like passages occur. <sup>7</sup> et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>8</sup> utque, C.; utique, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>9</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>10</sup> et, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>11</sup> mihi, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>12</sup> labe, C.; and m. erased in F<sub>1</sub>. In, add. before opprobrium, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> occasionum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>14</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>15</sup> et, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>16</sup> antequod, C. <sup>17</sup> habeam t. annis, C.; habeam t. annos, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> uiuum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> neque ex, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. And F<sub>1</sub> om. the second in. <sup>20</sup> Hiberione, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>21</sup> b. m., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; and F<sub>1</sub> has hæc for hoc. <sup>22</sup> autem tunc, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. (but autem erased in F<sub>3</sub>). <sup>23</sup> in u. n. uidi, B.; but vidi is not in their MS. <sup>24</sup> om. B.

<sup>25</sup> Diuinum dicentem, C.F<sub>1</sub>; Diuinum dicens, F<sub>3</sub> (on erasure). B. <sup>26</sup> uidimus, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27</sup> Dei signati, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>28</sup> ibi Se iunxit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>29</sup> tangit (bis), C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>30</sup> quasi, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; qui, B.

<sup>r</sup> Rom. viii. 26.

<sup>t</sup> I John ii. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Zech. ii. 8.

## [CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

non me <sup>1</sup>impediret a profectione <sup>2</sup>, qua statueram, et de <sup>3</sup>mea quoque <sup>4</sup>opera quod a Christo <sup>5</sup>Domino meo <sup>6</sup>dedideram: sed magis <sup>7</sup>ex eo<sup>7</sup> sensi virtutem non paruum: et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus. Unde autem <sup>8</sup>audenter dico, non me repræhendit conscientia mea <sup>9</sup>hic et in futurum, <sup>10</sup>teste Deo, ab eo<sup>7</sup> quia non sum mentitus in sermonibus quos <sup>11</sup>ego retuli <sup>12</sup>vobis. [<sup>13</sup>Sed magis <sup>14</sup>doleo pro amicissimo meo, cur <sup>15</sup>tale meruimus habere<sup>7</sup> responsum, cui <sup>16</sup>ego credidi etiam animam <sup>17</sup>meam. Et <sup>18</sup>comperit ab aliquantibus fratribus <sup>19</sup>meis ante defensionem illam, quod ego non interfui, nec in Britannijs eram, nec a me orietur, ut et ille in mea absentia <sup>20</sup>pulsetur pro me.<sup>7</sup> Ipse ore suo dixerat: Ecce <sup>21</sup>promouendus es tu ad gradum Episcopatus: quo non eram dignus: sed unde venit illi postmodum, ut coram cunctis bonis et malis <sup>22</sup>in me publice dehonestaret, quod ante sponte et lætus indulserat? <sup>23</sup>Est Dominus, Qui maior omnibus est. Satis dico: sed tamen <sup>24</sup>non debeo abscondere donum Dei, quod largitus est <sup>25</sup>in terra captiuitatis meæ; quia tunc fortiter inquisiui <sup>26</sup>Illum, et ibi inueni Eum, et seruauit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus, <sup>27</sup>propter inhabitantem Spiritum Elus <sup>28</sup>, Qui operatus est usque in <sup>29</sup>hunc diem in me <sup>30</sup>. <sup>31</sup>Nouit autem Dominus,<sup>7</sup> si <sup>32</sup>ab homine ista audissem,<sup>7</sup> forsitan tacuissem propter caritatem Christi. Unde <sup>33</sup>ego indefessam gratiam ago Deo meo, Qui me fidelem seruauit in die tentationis meæ; ita ut hodie <sup>34</sup>confidenter offeram Illi sacrificium, <sup>35</sup>et velut<sup>7</sup> hostiam viuentem animam meam <sup>36</sup>consecro Domino meo, Qui me seruauit ab omnibus angustijs meis; ut <sup>37</sup>Ei dicam: Quis ego sum, Domine, vel quæ est <sup>38</sup>inuocatio mea, Qui mihi tantam diuinitatem <sup>39</sup>denudasti: ita ut hodie <sup>40</sup>exaltarem et magnificarem nomen Tuum <sup>41</sup>in quocumque<sup>7</sup> loco fuero; <sup>42</sup>nec tantum<sup>7</sup> in secundis, sed etiam in pressuris; ut quidquid mihi euenerit, siue bonum siue malum,

<sup>1</sup> impenderet, C.F.<sub>1</sub>; impediret (on erasure), F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>2</sup> mea, add. B.; and quam for qua, F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>.B. <sup>3</sup> meo, F.<sub>2</sub> (on erasure). B. <sup>4</sup> opere, F.<sub>2</sub> (on erasure). B. <sup>5</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>.B. <sup>6</sup> didiceram, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>.B. <sup>7</sup> et ex eo in me, F.<sub>1</sub>; ex eo in me, F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>8</sup> om. B. <sup>9</sup> om. B. <sup>10</sup> testem Deum habeo, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>.B. <sup>11</sup> om. B. <sup>12</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>.B. <sup>13</sup> For the passage in brackets, from Sed magis to ultra est, here taken from B., see above, note 6, on p. 304. <sup>14</sup> deleo, F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>15</sup> hoc meruimus audire tale, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>16</sup> ergo, C. <sup>17</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>18</sup> comperi, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>19</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>20</sup> pro me pulsaret. Etiam mihi, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>21</sup> dandus, C.F.<sub>2</sub>; datus, F.<sub>1</sub>; and quod for quo in next line, F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>22</sup> et, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>23</sup> et, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>24</sup> om. F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>25</sup> nobis, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>26</sup> Eum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>; and Illum for Eum in next line, F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>27</sup> sic credo, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>28</sup> hanc, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>29</sup> audenter rursus, add. C.F.<sub>2</sub>; audienter rursus, add. F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>30</sup> sed scit Deus, C.F.<sub>2</sub>; sed sit D., F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>31</sup> mihi homo hoc effatus fuisset, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>32</sup> ergo, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>33</sup> confiteri, F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>34</sup> ut, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>35</sup> Christo, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>36</sup> et, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>37</sup> uocatio, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>38</sup> cooperuisti, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>. <sup>39</sup> in gentibus constanter exultarem, C.F.<sub>2</sub>; g. c. e., F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>40</sup> ubicumque, C.F.<sub>1</sub>. (and F.<sub>2</sub>, with a blank for loco). <sup>41</sup> necnon, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>a</sup> Rom. viii. 11, marg.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

æqualiter <sup>1</sup> debeam suscipere, et Deo gratias semper agere; Qui mihi ostendit ut indubitabilem Eum <sup>2</sup> crederem sine fine, et Qui me audierit: ut et ego <sup>3</sup> in nouissimis diebus hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum <sup>4</sup> auderem aggredi; ita ut <sup>5</sup> imitarer illos, quos <sup>6</sup> Dominus iam olim prædixerat <sup>7</sup> prænuntiaturus Euangelium Suum "in testimonium omnibus gentibus" ante finem mundi. Quod <sup>8</sup> sicut vidimus, <sup>9</sup> ita suppletum est. Ecce testes sumus, quia Euangelium prædicatum est usque ubi nemo ultra est.]

Longum est autem totum per singula <sup>10</sup> enarrare laborem meum vel per partes: breuiter dicam qualiter pi[i]ssimus Deus de seruitute sepe <sup>11</sup> liberauit, <sup>12</sup> et de periculis xij. quæ periclitata est anima mea; præter insidias multas, et quæ verbis exprimere non valeo, <sup>13</sup> nec iniuriam legentibus faciam. Sed <sup>14</sup> Deum auctorem <sup>15</sup>, Qui nouit omnia, etiam antequam fiant; [<sup>16</sup> Ut me pauperculum <sup>17</sup> et pusillum' responsum Diuinum <sup>18</sup> creberrime admoneret. Unde mihi hæc sapientia, quæ in me non erat, qui nec numerum dierum noueram, neque Deum sapiebam? Unde mihi postmodum <sup>19</sup> tam magnum <sup>20</sup> et salubre <sup>21</sup> donum Dei' agnoscere <sup>22</sup> et diligere, <sup>23</sup> ut patriam et parentes amitterem, et munera multa <sup>24</sup> quæ mihi offerebantur cum fletu et lacrymis? Et offendi <sup>25</sup> illic contra votum aliquantos de senioribus meis: sed gubernante Deo nullo modo consensi neque acquieui illis: non <sup>26</sup> ego, sed Dei gratia, quæ vicit' in me: et <sup>27</sup> restitit illis omnibus, <sup>28</sup> quatenus venirem' ad Hibernas gentes Euangelium prædicare, et ab incredulis <sup>29</sup> iniurias perferre, vt <sup>30</sup> audirem opprobrium peregrinationis meæ, et <sup>31</sup> persecutiones multas usque ad vincula, et ut darem <sup>32</sup> me et' ingenuitatem meam pro <sup>33</sup> utilitate aliorum. Et si dignus fuero, promptus sum, ut etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime <sup>34</sup> ponam pro nomine Eius: et <sup>35</sup> Illi opto impendere eam usque ad mortem, si Dominus

<sup>1</sup> debeo, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>2</sup> s. f. c., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>3</sup> inscius sim, add. C.F<sub>3</sub>; inscius, add. F<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>4</sup> adire aggredere, C.; a. aggredere, F<sub>3</sub>; audire aggredere, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>5</sup> imitarem quispiam, C.F<sub>1</sub>; imitarer quospiam, B.; i. q. illos (on erasure), F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>6</sup> ante, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>7</sup> prænuntiaturus, C.; prænuntiaturum, F<sub>1</sub>; prænuntius, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>8</sup> ita ergo ut, C.F<sub>3</sub>; ita ergo, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>9</sup> itaque, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>10</sup> narrare, B. <sup>11</sup> me, add. B., but not in their MS. <sup>12</sup> ex duodecim periculis, C.B.; e. d. p. quibus, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> nec et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; ne, B. <sup>14</sup> Dum, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; Dominum, B. <sup>15</sup> habeo, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>16</sup> For the passage in brackets, from Ut me pauperculum down to indulgeret, here taken from B., see above in note 6, on p. 304. <sup>17</sup> pupillum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; and add. ideo tamen, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> creberrime admonuit, C.F<sub>3</sub>; creber admoneret, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>19</sup> donum, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>20</sup> om. C.; tam, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>21</sup> Deum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>22</sup> uel, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>23</sup> sed, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>24</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>, and MS. of B. <sup>25</sup> illos, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; et aliquantis in next line, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>26</sup> mea gratia, sed Deus Qui vincit, C.F<sub>1</sub>; m. g., sed D. Q. vicit, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27</sup> restitit, C.F<sub>3</sub>; resistit, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>28</sup> ut ego ueneram, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>29</sup> contumelias, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>30</sup> aurem, C.; haurirem, F<sub>1</sub>. (and on an erasure) F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>31</sup> persecutionis, C. <sup>32</sup> om. C.F<sub>3</sub>; me, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>33</sup> utilitatem, C. <sup>34</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>, and MS. of B. <sup>35</sup> ibi, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.

x Matt. xxiv. 14.

## [CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

<sup>1</sup> indulgeret.] Quia valde debitor sum Deo, Qui mihi tantam gratiam donauit, ut populi multi per me in <sup>2</sup> Deum renascantur, <sup>3</sup> et ut clerici ubique <sup>4</sup> illis ordinarentur, ad plebem nuper <sup>5</sup> venientem ad credulitatem, quam sumpsit Dominus ab extremis terræ; <sup>6</sup> sicut olim promisserat per profetas Suos: “Sicut falso comparauerunt patres nostri idola, et non est in eis utilitas.”—“Ad Te gentes veniunt et dicent v.” Et iterum: “Posui Te <sup>7</sup> lumen in gentibus ut sis <sup>8</sup> in salutem usque ad <sup>9</sup> extremum terræ.” Et ibi volo expectare promissum Ipsius, Qui <sup>10</sup> usque numquam fallit, sicut in Æuangelio pollicetur: “Venient ab Oriente et Occidente <sup>11</sup> ab Austro et ab Aquilone, et recumbent cum Abraam et Issac et Iacob a;” sicut credimus ab omni mundo venturi <sup>12</sup> sint credentes. Idcirco <sup>13</sup> itaque oportet <sup>14</sup> bene et diligenter <sup>15</sup> piscare, sicut Dominus præmonet <sup>16</sup> et docet, dicens: “Venite post Me, <sup>17</sup> et faciam vos <sup>18</sup> fieri piscatores hominum b.” Et iterum <sup>19</sup>: “Ecce <sup>20</sup> mitto pisces et venatores multos, dicit Deus c;” et cætera. Unde <sup>21</sup> autem valde oportebat retia nostra tendere, ita vt multitudo copiosa et turba Deo caperetur: <sup>22</sup> et ubique essent clerici, qui baptizarent et <sup>23</sup> exhortarent populum <sup>24</sup> indigentem et desiderantem; sicut Dominus <sup>25</sup> in Æuangelio <sup>26</sup> ammonet et docet dicens: “Euntes ergo <sup>27</sup> nunc docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti;” <sup>28</sup> reliqua usque dicit, “sæcli d.” Et iterum <sup>29</sup>: “Euntes <sup>30</sup> ergo in mundum uniuersum prædicite Æuangelium omni creaturæ; qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit; <sup>31</sup> qui uero non crediderit, condemnabitur e.” <sup>32</sup> Reliqua sunt exempla.

<sup>1</sup> mihi, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>2</sup> Deum renascantur, C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>; Domino r., B. <sup>3</sup> et postmodum consummarentur, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>4</sup> Illis, F<sub>1</sub>; Illi, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>5</sup> ueniente, C. <sup>6</sup> sicut olim promiserat per prophetas Suos ad gentes uenient ab extremis terræ; et dicent, Sicut falsa comparauerunt [comparauerunt, F<sub>3</sub>; and F<sub>1</sub>, adds et] patres nostri idola, et non est utilitas in eis, C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>; B. (om. from sicut olim to terræ by an homæoteleuton, and then reads), et dicent, Sicut falsa comparauerunt p. n. sibi idola, et n. e. u. in eis. <sup>7</sup> in lucem, B. <sup>8</sup> salus Mea, B.; and et sis, just before, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>9</sup> ultimum, C.B.; and aspectare, in next line, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>10</sup> utique, C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>11</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>. (B. om. ab A. et ab A.). <sup>12</sup> sunt c., C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>; om. B. <sup>13</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>14</sup> quidem, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>15</sup> piscari, B. and F<sub>3</sub> (on erasure). <sup>16</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>17</sup> om. B. <sup>18</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> dicit per prophetas, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>20</sup> Ego, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B.; and peccatores, F<sub>1</sub>; and dicit Dominus, F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>21</sup> a. v. oportebatur, C.F<sub>1</sub>; a. v. oportebat, F<sub>3</sub>; oportuit ualde, B. <sup>22</sup> ut, C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>23</sup> exhortarentur, F<sub>3</sub>; exhortarentur, B. <sup>24</sup> indigentem, C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>25</sup> inquit, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>B. <sup>26</sup> admonens et, B. <sup>27</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B.; and F<sub>1</sub>. has ego for ergo. <sup>28</sup> docentes eos seruare [observare, F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>] omnia quæcunque mandavi uobis: et ecce Ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi, C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>; so also B., but with dixero for mandavi. The passage is one of those which indicate that the Armagh copy is abridged. <sup>29</sup> dicit, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>30</sup> om. C.B. <sup>31</sup> om. B. <sup>32</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>3</sub>B. The exempla are obviously those which follow in the text, but are omitted in the Book of Armagh: a further passage to prove this last to be abridged.

y Jerem. xvi. 19.

z Acts xiii. 47.

a Matt. viii. 11.

b Matt. iv. 19.

c Jerem. xvi. 16.

d Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

e Mark xvi. 15, 16.



[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

<sup>1</sup> [Et “prædicabitur hoc Euangelium regni in uniuerso mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus; et tunc veniet finis<sup>f</sup>.” Et iterum Domini Propheta prænuntians, inquit: “Et erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu Meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filij vestri et filia vestra<sup>g</sup>, et seniores vestri somnia somniabunt: et quidem super seruos Meos et ancillas Meas in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu Meo et prophetabunt<sup>g</sup>.” Et <sup>5</sup> Osee dicit: “Vocabo non-plebem Meam <sup>6</sup>plebem Meam’, et non-misericordiam-consecutam <sup>6</sup>misericordiam-consecutam’. Et erit in loco ubi dictum est: Non plebs Mea vos; ibi vocabuntur filij Dei viui<sup>h</sup>.”] Unde autem <sup>7</sup>Hiberione, qui numquam notitiam [Dei] <sup>8</sup>habuerunt, <sup>9</sup>nissi idola <sup>10</sup>et immunda vsque <sup>11</sup>semper coluerunt, quomodo nuper <sup>12</sup>facta est plebs Domini, et filij Dei <sup>13</sup>nuncupantur filij <sup>14</sup>sanctorum, et filia Regulorum monachi <sup>15</sup>et virgines Christi <sup>16</sup>esse videntur. <sup>17</sup> [Et etiam una <sup>18</sup>Scotta benedicta’, nobilis, pulcherrima, <sup>19</sup>adulta erat, quam ego baptizau: et post paucos dies vna caussa venit ad nos: insinuauit <sup>20</sup>namque nobis responsum accepisse a <sup>21</sup>nuntio Dei, <sup>22</sup>qui monuit <sup>23</sup>eam ut permaneret’ virgo Christi, et <sup>24</sup>sic Deo proximaret. Deo gratias, sexta ab hac die optime et audissime arripuit illud, quod etiam omnes virgines Dei <sup>25</sup>similiter faciunt; non <sup>26</sup>voluntate patrum suorum’; <sup>27</sup>imo <sup>28</sup>persecutiones patiuntur et inproperia falsa a parentibus suis, et nihilo-minus plus augetur numerus: et de genere nostro <sup>29</sup>quæ ibi <sup>30</sup>Christo <sup>31</sup>natae sunt, nescimus numerum <sup>32</sup>earum, præter viduas et continentes. Sed et <sup>33</sup>illæ maxime laborant, quæ seruitio detinentur: usque ad terrores et minas assidue <sup>34</sup>perferunt: sed Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancillis <sup>35</sup>Suis: nam <sup>36</sup>etsi vetantur’, tamen fortiter imitantur. Unde autem <sup>37</sup>possem etsi voluero <sup>38</sup>dimittere

<sup>1</sup> For the passage between brackets, Et to Dei Uiu, here taken from B., see above in note 6, on p. 304. Et iterum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>2</sup> Item Dominus per prophetam prenuntians, C.F.<sub>3</sub>.; item Dominus per prophetam prenuntiat, F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>3</sup> Et filij uestri uisiones uidebunt, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>4</sup> super, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>5</sup> in, add. C.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>6</sup> om. C. <sup>7</sup> Hiberionæ, B. <sup>8</sup> habuerant, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B.; and add before it, Dei. <sup>9</sup> nec, add. B. <sup>10</sup> om. B. <sup>11</sup> nunc, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. <sup>12</sup> perfecta, F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.; effecta, B. <sup>13</sup> nuncupantur, B. <sup>14</sup> Scottorum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.B. (and begin the sentence at the second Fili). The word stands thus in the Book of Armagh—scorum. <sup>15</sup> om. F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>16</sup> ipse, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>17</sup> For the passage between brackets, from Et etiam to pro animabus uestris (p. 311), here taken from B., see above, note 6, p. 304. <sup>18</sup> b. S., gentiua, C.; b. S., gentiua, F.<sub>1</sub>.; b. S. genetiua, F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> adultera, F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>20</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>21</sup> nutu, C.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>22</sup> et, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>23</sup> etiam ut esset, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.; and F.<sub>1</sub>. om. Christi. <sup>24</sup> ipsa, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>25</sup> ita hoc, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>26</sup> sponte p. earum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27</sup> sed, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.; sed et, F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>28</sup> persecutionem patiuntur, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>29</sup> qui, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>30</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.; and MS. of B. <sup>31</sup> nati, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>32</sup> eorum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>33</sup> illa (corrected), F.<sub>3</sub>.; illas, C.F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>34</sup> persuaserunt, C.F.<sub>3</sub>.; perseuerant, F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>35</sup> meis, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>36</sup> et siue tantum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>37</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.; and MS. of B. <sup>38</sup> amittere, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>f</sup> Matt. xxiv. 14.<sup>g</sup> Joel ii. 28.<sup>h</sup> Hosea i. 10, ii. 23.



illas, et <sup>1</sup>pergere in <sup>2</sup>Britannias; <sup>3</sup>etsi libentissime paratus <sup>4</sup>irem, quasi ad patriam et parentes: <sup>5</sup>et non id solum, sed etiam usque <sup>6</sup>ad Gallias <sup>7</sup>visitarem fratres <sup>8</sup>meos, ut viderem faciem Sanctorum Domini mei: scit Dominus quod ego <sup>9</sup>id valde optabam. Sed <sup>10</sup>illigatus Spiritu <sup>i</sup> (Qui mihi protestatur, si hoc fecero, <sup>11</sup>et reum futurum' esse designat) <sup>12</sup>timeo <sup>13</sup>perdere laborem, quem inchoavi; et non ego, sed Christus Dominus, Qui <sup>14</sup>mihi imperavit ut venirem, <sup>15</sup>essemque cum illis' residuum ætatis meæ; si Dominus voluerit et custodierit me ab omni <sup>16</sup>macula, vt non peccem coram Illo. <sup>17</sup>Sperare autem hoc debueram: sed memetipsum non credo, quamdiu fuero in "hoc corpore mortis <sup>k</sup>:" quia fortis est qui quotidie nititur <sup>18</sup>me subuertere' a fide et proposita castitate religionis non fictæ, <sup>19</sup>quam seruabo' usque in finem vitæ meæ Christo <sup>20</sup>Domino meo: sed caro inimica semper <sup>21</sup>adtrahit ad mortem, id est, ad illecebras <sup>22</sup>in infelicitate perfruendas'. Et scio ex parte <sup>23</sup>quod ego' vitam perfectam <sup>24</sup>non didici', sicut et ceteri credentes: sed confiteor Domino meo, et non erubesco in <sup>25</sup>conspectu Eius', quia non mentior: ex quo cognoui Eum <sup>26</sup>in iuuentute mea, creuit in me amor Dei et timor Ipsius, et vsque nunc, fauente Domino, "fidem seruavi<sup>l</sup>." Rideat autem et insultet qui voluerit, ego non silebo neque <sup>27</sup>abscondam signa et mirabilia, <sup>28</sup>quæ mihi a Domino <sup>29</sup>monstrata sunt ante multos annos quam <sup>30</sup>fierent, quasi Qui "nouit omnia etiam ante tempora secularia <sup>m</sup>." Unde <sup>31</sup>ego quidem debueram' sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, Qui sæpe indulsit insipientiæ meæ <sup>32</sup>et negligentiae meæ; . . . et de loco non in unoquoque, ut non mihi vehementer irascetur, <sup>33</sup>cui adiutor datus sum, et non cito acquieui, secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat, et <sup>34</sup>Spiritus nihilominus' suggerebat. Et misertus est mihi Dominus in millia millium: quia vidit in me quod paratus eram; sed quod <sup>35</sup>nihilo

<sup>1</sup> ut pergens, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>2</sup> Britanniiis, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>3</sup> Et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>4</sup> eram, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>5</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>6</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>7</sup> uisitare, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>8</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; and F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. add.  
et.      <sup>9</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B.      <sup>10</sup> alligatus, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>11</sup> ut futurum rerum me, C.;  
u. f. reum me, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>12</sup> et, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>13</sup> pendere, C.      <sup>14</sup> me, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>15</sup> esse  
cum illis, C.; esse meum illis, F<sub>1</sub>.; esse mecum illis, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure).      <sup>16</sup> uia mala, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>17</sup> Spero, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; and memetipso, F<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>18</sup> s. me, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; and preposita, F<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>19</sup> om.  
C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B.      <sup>20</sup> Deo, F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>21</sup> trahit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>22</sup> illicite perfricias, C.F<sub>3</sub>.;      <sup>23</sup> om.  
inlicitate perfricias, F<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>24</sup> quare, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>25</sup> ego non egi, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>26</sup> c. Ipsius, C.F<sub>3</sub>.;      <sup>27</sup> om.  
inspectu Ipsius, F<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>28</sup> a, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>29</sup> abscondo, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>30</sup> quem, F<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>31</sup> mini-  
strata, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>32</sup> fuerant, C.F<sub>3</sub>.; fuerunt, F<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>33</sup> autem debuero, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>34</sup> om.  
C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>35</sup> qui, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>36</sup> And irascetur, C.      <sup>37</sup> sicut Spiritus, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>38</sup> mihi pro  
his nesciebam de s. m., C.F<sub>3</sub>.; mihi pro his nesciebam detestatu, F<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>l</sup> Acts xx. 22.<sup>k</sup> Rom. vii. 24, marg.<sup>m</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 7.<sup>n</sup> See Acts xv. 18.

[PROFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

plus sciebam de statu' meo quid facerem: quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant, <sup>1</sup>et quidam' inter <sup>2</sup>ipsos post tergum meum narrabant et dicebant: Iste quare se mittit in periculum inter hostes, qui Deum non nouerunt? Non <sup>3</sup>causa malitiæ; sed non sapiebat illis, sicut et ego ipse testor, <sup>4</sup>iter illud', propter rusticitatem meam. Et non cito agnoui gratiam, quæ tunc erat in me: nunc mihi <sup>5</sup>sapit, quod ante debueram <sup>6</sup>vocanti Deo parere'. Nunc ergo simpliciter insinuaui fratribus et conseruis meis, qui mihi crediderunt: propter quod prædixi et prædico ad roborandam <sup>7</sup>fidem vestram. <sup>8</sup>Utinam et vos imitemini maiora, et potiora faciatis. <sup>9</sup>Hæc erit gloria mea: quia "filius sapiens gloria patris est n." Vos scitis et Deus qualiter <sup>10</sup>conuersatus sum inter vos' a iuuentute mea; <sup>11</sup>in fide veritatis et <sup>12</sup>sinceritate cordis, etiam ad gentes illas, inter quas habito; ego fidem illis <sup>13</sup>præstiti et præstabo. Deus scit, neminem illorum circumueni, nec cogito, propter Deum et Ecclesiam Ipsius; ne excitem illis et <sup>14</sup>vobis omnibus persecutionem, et ne per me <sup>15</sup>blasphemetur nomen Domini: quia scriptum est: "Væ homini per quem nomen Domini blasphematur o." Nam etsi imperitus sum <sup>16</sup>in omnibus', tamen conatus sum quidpiam seruare me, etiam <sup>17</sup>fratribus Christianis et virginibus Christi, et mulieribus religiosis, quæ mihi vltronea munuscula donabant, et super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis, et iterum <sup>18</sup>reddebam illis; et aduersus me scandalizabantur cur <sup>19</sup>hoc faciebam: sed ego <sup>20</sup>id faciebam' propter spem perennitatis, vt me in omnibus caute <sup>21</sup>possem conseruare'; ita ut me in aliquo titulo <sup>22</sup>infideles non carperent', vel <sup>23</sup>etiam ministerium seruitutis meæ: nec, etiam in <sup>24</sup>minimis, incredulis locum darem infamare siue detrectare <sup>25</sup>me paratis'. Forte autem quando baptizauī tot millia hominum, sperauerim ab aliquo illorum vel <sup>26</sup>dimidium scriptulum'? Dicite mihi, et reddam vobis p. <sup>27</sup>An quando ordinauit ubique Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam, <sup>28</sup>numquid ministerium gratis distribui illis? Si

<sup>17</sup> et iam, C.F.<sub>3</sub>; etiam jam, F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>2</sup> seipsos, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>3</sup> ut, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>47</sup> intellegi, C.; intelligi, F.<sub>3</sub>, and MS. of B.; intellexi, F.<sub>1</sub>; and F.<sub>1</sub> has testator. <sup>5</sup> capit, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>67</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>, and MS. of B. <sup>7</sup> et confirmandam, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>8</sup> Ut, C.; Utinam ut, F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>9</sup> Hoc, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>107</sup> apud uos c. sum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>11</sup> et, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>12</sup> in, add. F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> præstauī, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>14</sup> nobis, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>15</sup> blasphemaretur, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>167</sup> nominibus, C.F.<sub>1</sub>, and MS. of B. <sup>17</sup> et, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> reddebant, F.<sub>1</sub>, and aduersum, F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> ego, C.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>207</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>, and MS. of B. <sup>21</sup> propterea conseruare, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>227</sup> infideli caperent, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>; and MS. of B. om. non. <sup>23</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>24</sup> minimo, F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>257</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>, and MS. of B. <sup>267</sup> dimedio scriptule, C.F.<sub>1</sub>; dimidium scriptule, F.<sub>3</sub>. The *screapall* was an ancient Irish coin, value about 3d. <sup>27</sup> Aut, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>28</sup> Add. B.; et, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>n</sup> Prov. x. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Levit. xxiv. 16.

<sup>p</sup> 1 Sam. xii. 3.

poposci ab aliquo illorum vel pretium <sup>1</sup>calceamenti mei, dicite <sup>2</sup>mihi; et reddam vobis <sup>3</sup>magis. Ego impendi <sup>4</sup>vobis, vt me <sup>5</sup>caperent; et inter vos et ubique pergebam caussa vestra in multis periculis, etiam usque ad exterar partes, ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat, qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret, aut populum <sup>6</sup>in fide confirmaret: donante Domino, diligenter <sup>7</sup>ac libentissime pro salute vestra omnia <sup>8</sup>gessi. <sup>9</sup>Interea præmia <sup>10</sup>Regibus dabam; præter quod mercedem dabam' filijs ipsorum, qui mecum ambulant: et <sup>11</sup>nihilominus comprehenderunt me <sup>12</sup>nunc cum comitibus <sup>13</sup>meis, vt in' illa die audidissime <sup>14</sup>interficerent me. Sed tempus nondum venerat. Et omnia quæcumque <sup>15</sup>habebamus nobiscum' rapuerunt <sup>16</sup>, et <sup>17</sup>meipsum ferro vinxerunt. Et quarto decimo die absoluit me Dominus <sup>18</sup>a potestate eorum, et quidquid nostrum fuit, redditum est nobis propter Deum et necessarios amicos, quos ante <sup>19</sup>prouidimus. Vos autem experti estis <sup>20</sup>quanta erogaueram eis', qui <sup>21</sup>indigebant per omnes regiones, <sup>22</sup>quas ego frequentius visitabam: censeo enim non <sup>23</sup>minus quam pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis. Ita, ut me fruamini et ego vobis semper fruar in <sup>24</sup>Domino (<sup>25</sup>nec me poenitet nec satis est mihi) adhuc impendo et superimpendam: potens est <sup>26</sup>enim Dominus vt det mihi postmodum, ut meipsum <sup>27</sup>impendam ac superimpendam' pro animabus vestris.] Ecce testem Deum inuoco in animam meam, quia non mentior, <sup>28</sup>neque, ut <sup>29</sup>sit <sup>30</sup>occassio <sup>31</sup>vobis, neque ut honorem <sup>32</sup>spero <sup>33</sup>ab aliquo viro': sufficit enim <sup>34</sup>honor, qui <sup>35</sup>non <sup>36</sup>mentitur. Sed video iam in præsentī sæculo me supra modum <sup>37</sup>exaltatus sum' a Domino; et non eram dignus neque talis ut <sup>38</sup>hoc mihi' præstaret: dum scio <sup>39</sup>melius conuenit' paupertas et calamitas quam <sup>40</sup>diuitiæ et diliciæ'. Sed et Christus Dominus

<sup>1</sup> uel, *add.* C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>2</sup> aduersus me, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>3</sup> pro, *add.* F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>4</sup> caperet, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>5</sup> consummaret, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>6</sup> et, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>7</sup> generaui, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; generari, F.<sub>1</sub>. <sup>8</sup> Interim, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>9</sup> d. R. propter quod d. m., C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>10</sup> nihil, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>11</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>12</sup> meis. Et, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> cupiebam interficere, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>14</sup> nobiscum inuenerunt, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; and MS. of B. om. habebamus. <sup>15</sup> illud, *add.* C.F.<sub>1</sub>; illa, *add.* F.<sub>3</sub> (on erasure). <sup>16</sup> me, C.; meipso, F.<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>17</sup> de, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> prouidimus, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> quantum ego erogavi illis, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>20</sup> indicabant, C.; iudicabant, F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub> and MS. of B. (The Brehon judges, probably.) <sup>21</sup> quos, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>22</sup> minimum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. (and F.<sub>3</sub> has an erasure for quam). <sup>23</sup> Deum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>24</sup> Non, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>25</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>26</sup> impendat, C.F.<sub>1</sub>; impendam, F.<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27</sup> quod, *add.* B. (not in their MS.).  
<sup>28</sup> fit, B. <sup>29</sup> causa, B. <sup>30</sup> adulationis uel auaritie, scripserim, *add.* C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>31</sup> sperare, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; serare, F.<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>32</sup> uestrum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>33</sup> mihi, *add.* F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>34</sup> nondum, F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B. <sup>35</sup> uidetur sed corde creditur. <sup>36</sup> Fidelis autem Qui promisit, nunquam, *add.* C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>B.  
<sup>37</sup> exultatum, C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; exaltatum, B. <sup>38</sup> m. h., B. <sup>39</sup> certissime quod mihi m. c., C.F.<sub>1</sub>F.<sub>3</sub>; certissime quod mihi c. m., B. <sup>39</sup> dilitias et diuitias, C.F.<sub>1</sub>; deliciæ et diuitiæ, F.<sub>3</sub>B.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

<sup>1</sup> pauper fuit pro nobis<sup>4</sup>. Ego <sup>2</sup> vero miser et infelix, etsi opes voluero, iam non habeo, neque meipsum <sup>3</sup> iudico: quia quotidie <sup>4</sup> spero aut internicionem, aut circumueniri, aut redigi in seruitutem, sive <sup>5</sup> occasio cuiuslibet. <sup>6</sup> [Sed nihil horum vereor propter promissa cælorum: quia iactaui meipsum in manus Dei omnipotentis, <sup>7</sup> Qui vbique dominatur, sicut Propheta ait: "Iacta cogitatum tuum in <sup>8</sup> Dominum, et Ipse te enutriet<sup>t</sup>." Ecce <sup>9</sup> ego commendo<sup>r</sup> animam meam fidelissimo Deo meo, pro Quo <sup>10</sup> legatione fungor in ignobilitate mea: sed quia personam non accipit, et elegit me ad hoc officium, ut unus essem de Suis <sup>11</sup> minimus minister. "Unde autem retribuam Illi pro omnibus quæ <sup>12</sup> retribuit mihi<sup>u</sup>," <sup>13</sup> seu quid dicam <sup>14</sup> aut quid promittam Domino meo? Quia nihil <sup>15</sup> valeo nisi Ipse mihi dederit: sed <sup>16</sup> scrutatur corda et renes<sup>x</sup>; quia satis et nimis cupio, et paratus eram, ut donaret mihi bibere calicem<sup>17</sup>, sicut indulsit <sup>18</sup> et ceteris amantibus Sc. <sup>19</sup> Quapropter non <sup>20</sup> contingat mihi a Domino meo ut <sup>21</sup> unquam amittam plebem <sup>22</sup> Suam, quam acquisiuit in ultimis terræ. <sup>23</sup> Oro ergo<sup>r</sup> Deum ut <sup>24</sup> mihi det<sup>r</sup> perseuerantiam, et dignetur ut reddam Illi <sup>25</sup> me testem fidelem usque ad transitum meum propter Deum meum. Et, si aliquid boni <sup>26</sup> imitatus sum unquam<sup>r</sup> propter Deum meum Quem diligo, peto <sup>27</sup> Illi, <sup>28</sup> ut det mihi <sup>29</sup> quatenus cum illis proselytis et captiuis pro nomine Suo effundam sanguinem meum, etsi <sup>30</sup> ipsa etiam caream <sup>31</sup> sepultura, <sup>32</sup> et <sup>33</sup> miserrime cadauer per singula <sup>34</sup> diuidatur; <sup>35</sup> auibis, canibus, aut bestiis <sup>36</sup> ac feris proijciatur, vt comedant<sup>r</sup> illud. Certissime <sup>37</sup> enim reor, si mihi hoc <sup>38</sup> curæ sit<sup>r</sup>, lucratus sum animam <sup>39</sup> in corpore meo: quia <sup>40</sup> nulla dubitatione in <sup>41</sup> illa die<sup>r</sup> resurgemus in claritate solis, hoc est in gloria. <sup>42</sup> Iesu Christi redempti omnes erimus<sup>r</sup> quasi <sup>43</sup> filij Dei<sup>r</sup> <sup>44</sup> et cohæredes Christi, et conformes

<sup>1</sup> pro nobis p. f., B. <sup>2</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; and opus, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>3</sup> dignum, add. B. (not in their MS.).  
<sup>4</sup> sperno, C.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>5</sup> occasionem, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure); occasione, B. <sup>6</sup> For the passage in brackets, from Sed nihil to prius evaseram, here taken from B., see above, in note 6, on p. 304.  
<sup>7</sup> quia, C.F<sub>1</sub>; and dicit, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>8</sup> Deum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>9</sup> nunc c., C.F<sub>1</sub>; c. nunc, F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>10</sup> legationem, C. <sup>11</sup> minimis, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>12</sup> retribuât, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> sed, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>14</sup> uel, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>15</sup> uideo, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>16</sup> scrutabor, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>17</sup> Eius, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> Quia  
propter, C.; Quia, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>20</sup> contingunt, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; and Deo, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>21</sup> nunquam, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>22</sup> meam, C. <sup>23</sup> oro, C.F<sub>3</sub>; ora, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>24</sup> d. m., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>25</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B.  
<sup>26</sup> unquam i. [imitatus, F<sub>1</sub>.] s., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27</sup> Illum, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>28</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>29</sup> ut, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>30</sup> ipsum, C.; ipsam, F<sub>1</sub>; ipse, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure). <sup>31</sup> sepulturam, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>32</sup> aut, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>33</sup> miserissime, C.; miserrissime, F<sub>1</sub>; miserrime, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure). <sup>34</sup> membra, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>35</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>36</sup> aspersis, aut uolucres cœli comederent, C.: a. a. u. c. comederunt, F<sub>1</sub>;  
a. a. u. c. comederint, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>37</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>38</sup> incurrisset, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>39</sup> cum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>40</sup> sine ulla, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>41</sup> d. i., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>42</sup> Christi Jesu Redemptoris nostri, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>43</sup> filium, C. <sup>44</sup> uiui, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 9.<sup>x</sup> Ps. vii. 9.<sup>t</sup> Ps. lv. 22.<sup>y</sup> Rom. viii. 17, 29.<sup>u</sup> Ps. cxvi. 12.

## [CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

<sup>1</sup> creaturæ imaginis ipsius: <sup>2</sup> quoniam ex Ipso, et per Ipsum, et in Ipso sunt omnia: Ipsi gloria in secula seculorum, Amen. In Illo enim regnaturi sumus'. Nam sol iste quem videmus, <sup>3</sup> Illo iubente, propter nos quotidie oritur, sed numquam regnabit <sup>4</sup> neque permanebit splendor eius: sed et omnes qui adorant eum in pœnam miseri male deuenient. Nos autem <sup>5</sup> qui credimus et adoramus solem verum <sup>6</sup> Iesum Christum, Qui numquam interibit; neque qui fecerit voluntatem <sup>7</sup> Suam <sup>8</sup> interibit sed manebit in æternum, <sup>9</sup> quomodo Christus <sup>10</sup> manet in æternum, Qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et <sup>11</sup> Spiritu Sancto ante secula, et nunc et per omnia secula seculorum, Amen. Ecce iterum <sup>12</sup> atque iterum' breuiter exponam verba Confessionis meæ. Testificor in veritate et in exultatione <sup>13</sup> coram Deo et sanctis angelis Eius, <sup>14</sup> quia numquam habui <sup>15</sup> ullam occasionem præter Euangelium et promissa Illius, ut unquam <sup>16</sup> redirem ad gentem' illam, unde <sup>17</sup> prius <sup>18</sup> euaseram.] Sed præcor credentibus <sup>19</sup> et timentibus Deum, quicumque dignatus fuerit inspicere vel recipere hanc scripturam, quam <sup>20</sup> Patricius peccator', indoctus scilicet, Hiberione <sup>21</sup> conscripsit; ut nemo umquam dicat, quod <sup>22</sup> mea ignorantia' si aliquid pussillum <sup>23</sup> egi vel demonstrauerim secundum <sup>24</sup>: sed arbitramini <sup>25</sup> et uerissime <sup>26</sup> credatur, quod <sup>27</sup> donum Dei' fuisset. Et hæc est confessio mea antequam moriar.

<sup>28</sup> Huc usque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua: septima decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad caelos'.

<sup>1</sup> future, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>2'</sup> C.F<sub>3</sub>. *om. from sunt to enim*; F<sub>1</sub>. *om. from quoniam to sumus*.  
<sup>3</sup> Deo, F<sub>3</sub>.; *om.* C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>4</sup> et, *add.* C.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>5</sup> *om.* F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>6</sup> *om.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>7</sup> Ipsius, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; *and just before, fecerat*, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>8</sup> *om.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. *and MS. of B.* <sup>9</sup> quomodo et, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. (C. *om.* quomodo—æternum.) <sup>10</sup> manebit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.; *permanebit*, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>11</sup> cum, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>12'</sup> iterumque, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> cordis, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>14</sup> qui, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>15</sup> aliquam, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>16'</sup> redderem agentem, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>17</sup> autem, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> vix, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> ac, B.  
<sup>20</sup> peccator P., B. <sup>21</sup> conscripsi, B. <sup>22'</sup> m. ignorantia, F<sub>1</sub>.; *meæ ignorantia fuerit*, B. (*but fuerit not in their MS.*). <sup>23</sup> ego, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>24</sup> Dei placitum, *add.* C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; p. D., *add.* B. *Marked as doubtful in margin of Book of Armagh.* <sup>25</sup> ac, B. <sup>26</sup> creditur, F<sub>1</sub>.; credatis, B. <sup>27'</sup> Dei, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.; Deus, B. <sup>28'</sup> Added by the same hand at the end of the *Confessio* in the Book of Armagh.



[EPISTOLA S. PATRICII AD COROTICI SUBDITOS.]

[*Shortly before A.D. 493 (?)*.]

## EPISTOLA S. PATRICII

AD CHRISTIANOS COROTICI TYRANNI SUBDITOS.<sup>1</sup>

1. Patricius peccator indoctus<sup>2</sup>, Hiberione<sup>3</sup> constitutus<sup>4</sup> Episcopus, certissime reor, a Deo accepi id quod sum: inter<sup>5</sup> barbaras<sup>6</sup> utique<sup>7</sup> gentes proselytus et profuga, ob amorem Dei. Testis<sup>8</sup> Ille est, si ita est. Non quod optabam tam dure et tam aspere aliquid<sup>9</sup> ex ore meo effundere: sed cogor zelo Dei<sup>10</sup> ac veritatis Christi<sup>11</sup> excitatus, pro dilectione proximorum atque filiorum, pro quibus tradidi patriam et parentes et animam meam, <sup>12</sup> quia usque ad mortem si <sup>13</sup> dignus sum, <sup>14</sup> vovi Deo meo docere gentes, etsi <sup>15</sup> nunc condemnari a quibusdam. <sup>16</sup> Et manu mea scripsi atque condidi verba ista danda <sup>17</sup> ac tradenda militibus mittenda Corotici, non dico ciuibus meis <sup>18</sup> atque ciuibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed ciuibus dæmoniorum ob mala opera ipsorum, <sup>19</sup> qui Barbarorum<sup>20</sup> ritu hostili in morte viuunt; socij Scotorum atque Pictorum apostatarum, <sup>20</sup> quasi sanguine volentes saginari<sup>21</sup> innocentem Christianorum, quos ego <sup>21</sup> innumeros Deo genui atque in Christo confirmaui.

2. Postera die qua <sup>22</sup> chrismati neophyti in veste candida, <sup>23</sup> dum fides flagrabat<sup>24</sup> in fronte ipsorum, <sup>24</sup> crudeliter trucidati atque mactati <sup>25</sup> sunt gladio, supradictis <sup>26</sup> misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero, <sup>27</sup> quem ego ex infantia docui, cum clericis, ut nobis aliquid <sup>28</sup> indulgeretur de præda vel de captiuis baptizatis quos <sup>29</sup> ceperunt: <sup>30</sup> sed cachinnos fecerunt de illis. Idcirco nescio <sup>31</sup> quid magis lugeam<sup>32</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> The text is taken from the Actt. SS., March 17, vol. ii. (B.); with various readings from Cotton MS. Nero E. i. (C.), and from Fell MSS., vols. i. and iii. (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>3</sub>). The title above given is added by the Bollandists. In C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. the tract is introduced with merely, *Explicit liber primus, Incipit secundus*. It has been printed with the *Confessio*, as above in note <sup>a</sup>, p. 296. Coroticus probably = Ceredig, (the Christian) Prince of Ceredigion or Cardigan. <sup>2</sup> scilicet, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>3</sup> constitutum, F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>4</sup> Episcopum me esse fateor, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>5</sup> barbaros, F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>6</sup> itaque, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>7</sup> habito, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>8</sup> e. I., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>9</sup> et, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>10</sup> et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>11</sup> excitavit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.; excitavit me, F<sub>2</sub>. (interlined). <sup>12</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>13</sup> dignum suum, C.; dignum sum, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>14</sup> noui, C.; uiuo, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>15</sup> contempnor a quibus, C.; contempnor a quibus, F<sub>1</sub>.; contempnor quibus, F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>16</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>17</sup> et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>18</sup> neque, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>19</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>20</sup> que sanguinolentos (sanguulentos, C.) sanguinare de sanguine, C.F<sub>2</sub>.; que sanguulentos s. de s., F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>21</sup> innumeros, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>22</sup> crismate, F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>23</sup> flagrabat, C.; flagrabant, F<sub>2</sub>.; fragrabat, F<sub>1</sub>.; and fides, not in MS. of B. <sup>24</sup> dum, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>25</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>26</sup> Et, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>27</sup> quam, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>28</sup> indulgerent, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>29</sup> ceperant, F<sub>2</sub>. <sup>30</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>2</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>31</sup> quod m. l., C.; quos m. l., F<sub>2</sub>.; quid m. lugebam, F<sub>1</sub>.

an qui interfecti, vel quos ceperunt; vel quos grauiter Zabulus illaqueauit, <sup>1</sup> qui <sup>2</sup> perenni pœnæ in gehenna' pariter cum ipso <sup>3</sup> mancipabuntur: quia utique "qui facit peccatum, seruus est <sup>4</sup> peccati<sup>a</sup>," et filius <sup>5</sup> diaboli nuncupatur.

3. <sup>6</sup> Quapropter <sup>7</sup> resciat omnis homo timens Deum, quod <sup>8</sup> a me alieni sunt et a Christo Deo meo, pro Quo <sup>9</sup> legatione fungor, <sup>10</sup> patricidæ, et fratricidæ, lupi rapaces, "deuorantes plebem Domini ut cibum panis<sup>b</sup>," sicut ait: "Iniqui dissipauerunt legem Tuam, Domine c:" <sup>11</sup> quam in supremis temporibus Hiberione optime <sup>12</sup> et benigne plantauerat atque <sup>13</sup> instruxerat. Fauente <sup>14</sup> Deo, "non usurpo <sup>15</sup> aliena<sup>d</sup>:" sed' partem habeo cum his, <sup>16</sup> quos <sup>17</sup> vocauit <sup>18</sup> ac prædestinauit Euangelium prædicare in persecutionibus non paruis usque ad extremum terræ; etsi inuidet inimicus per tyrannidem Corotici, qui Deum non veretur, nec sacerdotes <sup>19</sup> Eius, quos <sup>20</sup> elegit, et indulsit illis <sup>21</sup> summam <sup>22</sup> diuinamque <sup>23</sup> potestatem, "quos ligarent super terram <sup>24</sup> esse ligatos' et in cælis e."

4. Unde ergo quæso <sup>25</sup> plurimum, sancti' et humiles corde, adulari talibus non licet, nec cibum nec potum sumere cum ipsis, nec elemosinas ipsorum <sup>26</sup> debent recipi', donec crudeliter <sup>27</sup> effusis lacrymis pœnitentiam agentes satisfaciant Deo', et liberent seruos Dei et ancillas Christi baptizatas, pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus. "Dona <sup>28</sup> enim iniquorum reprobatur Altissimus<sup>f</sup>," <sup>29</sup> et "qui offert sacrificium ex substantia <sup>30</sup> pauperis, quasi <sup>31</sup> qui victimat filium in conspectu patris<sup>g</sup> g:" "Diuitiæ," <sup>34</sup> inquit, "quas <sup>35</sup> congregauit iniuste, euomentur de ventre eius, <sup>36</sup> angelus mortis trahit illum', ira draconum <sup>37</sup> mulctabitur, interficiet illum <sup>38</sup> lingua colubri'<sup>h</sup>," <sup>39</sup> comedet <sup>40</sup> eum "ignis inextinguibilis'<sup>i</sup>." ideoque, "Væ qui replent se <sup>41</sup> his

<sup>1</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>, and MS. of B. <sup>2'</sup> perhenne pena gehenne, F<sub>3</sub>; perenne pena gehennam, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>3</sup> mancipabunt, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>4</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>5</sup> Zabuli, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>6</sup> Quare propter, C.; propter quam rem, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>7</sup> sciat, C.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>8</sup> om. C. <sup>9</sup> legationem, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>10'</sup> patricida, fraticida, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>11</sup> quoniam, C. <sup>12</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> instructa erat, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>14</sup> Domino, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>15'</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>, and MS. of B. <sup>16</sup> om. F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>17</sup> aduocauit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> Ipsius, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>20</sup> egegit, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>21</sup> summa, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>22</sup> Diuinam, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>23</sup> sublimem, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>24'</sup> l. e., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>25'</sup> primum Dei, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>26'</sup> recipere debere, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27'</sup> p. e. l. satis Deo faciant, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>28</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>29</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>30</sup> pauperum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>31</sup> om. C.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>32</sup> sui, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>33</sup> Diuitias, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>34</sup> inquit, C. <sup>35</sup> congregabit, C.F<sub>3</sub>; and injustus, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>36'</sup> t. i. angelum m., C.F<sub>1</sub>; t. i. angelus m., F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>37</sup> mucrabitur, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>38'</sup> linguam coluris, C.; lingua colubris, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>39</sup> comedit, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>40</sup> autem, add. F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>41</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>a</sup> John viii. 34, 44.<sup>b</sup> Ps. xiv. 4, &c.<sup>c</sup> Ps. cxix. 126.<sup>d</sup> See 2 Cor. x. 14.<sup>e</sup> Matt. xvi. 19, &c.<sup>f</sup> Ecclus. xxxiv. 23.<sup>g</sup> Ecclus. xxxiv. 24.<sup>h</sup> Job xx. 15, 16, Lxx.<sup>i</sup> Matt. iii. 12, &c.

[EPISTOLA S. PATRICII AD COROTICI SUBDITOS.]

<sup>1</sup> quæ non sunt sua <sup>k</sup>.” <sup>2</sup> Et “quid prodest homini <sup>3</sup> si totum mundum lucretur <sup>4</sup> se autem ipsum perdat’ et <sup>5</sup> detrimentum animæ suæ’ patiaturl?” Longum est per singula <sup>6</sup> discurrere vel insinuare per totam legem <sup>7</sup> carptim testimonia de tali cupiditate. Avaritia mortale crimen. “Non concupisces rem proximi tui<sup>m</sup>.—Non occides<sup>n</sup>.—Homicida non potest esse cum Christo<sup>o</sup>: qui <sup>8</sup> enim odit fratrem suum homicida <sup>9</sup> esse adscribitur p.” <sup>10</sup> Et, “Qui non diligit fratrem <sup>11</sup> suum <sup>12</sup> manet in morte’ q.” Quanto magis reus est, qui manus suas <sup>13</sup> coinquinat in sanguine filiorum Dei, quos nuper <sup>14</sup> conquisiuit in ultimis <sup>15</sup> finibus terræ per <sup>16</sup> exhortationem paruitatis nostræ?

5. Numquid sine Deo vel secundum carnem <sup>17</sup> Hiberionem veni? Quis me compulit? Alligatus <sup>18</sup> sum spiritu ut <sup>19</sup> non videam aliquem de cognatione mea. Numquid <sup>20</sup> amo piam misericordiam, quod <sup>21</sup> sic ago erga <sup>22</sup> illam gentem’, <sup>23</sup> quæ me aliquando <sup>24</sup> cepit, et <sup>25</sup> deuastauit seruos et ancillas <sup>26</sup> patris mei? Ingenuus <sup>27</sup> sum secundum carnem, <sup>28</sup> nam Decurione patre nascor: vendidi <sup>29</sup> autem nobilitatem meam (non erubescio <sup>30</sup> neque pœnitet) pro utilitate aliorum: denique <sup>31</sup> sum in Christo <sup>32</sup> traditus genti exteræ ob gloriam ineffabilem perennis vitæ, quæ est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro: et si mei <sup>33</sup> non cognoscunt, “Propheta in patria sua honorem non habet r.” Forte non sumus <sup>34</sup> ex uno patre, neque’ ex uno ouili: <sup>35</sup> sicut ait <sup>36</sup> Dominus: “Qui non est Mecum <sup>37</sup> contra Me est, et qui non congregat Mecum’, spargit s.” Non conuenit <sup>38</sup> si unus destruit, alter ædificat. <sup>39</sup> Num quæro quæ mea sunt?

6. Non mea gratia, sed Deus <sup>40</sup> hanc quidem’ sollicitudinem <sup>41</sup> dedit in corde meo, ut <sup>42</sup> essem de venatoribus siue <sup>43</sup> de <sup>44</sup> piscatoribus, quos olim Deus in nouissimis diebus ante prænuntiauit. Inuidetur

<sup>1</sup> qui, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>2</sup> uel, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>3</sup> ut, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>4</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>5</sup> a. s. d., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>6</sup> discutere, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>7</sup> carpere, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; capere, C. <sup>8</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>9</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>10</sup> Uel, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>11</sup> om. C. <sup>12</sup> in m. manet, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> coinquinauit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>14</sup> adquisiuit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>15</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>16</sup> extationem, C. <sup>17</sup> Hiberione, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>18</sup> om. C.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> om. C. <sup>20</sup> a me, C.F<sub>1</sub>. (an erasure in F<sub>3</sub>). <sup>21</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>, and MS.  
 of B. (an erasure in F<sub>3</sub>, for quod). <sup>22</sup> g. i., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>23</sup> qui, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. (corrected to quæ,  
 F<sub>3</sub>). <sup>24</sup> ceperunt, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>25</sup> deuastauerunt, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>26</sup> domus, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27</sup> fui,  
 C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>28</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; and Decorione, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>29</sup> enim, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>30</sup> neque me,  
 C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>31</sup> seruus, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>32</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>33</sup> me, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>34</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>35</sup> neque unum Deum patrem habemus, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>; n. D. u. p. h., add. F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>36</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>37</sup> om. C. <sup>38</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>, and MS. of B. <sup>39</sup> Non, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>40</sup> q. h.,  
 C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>41</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>42</sup> unus, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>43</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>44</sup> peccatoribus, F<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>k</sup> Habak. ii. 6.<sup>l</sup> Matt. xvi. 26; Mark viii. 16.<sup>m</sup> Exod. xx. 17, &c.<sup>n</sup> Exod. xx. 13, &c.<sup>o</sup> See 1 John iii. 15.<sup>p</sup> 1 John iii. 15.<sup>q</sup> 1 John iii. 14.<sup>r</sup> Luke iv. 24.<sup>s</sup> Matt. xii. 30.

mihi. Quid faciam Domine? Valde despicior. Ecce oues Tuæ circa me laniantur atque deprædantur <sup>1</sup>a supradictis latrunculis, iubente Corotico <sup>2</sup>hoste: mente <sup>3</sup>enim longe est a caritate Dei traditor Christianorum in manus Scottorum atque Pictorum. “Lupi rapaces deglutierunt gregem Domini t,” qui vtique Hiberione cum summa diligentia optime crescebat; et filij Scottorum <sup>4</sup>ac filiæ Regulorum monachi <sup>5</sup>fiebant et virgines Christi <sup>6</sup>quot enumerare nequeo. “<sup>7</sup>Qui propter iniuriam iustorum’ non <sup>8</sup>Te placat Domine’, etiam usque ad inferos non <sup>9</sup>placabit u.”

7. Quis sanctorum non horreat iocundare vel <sup>10</sup>conuiuium facere’ cum talibus? De spolijs defunctorum Christianorum repleuerunt domos suas; de rapinis viuunt, nesciunt <sup>11</sup>misereri. Venenum <sup>12</sup>bibunt, <sup>13</sup>letalem cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos; sicut Eua non intellexit quod <sup>14</sup>utique mortem <sup>15</sup>tradidit viro suo: sic sunt omnes qui male agunt; mortem’ perennem pœnamque <sup>16</sup>perpetuam <sup>17</sup>operantur. Consuetudo Romanorum <sup>18</sup>Gallorumque Christianorum <sup>19</sup>est, mittunt <sup>20</sup>presbiteros sanctos <sup>21</sup>et idoneos ad Francos <sup>22</sup>et exterarum gentes’ cum tot <sup>23</sup>millibus solidorum ad redimendos captiuos <sup>24</sup>baptizatos: tu <sup>25</sup>omnes interficis et vendis illos genti exteræ ignoranti Deum: quasi in lupanar tradis <sup>26</sup>membra Christi; qualem <sup>27</sup>ergo spem habes in Deum?

8. <sup>28</sup>Qui <sup>29</sup>tecum sentit’, aut qui <sup>30</sup>communicat verbis <sup>31</sup>alienis et adulationi’, Deus iudicabit: scriptum est enim: “Non solum facientes mala, sed etiam consentientes damnandi sunt x.” Nescio quid dicam <sup>32</sup>aut quid loquar amplius de defunctis filiorum Dei, quos gladius supra modum <sup>33</sup>tetigit. Scriptum est enim: “<sup>34</sup>Flere cum flentibus y.” Et iterum: “Si dolet unum membrum, <sup>35</sup>condolent omnia membra z.” Quapropter Ecclesia <sup>36</sup>plorat et <sup>37</sup>plangit filios et

<sup>1</sup> et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>2</sup> hostili, F<sub>3</sub>; hostile, C.F<sub>1</sub>. (and no stop). <sup>3</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>4</sup> et, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>5</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>6</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>7</sup> quamobrem iniuria istorum, C.; quamobrem iniuria iustorum, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>8</sup> Tibi placeat, F<sub>3</sub>; Te placeat, C.F<sub>1</sub>; Te placat, MS. of B. <sup>9</sup> placebit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>10</sup> conuiuium frui, C.F<sub>1</sub>; conuiuio frui, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>11</sup> miseri, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. (and no stop); and domus, just before, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>12</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> letale, C.F<sub>1</sub>; and et amicos, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>14</sup> om. C. <sup>15</sup> om. C.F<sub>3</sub>. (by a bomæoteleuton). <sup>16</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; and pœnam, F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>17</sup> operatur, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure). <sup>18</sup> Gallorum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>20</sup> uiros, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>21</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>22</sup> et ceteras gentes, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>23</sup> milia, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>24</sup> baptizat, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>25</sup> totius, C.F<sub>1</sub>; toties, F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>26</sup> membris, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>27</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>28</sup> Uel, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>29</sup> te sentit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>30</sup> te, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>31</sup> adulationis, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>32</sup> uel, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>33</sup> dure, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>34</sup> Flete, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>35</sup> condoleant, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>36</sup> ploret, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>37</sup> planget, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> See Acts xx. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Ecclus. ix. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. i. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Rom. xii. 15.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 26.

[EPISTOLA S. PATRICII AD COROTICI SUBDITOS.]

filias suas, <sup>1</sup> quos adhuc <sup>2</sup> nondum gladius hostilis' interfecit, sed <sup>3</sup> exportati <sup>4</sup> sunt <sup>5</sup> per longa terrarum <sup>6</sup> spatia. <sup>7</sup> Ut peccatum <sup>8</sup> manifestæ grauetur impudentiæ, impudens ibi habitat et' abundat: ibi venundati ingenui homines Christiani in <sup>9</sup> seruitutem redacti sunt, præsertim indignissimorum <sup>10</sup> pessimorumque <sup>11</sup> atque <sup>12</sup> apostatarum Pictorum.

9. Idcirco cum tristitia et mœrore <sup>13</sup> vociferabor: O speciosissimi atque amantissimi fratres et filij, quos in Christo genui <sup>14</sup> nec enumerare <sup>15</sup> queo, quid faciam vobis? Non sum dignus <sup>16</sup> neque hominibus subuenire. "Præualuit iniquitas iniquorum <sup>17</sup> supra nos." <sup>18</sup> Forte non credunt <sup>19</sup> quod unum baptismum <sup>20</sup> percepimus <sup>21</sup> et unum Deum <sup>22</sup> habemus: indignum est illis <sup>23</sup> quod de' Hibernia nati sumus: <sup>24</sup> sic <sup>25</sup> enim <sup>26</sup> aiunt . . . <sup>27</sup> a Idcirco doleo pro vobis, doleo, carissimi mei: sed iterum gaudeo intra meipsum, <sup>28</sup> quia non gratis laboravi <sup>29</sup> et peregrinatio mea in <sup>30</sup> vanum <sup>31</sup> non fuit <sup>b</sup>: et contigit scelus <sup>32</sup> illo in tempore' horrendum <sup>33</sup> et <sup>34</sup> ineffabile. Deo gratias: <sup>35</sup> credentes et' baptizati de <sup>36</sup> seculo recessistis ad paradysum. Cerno: vos migrare cœpistis ubi "nox non erit, neque luctus, neque mors <sup>37</sup> erit amplius c:" sed "exultabitis sicut vituli <sup>38</sup> resoluti, et conculcabit iniquos, et erunt cinis sub pedibus vestris d."

10. Vos ergo regnabitis cum Apostolis et Prophetis atque Martyribus <sup>39</sup> et æterna regna capietis, sicut Ipse testatur <sup>40</sup> iniquiens: "Venient ab Oriente <sup>41</sup> et Occidente et recumbent cum Abraam et Isaac et Iacob in regno cælorum e." "Foris <sup>42</sup> canes et <sup>43</sup> venefici et homicidæ et <sup>44</sup> mendaces et periuri' f:" pars eorum in <sup>45</sup> stagno ignis æterni: non <sup>46</sup> enim in vanum' ait Apostolus: "Ubi iustus vix saluus erit, peccator et impius <sup>47</sup> et transgressor legis ubi se <sup>48</sup> recognoscet?"

<sup>1</sup> quas, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>2</sup> g. n., C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>3</sup> prolongati et, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>4</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>5</sup> in, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>6</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>7</sup> Ubi, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>8</sup> manifesta grauetur impudenter, C.; manifeste g. i., F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>9</sup> seruitute, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>10</sup> pessimorum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>11</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>12</sup> apostatarumque, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>13</sup> uociferabo, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>14</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>15</sup> nequeo, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>16</sup> Deo, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>17</sup> super, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>18</sup> Quasi extranei facti sumus, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>19</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. and MS. of B. <sup>20</sup> percipimus, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>21</sup> uel, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>22</sup> patrem, add. F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>23</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. (Hiberia, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>; Yberia, MS. of B.). <sup>24</sup> sicut, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>25</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>26</sup> ait, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>27</sup> "Nonne unum Deum habetis? Quid dereliquistis unusquisque proximum suum?" add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. (and MS. of B., but with quod for quid). <sup>28</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>29</sup> uel, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>30</sup> uacuum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>31</sup> om. F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>32</sup> tam, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>33</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>34</sup> ineffabilem, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>35</sup> creduli, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>36</sup> celo, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>37</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>38</sup> ex uinculis, add. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>39</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>40</sup> inquit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>41</sup> ab, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>42</sup> canis, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>43</sup> ueneficos, C.F<sub>1</sub>; uenefici, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure); and homicidæ, and par, F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>44</sup> mendacibus periuris, C.F<sub>1</sub>; mendaces periuri, F<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure). <sup>45</sup> stagnum, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>46</sup> immerito, F<sub>3</sub>; merito, C.F<sub>1</sub>. <sup>47</sup> om. C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>. <sup>48</sup> recognoscit, C.F<sub>1</sub>.F<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>a</sup> Malachi ii. 10. <sup>b</sup> See Gal. ii. 2; iv. 11. <sup>c</sup> Rev. xxi. 4; xxii. 5. <sup>d</sup> Malachi iv. 2, 3. <sup>e</sup> Matt. viii. 11. <sup>f</sup> Rev. xxii. 15. <sup>g</sup> 1 Peter iv. 18.



[EPISTOLA S. PATRICII AD COROTICI SUBDITOS.]

<sup>1</sup> Ubi erit' Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis <sup>2</sup> rebellatoribus Christi? Ubi se videbunt, <sup>3</sup> qui mulierculas baptizatas <sup>4</sup> et prædia orphanorum spurcissimis satellitibus suis distribuunt' ob <sup>5</sup> miserum regnum temporale, quod utique in momento <sup>6</sup> transit sicut nubes vel fumus, qui utique vento dispergitur: ita peccatores <sup>7</sup> et fraudulentum a facie Domini peribunt: iusti autem <sup>8</sup> epulabuntur in magna constantia cum Christo, <sup>9</sup> et iudicabunt nationes, et Regibus iniquis dominabuntur in secula seculorum <sup>h</sup>, Amen.

II. Testificor coram Deo et angelis <sup>10</sup> sanctis Suis, <sup>11</sup> quod ita erit sicut <sup>12</sup> intimavit <sup>13</sup> imperitia mea'. Non mea verba <sup>14</sup> sunt ista', sed Dei et Apostolorum atque Prophetarum, <sup>15</sup> qui numquam <sup>16</sup> mentiti sunt, <sup>17</sup> quæ ego in Latinum transtuli'; <sup>18</sup> et "qui <sup>19</sup> crediderint salvi erunt', qui vero non crediderint condemnabuntur i: <sup>20</sup> Deus <sup>21</sup> enim locutus est. Quæso plurimum ut quicumque famulus Dei <sup>22</sup> promptus fuerit, ut sit gerulus litterarum harum, ut <sup>23</sup> nequaquam subtrahantur a nemine, sed magis potius <sup>24</sup> legantur coram cunctis plebibus, et præsentem ipso Corotico. Quod si Deus <sup>25</sup> inspiret illos ut quandoque <sup>26</sup> de eo' resipiscant, ita <sup>27</sup> ut vel sero pœniteant quod tam impie gesserunt. <sup>28</sup> Homicidæ erga fratres Domini fuerunt: <sup>29</sup> sed pœniteant' et liberent captivas baptizatas, <sup>30</sup> quas <sup>31</sup> antea ceperunt; ita ut <sup>32</sup> mereantur Deo vivere, et sani efficiantur hic et in æternum. Pax Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Unde enim, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>2</sup> rebellatores, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>3</sup> quum, F.<sub>3</sub>; quam, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>4</sup> præmia distribuuntur, C.F.<sub>1</sub>; præmia distribuunt, F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>5</sup> miserere, C.; miscere, F.<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>6</sup> transeat, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>7</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>8</sup> epulentur, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>9</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>10</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>11</sup> quo, F.<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>12</sup> intimabit, F.<sub>1</sub>; intimaverunt, F.<sub>3</sub>. (on erasure).    <sup>13</sup> imperitie mee, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>14</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>15</sup> quod ego Latinum exposui, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>16</sup> enim, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>17</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>18</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>19</sup> crediderit, saluus erit, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>20</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>21</sup> ut, add. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>22</sup> nequaquam subtrahatur ammine, F.<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>23</sup> legatur, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>24</sup> inspirat, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>25</sup> Deo, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>26</sup> om. F.<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>27</sup> Homicida, C.F.<sub>1</sub>; and om. fuerunt, F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>28</sup> om. C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.  
(et, also, is erased in F.<sub>3</sub>).    <sup>29</sup> quos, C.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>30</sup> ante, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>31</sup> mererentur, C.F.<sub>1</sub>.F.<sub>3</sub>.  
(corrected in F.<sub>3</sub> into mereantur).

<sup>h</sup> Rev. xxii. 5.<sup>i</sup> Mark xvi. 16.

[S. PATRICII CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

A.D. 440(?) × 493(?) *The Loricæ of S. Patrick<sup>a</sup>.*

## S. PATRICII CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.

I.

Atomriug indíu  
 Niurt trén togairm Trinoit,  
 Cretim Treodataid fóisi[ti]n Oen-  
 datad,  
 In dúlemain dail.

2.

Atomriug indíu  
 Niurt Gene Crist co n-a Bathius,  
 Niurt Crochta co n-a Adnocul,  
 Niurt n-Eseirge co Fresgabail,  
 Niurt Tóniud do Brethemnas  
 Bratha.

3.

Atomriug indiu  
 Niurt Grád Hiruphin,  
 In urlataid Aingel,  
 [Ifrestul nan Archaingel,<sup>b</sup>]  
 Hi frescisin Eseirge ar cenn  
 fochraice,  
 In ernaighthib Huasal Athrach,  
 I tairchetlaib Fátha,  
 Hi praiceptaib Apstal,  
 In hiresaib Fuismedach,  
 In endga nóem Ingen,  
 Hi ngnímaib Fer Fírean.

4.

Atomriug indiu  
 Niurt nime,  
 Soilse gréne,  
 Etrochta snechtai,

I

I bind to myself to-day  
 The strong power of an invoca-  
 tion of the Trinity,  
 The faith of the Trinity in  
 Unity,  
 The Creator of the elements.

2.

I bind to myself to-day  
 The power of the Incarnation of  
 Christ with that of His Baptism,  
 The power of the Crucifixion, with  
 that of His Burial,  
 The power of the Resurrection,  
 with the Ascension,  
 The power of the Coming to the  
 sentence of Judgment.

3.

I bind to myself to-day  
 The power of the love of Seraphim,  
 In the obedience of Angels,  
 [In the service of Archangels,<sup>b</sup>]  
 In the hope of Resurrection unto  
 reward,  
 In the prayers of the noble Fathers<sup>c</sup>,  
 In the predictions of the Prophets,  
 In the preaching of Apostles,  
 In the faith of Confessors,  
 In the purity of holy Virgins,  
 In the acts of Righteous men.

4.

I bind to myself to-day  
 The power of heaven,  
 The light of the Sun,  
 The whiteness of Snow,

[S. PATRICII CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

Ane thened,  
 Déné lóchet,  
 Luathe gáethe,  
 Fudomna mara,  
 Tairisem talmain,  
 Cobsaidecht ailech.

5.

Atomriug indiu  
 Niurt Dé dom luamaracht,  
 Cumachta Dé dom chumgabail,  
 Ciall Dé domm imthús,  
 Rosc Dé dom reimicse,  
 Cluas Dé dom éstecht,  
 Briathar Dé dom eriabrai,

Lám Dé domm imdegail,  
 Intech Dé dom remthechtas,  
 Sciath Dé dom dítin,  
 Sochraite Dé domm anucul,

Ar intledaib demna,  
 Ar aslaighthib dualche,

Ar irnechtaib aicnid,  
 Ar cech nduine mídús thrastard  
 dam,  
 I céin ocus in ocus,  
 I n-uathed ocus hi sochaide.

6.

To cúirius etrum thra na huile  
 nert so,  
 Fri cech nert n-amnas n-  
 étrócar,  
 Fristí dom churp ocus domm  
 anmain,  
 Fri tinchetla saibfáthe,  
 Fri dubrechtu gentliuchta,

The force of Fire,  
 The flashing of Lightning,  
 The velocity of Wind,  
 The depth of the Sea,  
 The stability of the Earth,  
 The hardness of Rocks.

5.

I bind to myself to-day  
 The power of God to guide me,  
 The might of God to uphold me,  
 The wisdom of God to teach me,  
 The eye of God to watch over me,  
 The ear of God to hear me,  
 The word of God to give me  
 speech,

The hand of God to protect me,  
 The way of God to prevent me,  
 The shield of God to shelter me,  
 The host of God to defend me,  
 Against the snares of demons,  
 Against the temptations of  
 vices,

Against the lusts of nature,  
 Against every man who medi-  
 tates injury to me,  
 Whether far or near,  
 With few or with many.

6.

I have set around me all these  
 powers,  
 Against every hostile savage  
 power,  
 Directed against my body and  
 my soul,  
 Against the incantations of  
 false prophets,  
 Against the black laws of  
 heathenism,

[S. PATRICII CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

Fri sáibrechtu heretecda,  
 Fri himcellacht n-idlachta,  
 Fri brichta ban ocus goband  
   ocus druad,  
 Fri cech fiss a ra chuiliu an-  
   man duini.

Against the false laws of heresy,  
 Against the deceits of idolatry,  
 Against the spells of women,  
   and smiths, and druids,  
 Against all knowledge which  
   blinds the soul of man.

7.

Crist domm imdegail indíu  
   Ar neim, ar loscud,  
  
 Ar badud, ar guin,  
  
 Conomthair ilar fochraice.

7.

Christ protect me to-day  
   Against poison, against burn-  
     ing,  
   Against drowning, against  
     wound,  
 That I may receive abundant  
   reward.

8.

Crist lim, Crist rium,  
 Crist im degaid, Crist innium,  
  
 Crist íssum, Crist úasum,  
  
 Crist dessum, Crist tuathum,  
  
 Crist illius,  
 Crist issius,  
 Crist i nerus<sup>e</sup>.

8.

Christ with me, Christ before me,  
 Christ behind me, Christ within  
   me,  
 Christ beneath me, Christ above  
   me,  
 Christ at my right, Christ at my  
   left,  
 Christ in the fort,  
 Christ in the chariot-seat,  
 Christ in the poope<sup>e</sup>.

9.

Crist i cridiu cech duine imm  
   imrorda,  
 Crist i n-gin cech óen rodóm la-  
   brathar,  
 Crist in cech rusc nom dercaedar,  
 Crist in cech cluais rodám cloa-  
   thar.

9.

Christ in the heart of every man  
   who thinks of me,  
 Christ in the mouth of every man  
   who speaks to me,  
 Christ in every eye that sees me,  
 Christ in every ear that hears  
   me.

10.

Atomriug indiu  
 Niurt trén togairm Trinoit,

10.

I bind to myself to-day  
 The strong power of an invoca-  
   tion of the Trinity,

[S. PATRICI CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

Cretim Treodatait fóisitin Oen-  
datad,  
In dulemain [dail].

The faith of the Trinity in  
Unity,  
The Creator of [the elements].

## II.

Domini est salus,  
Domini est salus,  
Christi est salus,  
Salus tua Domine sit semper  
nobiscum.

## II.

Salvation is of the Lord,  
Salvation is of the Lord,  
Salvation is of Christ,  
May thy salvation, O Lord, be  
ever with us.

<sup>a</sup> From *Lib. Hymnorum* (MS. 7th century, acc. to Ussher, Trin. Coll., Dublin), as printed in Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 150, 151, 2nd ed., 1872. The Irish was first published by Dr. Petrie, *Essay on Tara*, pp. 57–67 (*Trans. Royal Irish Soc.*, vol. xviii.). The translation is from Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 426–429).

It was held to be S. Patrick's as early as the 8th century, being referred to as his "Canticum Scotticum" by Tirechanus (*Annot. in V. S. Patric.*, *Bk. of Armagh*, fol. 16 a. a., quoted by Petrie and Todd). In the *Lib. Hymn.* it is prefaced as follows:—

Patraicc do rone inn immun sa. In aim-seir Loegaire MeicNeil do rigned. Fat a denma hautemdia diden co na manchaib ar naimdib in bais ro batar in etarnid ar na cleircheib. Ocus is luirech hirse inso fri him degail cuirp ocus anma ar demnaib ocus duinib ocus dualchib. Cech duine nos geba cech dia co ninnithemleir i n-dia ni thairisfet demna fri a gnais. Bid ditin do ar cech neim ocus format. Bid comna do fri dianbas. Bid lurech dia anmain iar n-a etsecht. Patraicc ro chan so in tan do rata na hetarnaidi ar a chinn o Loegaire, na digsed do silad chreitmec co Temraig; conid annsinn at chessa fiadlucht na n-etarnade comtis aige alta, ocus iarroe i n-a n-diaid i Benen. Ocus *Faeth Fiada* a hainm.

Patrick composed this hymn. In the time of Loegaire son of Nial it was composed. The cause of its composition was to protect himself and his monks against the enemies unto death, who were in ambush against the clergy. And this is a religious armour to protect body and soul against demons and men and vices. Every person who sings it every day with all his attention on God, shall not have demons appearing to his face. It will be a protection to him against every poison and envy. It will be a safeguard to him against sudden death. It will be an armour to his soul after his death. Patrick sang this at the time that the snares were set for him by Loegaire, that he might not come to propagate the faith to Temur; so that it appeared to those who were lying in ambush that they were wild deer, and a fawn after them, that is, Benén [Benignus]. And *Faeth Fiadba* [= The Instruction of the Deer, Petrie, but Stokes renders it Guard's cry] is its name.

The legend referred to is mentioned in *Todd*, p. 424, from the Life of S. Patrick in the Book of Armagh.

<sup>b</sup> Inserted by Mr. Stokes from a second copy of the Hymn in Bodl. Rawl. B. 512.

<sup>c</sup> Patriarchs, Stokes.

<sup>d</sup> *Leg. midúthrastar*, Stokes.

<sup>e</sup> "i.e. Christ when I am in the fort (at

home), Christ when I am in the chariot-seat (travelling by land), Christ in the poop (travelling by water). See Stokes, *Irish Glosses* (580), p. 81." (*Todd, ad loc.*) The passage is translated differently in Dr. Petrie's *Essay*. And Mr. Stokes in his *Goidelica* translates it "Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height."



Before A.D. 448 (?). *Hymn of S. Sechnall (Secundinus) in praise of S. Patrick<sup>a</sup>.*

INCIPIIT YMNUS SANCTI PATRICII, EPISCOPI SCOTORUM.

Audite, omnes amantes <sup>1</sup>Deum, sancta merita  
Uiri in Christo beati Patricii Episcopi:  
Quomodo bonum ob actum <sup>2</sup>simulatur angelis,  
Perfectamque propter uitam aequatur Apostolis.

Beata Christi custodit mandata in omnibus;  
Cuius opera refulgent clara inter homines,  
Sanctumque cuius sequuntur exemplum mirificum;  
Unde et in celis Patrem <sup>3</sup>magnificant Dominum'.

Constans in Dei <sup>4</sup>timore et fide immobilis,  
Super <sup>5</sup>quem edificatur ut <sup>6</sup>Petrus Ecclesia;  
Cuiusque Apostolatum a Deo sortitus est;  
In <sup>7</sup>cuius <sup>8</sup>portae <sup>9</sup>aduersus inferni non preualent.

Dominus illum elegit, ut doceret barbaras  
Nationes; <sup>10</sup>ut <sup>11</sup>piscaret per doctrinae retia;  
<sup>12</sup>Ut de seculo credentes traheret ad gratiam,  
<sup>13</sup>Dominumque sequerentur sedem ad aetheriam.

Electa Christi talenta uendit euangelica,  
Quae <sup>14</sup>Hibernas inter gentes cum <sup>15</sup>usuris exigit;  
<sup>16</sup>Nauigii huius laboris, <sup>17</sup>tum operae, pretium,  
Cum Christo regni celestis <sup>18</sup>possessurus gaudium.

Fidelis Dei minister, insignisque nuntius,  
Apostolicum exemplum formamque <sup>19</sup>praebet bonis;  
Qui tam uerbis quam <sup>20</sup>et factis <sup>21</sup>plebi praedicat <sup>22</sup>Dei,  
Ut quem dictis non conuertit, <sup>23</sup>actu prouocet bono.

<sup>1</sup> Dominum, C.      <sup>2</sup> Similatur, W, M.      <sup>3</sup> Magnificat Deum, C.      See *Matt. V. 16.*  
*Vers. Ital.*      <sup>4</sup> amore, C.      <sup>5</sup> Quae, M.      <sup>6</sup> Petrum, C, M, W.      <sup>7</sup> Quem, C.  
<sup>8</sup> porta, W.      <sup>9</sup> aduersum, M.      <sup>10</sup> et, M.      <sup>11</sup> piscaretur, C.      <sup>12</sup> Et, M.  
<sup>13</sup> Dominum qui, M.      <sup>14</sup> Euernas, B.      <sup>15</sup> usura, W.      <sup>16</sup> Nauigiis, M.      <sup>17</sup> Dominum,  
C (probably mistaking *tum* for *dnm*).      <sup>18</sup> possedit, C.      <sup>19</sup> om. C.      <sup>20</sup> om. W.  
<sup>21</sup> om. C.      <sup>22</sup> Dominum, W.      <sup>23</sup> fructu, M.

[HYMNUS S. SECUNDINI.]

Gloriam habet cum Christo, honorem in seculo;  
 Qui ab <sup>24</sup>omnibus ut Dei ueneratur angelus;  
 Quem Deus misit <sup>25</sup>ut Paulum ad gentes Apostolum,  
 Ut hominibus ducatum praeberet regno Dei.

Humilis Dei ob metum spiritu et corpore,  
 Super quem bonum ob actum <sup>26</sup>requiescit Dominus;  
 Cuiusque <sup>27</sup>iusta in carne Christi portat stigmata;  
 In Cuius sola <sup>28</sup>sustentans gloriatur <sup>29</sup>in cruce.

Impiger credentes pascit dapibus celestibus,  
 Ne qui <sup>30</sup>uidentur cum Christo in uia <sup>31</sup>deficiant;  
 Quibus erogat, <sup>32</sup>ut panes, uerba euangelica;  
<sup>33</sup>In cuius multiplicantur, ut manna, in manibus:

<sup>34</sup>Kastam qui' custodit carnem ob amorem Domini,  
 Quam carnem templum parauit Sanctoque Spiritui;  
 A Quo constanter cum mundis possidetur actibus,  
 Quam <sup>35</sup>ut hostiam placentem uiuam offert Domino:

Lumenque mundi accensum ingens euangelicum,  
 In candelabro leuatum, <sup>36</sup>toti fulgens seculo,  
 Ciuitas regis munita supra montem posita,  
 Copia in qua <sup>37</sup>est multa quam <sup>38</sup>Dominus possidet.

Maximus <sup>39</sup>nanque in regno celorum uocabitur,  
 Qui quod uerbis docet sacris, factis adimplet bonis;  
 Bono <sup>40</sup>precedit exemplo <sup>41</sup>formamque fidelium,  
 Mundoque in corde habet ad <sup>42</sup>Deum fiduciam.

<sup>43</sup>Nomen Domini' audenter <sup>44</sup>annunciat gentibus,  
 Quibus <sup>45</sup>lauacri salutis aeternam dat gratiam;  
 Pro <sup>46</sup>quorum orat <sup>47</sup>delictis ad <sup>48</sup>Deum <sup>49</sup>quotidie;  
 Pro quibus ut Deo dignas <sup>50</sup>immolatque hostias.

Omnem pro Diuina lege mundi spernit gloriam,  
<sup>51</sup>Que cuncta ad <sup>52</sup>cuius mensam estimat <sup>53</sup>ciscilia;  
 Nec ingruenti mouetur mundi huius <sup>54</sup>fulmine,  
 Sed in aduersis laetatur, cum pro Christo patitur.

<sup>24</sup> hominibus, B. <sup>25</sup> om. B. <sup>26</sup> requiescet, B. <sup>27</sup> iuxta, C; sua, W. <sup>28</sup> susten-  
 dans, B; sustentante, C. <sup>29</sup> om. C. <sup>30</sup> *Misprinted* ridetur in W. <sup>31</sup> deficient, W.  
<sup>32</sup> om. C. <sup>33</sup> om. W. <sup>34</sup> Castum qui, B; Castamque, C. <sup>35</sup> et, B, M. <sup>36</sup> toto, M.  
<sup>37</sup> et, C. <sup>38</sup> Deus, W. <sup>39</sup> namque, C, M, W. <sup>40</sup> procedit, C. <sup>41</sup> formaque, C.  
<sup>42</sup> Dominum, C. <sup>43</sup> Nomenque Dei, M. <sup>44</sup> adnuntiat, M. <sup>45</sup> lauacris, M.  
<sup>46</sup> quarum, B, W. <sup>47</sup> dilictis, B. <sup>48</sup> Dominum, C. <sup>49</sup> cotidie, B, M. <sup>50</sup> ymolat-  
 que, B. <sup>51</sup> Qui, M, W. <sup>52</sup> eius, W; Christi, C. <sup>53</sup> quisquillas, C; quisquilla, M, W.  
<sup>54</sup> flumine, W.

[HYMNUS S. SECUNDINI.]

Pastor bonus <sup>55</sup>ac fidelis gregis <sup>56</sup>euangelici;  
 Quem Deus Dei elegit custodire populum,  
 Suamque pascere plebem Diuinis dogmatibus;  
 Pro qua ad Christi exemplum suam <sup>57</sup>tradidit animam.

Quem pro meritis Saluator prouexit pontificem,  
 Ut in celesti moneret clericos <sup>58</sup>militia;  
 Celestem quibus annonam erogat cum uestibus,  
 Quod in Diuinis impletur sacrisque affatibus.

Regis nuntius inuitans credentes ad nuptias;  
 Qui ornatur uestimento <sup>59</sup>nuptiale indutus;  
 Qui celeste <sup>60</sup>aurit uinum in uasis celestibus,  
 Propinansque Dei plebem <sup>61</sup>spirituali poculo'.

Sacrum inuenit thesaurum sacro in uolumine,  
 Saluatorisque in carne <sup>62</sup>Dietatem <sup>63</sup>preuidit;  
 Quem thesaurum emit sanctis perfectisque meritis;  
<sup>64</sup>Israel uocatur <sup>65</sup>huius anima uidens Deum.

Testis Domini fidelis in lege catholica,  
 Cuius uerba sunt Diuinis <sup>66</sup>condita oraculis;  
 Ne humane <sup>67</sup>putrent carnes <sup>68</sup>essaeque a uermibus,  
 Sed <sup>69</sup>celeste <sup>70</sup>salluntur sapore ad uictimam.

Uerus cultor et insignis agri euangelici,  
 Cuius semina uidentur Christi <sup>71</sup>euangelia;  
 Quae <sup>72</sup>Diuino serit ore in aures prudentium,  
<sup>73</sup>Quorumque corda ac mentes Sancto arat Spiritu.

Xps: illum Sibi <sup>74</sup>legit in terris uicarium,  
<sup>75</sup>Qui de gemino <sup>76</sup>captiuos liberat seruitio;  
 Plerosque de seruitute quos redemit hominum,  
 Innumeros de <sup>77</sup>Zabuli <sup>78</sup>obsoluet dominio.

Ymnos cum Apocalipsi Psalmosque cantat Dei,  
 Quosque ad edificandum Dei tractat populum;  
<sup>79</sup>Quam legem in Trinitate sacri credit Nominis,  
<sup>80</sup>Tribusque Personis Unam docetque Substantiam.

<sup>55</sup> et, M.      <sup>56</sup> euangelicae, B.      <sup>57</sup> tradit, M.      <sup>58</sup> *Misprinted* militiae in C.  
<sup>59</sup> nuptiali, B, C, M, W.      <sup>60</sup> haurit, C, M, W.      <sup>61</sup> spiritale poculum, M; spiritali  
 poculo, W.      <sup>62</sup> Pietatem, C; Deitatem, M, W.      <sup>63</sup> peruidet, C; peruidit, M.  
<sup>64</sup> Hiracl, B; Israhel, M.      <sup>65</sup> eius, B.      <sup>66</sup> candida, M.      <sup>67</sup> putant, M.      <sup>68</sup> esaeque,  
 C; escaeque, W; aesque, M.      <sup>69</sup> coelesti, M, W      <sup>70</sup> salientur, C; alleantur, M;  
 sallientur, W.      <sup>71</sup> euangelii, C.      <sup>72</sup> Diuina, B.      <sup>73</sup> Quorum quoque, M.  
<sup>74</sup> elegit, M, W.      <sup>75</sup> Quem, C.      <sup>76</sup> captiuum, C.      <sup>77</sup> Stabuli, W.      <sup>78</sup> obsoluit, B,  
 W; absoluit, C, M.      <sup>79</sup> Quem, C.      <sup>80</sup> Tribuque, B.

Zona Domini precinctus diebus <sup>81</sup>et noctibus,  
 Sine intermissione Deum orat Dominum;  
 Cuius ingentis laboris <sup>82</sup>percepturus <sup>83</sup>premium,  
 Cum Apostolis <sup>84</sup>regnabit <sup>85</sup>sanctus super <sup>86</sup>Israel.

<sup>87</sup>Audite omnes'.

[In memoria eterna erit iustus;  
 Ab auditione mala non timebit<sup>88</sup>.

Patricii laudes semper dicamus,  
 Ut nos cum illo defendat Deus.

Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te pueri,  
 Ueni, sancte Patricii, saluos nos facere<sup>89</sup>.]

<sup>81</sup> ac, B. <sup>82</sup> Praecepturus, W. <sup>83</sup> praemia, C. <sup>84</sup> regnavit, B. <sup>85</sup> sanctis, W.  
<sup>86</sup> Israel, M. <sup>87</sup> Audite et rl., B. <sup>88</sup> Ps. cxi. 7. <sup>89</sup> B. om. the third of these couplets or antiphons, and adds at the beginning of them, *Or. = Oratio, or Oremus.* C. om. the first, and adds a third, viz. "Patricius sanctus Episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus, Ut deleantur protinus peccata que commisimus." M. gives this third (omitting the word *sanctus*), with that in the text which begins *Patricii laudes*, but om. the others. W. om. all.

<sup>a</sup> Printed from the *Lib. Hymn.* at Trin. Coll., Dublin, by Dr. Todd (*Bk. of Hymns of Anc. Ch. of Irel.*, P. I. pp. 11–24): also by Bishop Graves, *Catholic Layman*, vol. ii. no. 23, p. 134, Dublin 1853. The Hymn also occurs in the *Leabhar Breac* (also at Dublin), here designated B; in Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 210), who first printed it, C; in Muratori's *Antiphon. Benchorense (Anecd. Ambros., IV. 127–159)*, M; and in Ware (*App. to Opusc. S. Patric.*, pp. 146–150), W: each of these copies resting upon independent MS. authority. And their various readings are accordingly here given in the notes, from Dr. Todd. Villanueva simply reprinted the Hymn from

Colgan and Ware. It is also in the MS. *Lib. Hymnor.* belonging to the Franciscan monastery at Dublin, lately brought there from Rome; and in the MS. consuetudinary of S. Patrick's, Dublin (14th cent.), now in the Univ. Libr., Cambridge (*Dr. Reeves*). S. Sechnall's death is placed by *Ann. Ult.* at A.D. 448. His Hymn was well known before the 8th century, being mentioned by Tirechanus as the Hymn of S. Patrick (*Bk. of Armagh*, fol. 16, a. a). And it is held to be genuine, and to have been written in S. Patrick's lifetime, by the best Irish antiquarian scholars. See Dr. Todd's copious notes for its history and author.

[The four documents above printed,—viz. S. Patrick's two tracts and Hymn, and S. Sechnall's Hymn,—appear to be the only authentic and contemporary documents of this Period. The tract *De Duodecim Abusionibus Sæculi* (in Ware's *Opusc. Patric.* and in Villanueva's, attributed also to S. Cyprian and to S. Augustine) was current among the Irish as S. Patrick's as early as the beginning of the 8th century (*Cod. Can. Hib.*, lib. xxiv. c. 3). And that *De Tribus Habitaculis* (likewise in Ware and Villanueva, and in the App. to S. Augustine, vol. vi.) was also assigned to S. Patrick, but not by Irish authorities. Internal evidence is conclusive in referring both to a later writer (see Todd's *S. Patrick*, p. 484). For S. Fiacc's Hymn, see below in Appendix C.]

## APPENDIX A.

### CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.

*Canons attributed to a Synod of Bishops, consisting of S. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus*<sup>a</sup>.

INCIPIIT SINODUS EPISCOPORUM, ID EST, PATRICII, AUXILII, ISSERNINI.—Gratias agimus Deo Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. *Presbiteris et diaconibus et omni clero*, PATRICIUS, AUXILIUS, ISSERNINUS, EPISCOPI, salutem.

Satius nobis negligentes præmonere, quam culpæ quæ facta sunt; Solamone dicente, “Melius est arguere [quam] irasci<sup>b</sup>.” Exempla difinitionis nostræ inferius conscripta sunt, et sic inchoant:—

1. Si quis in questionem captivis quæsierit in plebe suo jure sine permissione, meruit excommunicari<sup>c</sup>.

2. Lectores denique cognoscant, unusquisque, ecclesiam in qua psallat.

3. Clericus vagus non sit in plebe.

4. Si quis permissionem acciperit, et collectum sit pretium, non plus exigat quam quod necessitas poscit<sup>d</sup>.

5. Si quid supra manserit, ponat super altare pontificis, ut detur alii indigenti<sup>e</sup>.

6. Quicumque clericus ab hostiario usque ad sacerdotem sine tunica visus fuerit, atque turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem non tegat, et si non more Romano capilli ejus tonsi sint<sup>e</sup>, et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contempnentur, et ab Ecclesia separentur.

7. Quicumque clericus ussus<sup>f</sup>, negligentiae causa, ad collectas mane vel vespere non occurrerit, alienus habeatur, nisi forte jugo servitutis sit detentus.

8. Clericus si pro gentili homine fideiusor fuerit in quacunque quantitate, et si contigerit (quod mirum non est) per astutiam aliquam gentilis ille clerico fallat, rebus suis clericus ille solvat debitum; nam si armis compugnaverit cum illo, merito extra Ecclesiam computetur<sup>g</sup>.

9. Monachus et virgo, unus ab hinc, et alia ab aliunde, in uno hospitio non commaneant, nec in uno curru a villa in villam discurrant, nec adsidue invicem confabulationem exercent. )

10. Si [quis] incœptum boni operis ostenderit in psallendo, et nunc



[CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

intermisit, et comam habeat; ab Ecclesia excludendus, nisi statui priori se restituerit

11. Quicumque clericus ab aliquo excommunicatus fuerit, et alius eum susceperit, ambo coæquali pœnitentia utantur.

12. Quicumque Christianus excommunicatus fuerit, nec ejus elemosina recipiatur<sup>h</sup>.

13. Elemosinam a gentibus offerendam in Ecclesiam recipi non licet<sup>h</sup>.

14. Christianus qui occiderit, aut fornicationem fecerit, aut more gentilium ad aruspiciem juraverit, per singula cremina annum pœnitentiæ agat; impleto, cum testibus veniat, anno pœnitentiæ, et postea resolvetur a sacerdote<sup>i</sup>.

15. Et qui furtum fecerit, demedium pœniteat; viginti diebus cum pane; et, si fieri potest, rapta repræsentet; sic in Ecclesiam renuetur<sup>j</sup>.

16. Christianus qui crediderit esse lamiam in sæculo<sup>k</sup>, quæ interpretatur striga, anathema[ti]zandus, quicumque super animam famam istam imposuerit; nec ante in Ecclesiam recipiendus, quam ut idem creminis, quod fecit, sua iterum voce revocet<sup>l</sup>, et sic pœnitentiam cum omni diligentia agat.

17. Virgo quæ voverit Deo permanet<sup>m</sup> kasta, et postea nubserit carnalem sponsum, excommunis sit, donec convertatur: si conversa fuerit, et dimiserit adulterium<sup>n</sup>, pœnitentiam agat; et postea non in una domo nec in una villa habitent.

18. Si quis excommunis fuerit, nec nocte pascharum in ecclesiam non introeat, donec pœnitentiam recipiet.

19. Mulier Christiana, quæ acciperit virum honestis nuptiis, et postmodum discesserit a primo, et junxerit se adulterio<sup>o</sup>; quæ hæc fecit, excommunis sit.

20. Christianus qui fraudat debitum cujuslibet ritu gentilium, excommunis sit, donec solvat debitum.

21. Christianus cui dereliquerit aliquis, et provocat eum in iudicium<sup>p</sup>, et non in Ecclesiam, ut ibi examinetur causa; qui sic fecerit, alienus sit.

22. Si quis tradiderit filiam suam viro honestis nuptiis, et amaverit alium, et consentit filiæ suæ, et acceperit dotem; ambo ab Ecclesia excludantur.

23. Si quis presbiterorum ecclesiam ædificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat suum pontificem, ut eam consecret; quia sic decet.

24. Si quis advena ingressus fuerit plebem, non ante baptizet<sup>q</sup>, neque offerat, neque consecret, nec ecclesiam ædificet, [do] nec permissionem accipiat ab Episcopo: nam qui a gentibus sperat permissionem, alienus sit<sup>r</sup>.

[CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

25. Si quæ a religiosis hominibus donata fuerint, diebus illis quibus pontifex in singulis habitaverit Ecclesiis, pontificalia dona (sicut mos antiquus) ordinare ad Episcopum pertinebunt, sive ad usum<sup>s</sup> necessarium, sive egentibus distribuendum, prout ipse Episcopus moderabit.

26. Si quis vero clericus contra venerit, et dona invadere fuerit deprehensus, ut turpis lucri cupidus ab Ecclesia sequestretur.

27. Clericus Episcopi in plebe quislibet novus ingressor, baptizare et offerre illum non licet, nec aliquid agere; qui si sic non faciat, excommunis sit.

28. Si quis clericorum excommunis fuerit, solus, non in eadem domo cum fratribus, orationem facit, nec offer[r]e nec consecrare licet, donec se faciat emendatum; qui si sic non fecerit, dupliciter vindicetur<sup>t</sup>.

29. Si quis fratrum accipere gratiam Dei voluerit, non ante baptizetur quam ut XLmum<sup>u</sup> agat.

30. Episcopus quislibet, qui de sua in alteram progreditur parruchiam, nec ordinare præsumat, nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo, qui in suo principatu<sup>v</sup> est; die Dominica offerat tantum susceptione, et obsequi hic contentus sit.

31. Si quis conduxerit e duobus clericis, quos discordare convenit per discordiam aliquam, prolatum uni e duobus hostem ad interficiendum, homicidam congruum est nominari: qui clericus ab omnibus rectis habetur alienus<sup>w</sup>.

32. Si quis clericorum voluerit iuvare captivo, cum suo pretio illi subveniat; nam si per furtum illum inviolaverit, blasphemantur multi clerici per unum latronem; qui sic fecerit, excommunis sit.

33. Clericus qui de Britanis ad nos venit sine epistola, etsi habitet in plebe, non licitum ministrare.

34. Diaconus nobiscum similiter, qui inconsulto suo abbate sine literis in aliam parruchiam absentat<sup>x</sup>, nec cibum ministrare decet; et a suo presbytero, quem contempsit, per poenitentiam vindicetur. Et monachus inconsultu abbate vagulus debet<sup>y</sup> vindicari.

Finiunt Sinodi Distincta<sup>z</sup>. [MS. C.C.C.C. 279 (*olim* O. 20): and in *S.*, I. 52-54; and *W.*, I. 2, 3. Also in *Ware, Opusc. S. Patric.* pp. 42-46.]

<sup>a</sup> Of the canons here printed, under S. Patrick's name, this first series, which occurs as a whole, and is attributed to a single synod, is undoubtedly Irish. How far they are S. Patrick's, see below, in note <sup>z</sup>. The amount of credence due to the heading, which assigns them to Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, is not great (see however below in note <sup>r</sup>): although the omission of the name of Secundinus may be accounted for, by his comparatively early death, which the Ann. Ult.

assign to A.D. 448. There is another (very imperfect) copy of them (15th century) in MS. C.C.C.C. 298, no. 22. The five miscellaneous canons, which are appended to them in Wilkins as S. Patrick's, are all to be found in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, printed below in its place, either briefly or at length; but only two of them, that printed here in Sect. II. no. 1 (at greater length than in the *Cod. Can.*) as the first of S. Patrick's single canons, and one relating to theft, are assigned

## [CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

to S. Patrick in that code. Of the others, one is from Isidore, another from an "Irish Synod," and the remaining one is simply a verse of S. Paul to Timothy. The collection in Ware (also in *Wilkins*, I. 6, 7) is to be found entirely in the code just referred to, and under S. Patrick's name. The Index to that code will guide the reader both to these, and to several others not in Ware. The second series here given, contains certain single canons attributed to S. Patrick, from various sources; omitting however those which will be found in full in the Code, in order to avoid repetition. The remaining or third series given here (and in *Wilkins*), which is printed by Spelman from a MS. given him by Ussher, is certainly not S. Patrick's, but is nevertheless Irish (see below, p. 333, note <sup>a</sup>). Strictly speaking, all these should have been printed with the Code so often referred to; since none of them can well be assigned to an earlier date than the end of the seventh century. But for convenience' sake, those collections which bear S. Patrick's name as a whole, and the single canons so designated, which are not in the *Cod. Can.*, or are only there in part, are placed here after S. Patrick's undoubted writings.

<sup>b</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, LXV. 17.

<sup>c</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLI. 25: adding "abbatis" after "permissione," and reading "redemptionem" for "in questionem."

<sup>d</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLI. 26: adding "pontificis" after "permissionem."

<sup>e</sup> The part of this canon relating to the tonsure is in *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, LI. 7, and is there also attributed to S. Patrick. It clearly cannot be really his.

<sup>f</sup> i. e. jussus.

<sup>g</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXII. 2.

<sup>h</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXIX. 8: reading "clericus" for "Christianus."

<sup>i</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXVII. 10: reading "interrogat" for "juraverit," while *Wilkins* after Spelman reads "meaverit."

<sup>j</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXVIII. 8.

<sup>k</sup> Corrected by Spelman and *Wilkins* into "speculo."

<sup>l</sup> Corrected in the MS. *prima manu* into "revocat."

<sup>m</sup> Corrected by *Wilkins* into "permanere."

<sup>n</sup> Corrected by *Wilkins* into "adulterum."

<sup>o</sup> Corrected by Spelman and *Wilkins* into "adultero."

<sup>p</sup> Miswritten in MS., "imductum."

<sup>q</sup> "baptizat," in MS.

<sup>r</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLII. 4: as from "Synodus Patricii."

<sup>s</sup> i. e. "usum."

<sup>t</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXIX. 9.

<sup>u</sup> "quadragintissimum," Spelman.

<sup>v</sup> "principatum," in MS.

<sup>w</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, X. (a). 1: but with no reference either to S. Patrick or Ireland, and with a different reading.

<sup>x</sup> "adsentiat," in Spelman.

<sup>y</sup> "decet," in Spelman.

<sup>z</sup> The general date of these canons must obviously be placed at a period when there was a settled Church in Ireland, yet while heathenism still ruled in parts of the country; when the Britons and the Irish (cc. 6, 33) had become estranged, *scil.* by the adoption of Roman customs by the latter (north as well as south) while the former retained the Celtic ones, i. e. at least after A.D. 716 but before A.D. 777 or 809 (see in vol. I. p. 204: and, lastly, when the Church had existed long enough in Ireland for a custom to arise and to have become "antiquus" (c. 25). The first years of the eighth century are the earliest possible date that can be assigned to the collection as a whole. It is obviously out of the question to trust seriously to the dates of the Annals (death of Isserninus A.D. 469, of Auxilius A.D. 460, and of Secundinus, who is not mentioned, A.D. 448) compared with the heading of the alleged synod; which, together, point to the date of A.D. 448 x 460. The numbering of the canons is due to Spelman. It is to be added, however, that the short preface together with canons 1, 4, 5, part of 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 24, 28, are quoted as S. Patrick's (24 as from "Synodus Patricii") in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.* of the beginning of the eighth century, printed below in its place; although it is impossible that one at least of them, *sc.* 6 (so far as relates to the Roman tonsure), can be really S. Patrick's.

## II. Single Canons attributed to S. Patrick.

I. PATRICIUS, DE UNITATE ET SUBDITORUM \* \* \* Quis ergo audet scindere unitatem, quam nemo hominum solvere vel reprehendere potest?<sup>a</sup> "Multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum et anima una, et nulla erat separatio in eis, nec quisquam ex bonis suis dicebat esse aliquid, sed erant illis omnia communia: [...] gratia quoque erat magna super illos omnes;

nec vero in eis aliquis indigens; nam quicumque possessores agrorum aut domorum erant, vendentes adferebant pretia illorum et ponebant ante Apostolorum [pedes], et dividebatur unicuique ut opus erat [.....]. Quidam autem vir, nomine Annanias, cum Safirra uxore sua [...]; et adferens partem aliquam ante pedes Apostolorum [...]: dixit autem Petrus illi, Annanias, cur implevit Satanas cor tuum ad mentiendum Spiritui Sancto, ut fraudem faceres de pretio agri? Nonne manens tibi manebat, et venditum in tua potestate erat? Quare posuisti in corde tuo facere hoc malum? Non es hominibus mentitus sed Deo. Audiens autem Annanias hæc verba cecidit et expiravit<sup>b</sup>." [MS. C.C.C.C. 279 (*olim* O. 20), fol. 59–62: and partly in S., I. 54; and W., I. 3, 4.]

<sup>a</sup> These words are cited as from "synodus" (i.e. probably an Irish synod), in *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XX. 9; but without the quo-

tation from the Acts.

<sup>b</sup> Acts iv. 32–35; v. 1–5 (not Vulg.).

2. *Canon of S. Patrick from the Book of Armagh*<sup>a</sup>. [fol. 21 b. b.]

Item quicumque similiter per industriam atque injuriam vel nequitiam malum quodque opus contra familiam seu paruchiam ejus perfecerit, aut prædicta ejus insignia dispexerit, ad libertatem examinis ejusdem Airddmachæ præsulis recte judicantis perveniet caussa totius negotiationis, cæteris aliorum judicibus prætermisissis.

Item quæcumque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judicibus, ad cathedram Archiepiscopi Hibernensium, id est, Patricii, atque hujus antestitis examinationem recte refferenda.

Si vero in illa cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit, caussa prædictæ negotiationis, ad sedem Apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri Apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romæ urbis habentem.

Hii sunt qui de hoc decreverunt, id est, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus. Post vero exitum Patricii sancti alumpni sui valde ejusdem libros conscripserunt.

<sup>a</sup> Printed also in *Appendix CXVII.*, pp. 611, 612, of Mr. O'Curry's *Lectures on Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin, 1861. Part of the passage is in *Ussher, Reliq. of Ancient Irish*, c. VIII., *Opp.* IV. 330, note. And a part of it is also in *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XIX. 5. The date of the canon is obviously

after the primacy of Armagh had been claimed at least, if not established: probably in the 8th century. The MS. of the Book of Armagh is dated by Irish scholars, probably, in A.D. 807 (see *Todd, S. Patrick*, p. 288 n., and Dr. Graves as there quoted).

III. *Canons of a Second Synod attributed to S. Patrick*<sup>a</sup>.I. *De habitatione cum fratribus peccatoribus.*

De eo quod mandastis de habitatione cum fratribus peccatoribus, audite Apostolum dicentem, "Cum hujusmodi ne cibum quidem sumere<sup>1</sup>." Non ejus escas sumas cum eo. Cæterum si bos sis et trituras, hoc est, si doctor es et doces, "non obturatur tibi os<sup>2</sup>," et "dignus es mercede tua<sup>3</sup>," sed "oleum peccatoris non impinguet caput tuum<sup>4</sup>," sed corripe adhuc et argue.

II. *De observationibus*<sup>b</sup> *eorum.*

Contentus tegmento et alimento tuo, cætera dona iniquorum reprob<sup>5</sup>, quia non sumit lucerna nisi quod<sup>c</sup> alitur.

III. *De pœnitentia post ruinas.*

Statuitur, ut abbas videat, cui attribuetur potestas alligandi et solvendi; sed aptior est, juxta Scripturæ exempla, veniam. Si vero cum fletu<sup>d</sup> et lamentatione et lugubri cum veste sub custodia, pœnitentia brevis quam longa, et remissa cum temperamentis<sup>e</sup>.

IV. [*De excommunicato repellendo*<sup>f</sup>.]

Audi Dominum dicentem, "Si tibi non audierit, sit tibi velut gentilis et publicanus<sup>6</sup>." Non maledices, sed repelles excommunicatum a communione, et mensa, et missa, et pace; et si hæreticus est, post unam correptionem devita<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The following (the mention of "D. Rothæus" excepted, which Wilkins has added,—he was titular Bishop of Ossory) is Spelman's account (as quoted in Wilkins) of the source whence the canons here given are derived. "Secundam hanc S. Patricii synodum ex Andegavensi bibliotheca transcriptum D[avid] Rothæo communicavit aliquando Jacobus Sirmundus, quorum ille eam ad reverendissimum patrem D. Jacobum Armachanum Archiepiscopum Primatem Hiberniæ misit, et eandem mihi præsul idem eruditione et pietate spectatissimus 1 Aprilis, 1628. De tempore autem, quo sit habita, neuter meminit, nec e synodo deprehenditur" (*Spelm. Conc.*, I. 59). The canons in the two preceding articles, and those in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.* printed further on, and those in this

(so called) Second Synod, are indisputably Irish; but hardly S. Patrick's. Of this "Second Synod," cc. III., VIII., XIV., XXIII., XXIV., XXV., XXX., occur (as marked in the notes) in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, and are there referred in most cases (not to S. Patrick, but) to a Roman Synod as adopted by an Irish one. And can. XXVII. of the list is directly contrary to S. Patrick's own "Confessio" (above, p. 308, l. 21).

<sup>b</sup> "oblationibus," in Wilkins.

<sup>c</sup> Corrected by Spelman and Wilkins into "quo."

<sup>d</sup> "flem," in MS., corrected by Spelman into "fletu."

<sup>e</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLVI. 8; but with a varied text.

<sup>f</sup> Added by Spelman.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. v. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxv. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 9.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. v. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. cxl. 5. V.

<sup>5</sup> Eccles. xxxiv. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xviii. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Tit. iii. 10.



V. *De suspectis causis.*

Audi Dominum dicentem, "Sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem<sup>1</sup>;" —hoc est, "donec veniat, Qui manifestabit consilia cordium<sup>1</sup>;" —ne iudicium ante diem iudicii facias. Vide Iudam ad mensam Domini, et latronem in paradiso.

VI. *De vindictis Ecclesiæ.*

Audi item Dominum dicentem, "Qui effuderit sanguinem innocentem, sanguis ipsius effundetur<sup>2</sup>;" sed ab eo qui portat gladium; dictator<sup>g</sup> autem vindictæ innocens habetur. De cæteris autem per legem Evangelicam, ab eo loco in quo ait, "Et eum qui aufert aliquid a te, ne repetas<sup>3</sup>;" sed libenter, si ipse quid referat, humiliter recipias.

VII. *De baptismatis incertis.*

Statuunt ne rebaptizati [sint], qui symboli traditione[m] a quocunque acceperunt, quia non inficit semen seminantis iniquitas. Sin vero, non est rebaptizare, sed baptizare. Non abluendos<sup>h</sup> autem lapsos a fide credamus, nisi per impositionem manus accepi[antur<sup>i</sup>].

VIII. *De reis autem abstractis ab Ecclesia.*

Non ad reorum defensionem facta est Ecclesia; sed iudicibus persuadendum est, ut<sup>k</sup> spiritali morte eos occiderent, qui ad sinum matris Ecclesiæ confugiunt<sup>l</sup>.

IX. *De lapsis post gradum.*

Audi canonica instituta. Qui cum gradu cecidit, sine gradu surgat. Contentus nomine tantum, amittat ministerium: nisi qui tantum a conspectu Domini peccans non recessit.

X. *desideratur.*XI. *De separatione sexuum post lapsum.*

Consideret unusquisque in conscientia sua, si amor et desiderium cessavit peccati, quia corpus mortuum non inficit corpus alterius mortui; sin vero, separentur.

<sup>g</sup> "dictatur," in MS., and Spelman.

<sup>h</sup> Corrected by Wilkins into "absolue-dos."

<sup>i</sup> So Wilkins. "Accepi" in Spelman from

the MS.

<sup>k</sup> Corrected by Wilkins into "ne:" wrongly, as appears by the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*

<sup>l</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXVII. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 30; 1 Cor. iv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. ix. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. v. 42.

[CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

XII. *De oblatione pro defunctis.*

Audi Apostolum dicentem, "Est autem peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis<sup>1</sup>." Et Dominus, "Nolite donare sanctum canibus<sup>2</sup>." Qui enim in vita sua non merebitur<sup>m</sup> sacrificium accipere, quomodo post mortem illi poterit adjuvare?

XIII. *De sacrificio.*

In nocte Paschæ, si fas est ferre foras, non foras fertur, sed fidelibus deferatur<sup>n</sup>. Quid aliud significat quod in una domo sumitur agnus, quam [quod o] sub uno fidei culmine creditur et communicatur Christus?

XIV. *De abstinentia votiva vel legali a cibis<sup>p</sup>.*

Statutum, ut [post] Christi adventum sponsi nullas ratas leges inveniatur jejunii. Quid autem inter Novatianum et Christianum interest, nisi quod Novatianus indesinenter, Christianus vero per tempus abstineat; ut locus, et tempus, et persona per omnia observetur<sup>q</sup>.

XV. *De relinquenda vel docenda patria.*

Docenda patria prius, per exemplum Domini; et derelinquenda postea si non proficiat<sup>r</sup>, juxta exemplum Apostoli. Sed qui potest facere<sup>s</sup>, licet periclitatur, ubique doceat, et se ostendat; qui vero non potest, taceat et abscondat. Alius quippe ab Jesu in domum suam mittitur, alius sequi jubetur<sup>3</sup>.

XVI. *De falsis Episcopis.*

Qui non secundum Apostolum electus est ab altero Episcopo, est damnandus; deinde ad reliquam plebem declinandus et degradandus.

XVII. *De præposito monachorum.*

Monachi sunt, qui solitarii sine terrenis opibus habitant sub potestate Episcopi vel abbatis. Non sunt autem monachi, sed vactro-periti<sup>t</sup> (hoc

<sup>m</sup> Corrected by Wilkins into "merebatur."

<sup>n</sup> Altered by Wilkins into "deferatur."

<sup>o</sup> Added by Wilkins.

<sup>p</sup> So Wilkins by conjecture. The MS. in Spelman has, "De abstinenti insoliti lequat a cibis."

<sup>q</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern., XI.* 15.

<sup>r</sup> Altered by Wilkins into "proficiat."

<sup>s</sup> Altered by Wilkins into "proficere."

<sup>t</sup> "Bactro-peratæ," from *βάκτρον* and *πήρα*, is a contemptuous name for "philosophi," applied by S. Jerom (*in Matt.* xix.) to corrupt monks: who, as he proceeds to say, were "contemptores sæculi." For "solliciti," in the text, should probably be read "sæculi." But even so amended, some words seem to have dropped out of the text.

<sup>1</sup> 1 John v. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. vii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Luke viii. 39; Matt. ix. 9; &c.

[CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

est, contemptores solliciti). Ad vitam perfectam in ætate perfecta (hoc est, a viginti annis) debet unusquisque constringi, non adtestando sed voto perficiendo: ut est illud, "Unusquisque sicut proposuit corde suo faciat<sup>1</sup>;" et, "Ut vota mea reddam in conspectu Domini<sup>2</sup>," et reliqua. Quo voto vivitur, situs locorum coartat, si superabundantia in omnibus devitetur in vita; quia in frigore et nuditate, in fame et siti, in vigiliis et jejuniis, vocati sunt.

XVIII. *De tribus seminibus Evangeliorum*<sup>3</sup>.

Centesimum Episcopi et doctores, qui omnibus omnia sunt; sexagesimum clerici, et viduæ, qui continentes sunt; tricesimum laici, qui fideles sunt, qui perfecte Trinitatem credunt. His amplius non est in messe Domini. Monachos vero et virgines cum centesimis jungimus.

XIX. *Qua ætate baptizandi sunt.*

Octavo die chatechumeni sunt; postea, solemnitatibus Domini baptizantur, id est, Pascha, et Pentecoste, et Epiphania.

XX. *De parrociis.*

Cum monachis non est dicendum, quorum malum est inauditum, qui unitatem vero plebis non incongrue suscepimus.

XXI. *De retinendis vel dimittendis monachis.*

Unusquisque fructum suum in Ecclesia, in qua imbutus est, perfruatur; nisi causa majoris profectus ad alterius<sup>u</sup> ferre permissa<sup>x</sup> abbatis cogat. Si vero ex[t]i[t]erit<sup>y</sup> causa utilior, cum benedictione dicatur, "Ecce Agnus Dei<sup>4</sup>;" non quod<sup>z</sup> sua sunt singuli quærentes, sed quæ Iesu Christi<sup>5</sup>: vocationis<sup>a</sup> autem causam non permittunt<sup>b</sup> subditos discurrere.

XXII. *De sumenda Eucharistia post lapsum.*

Post examinationem carceris<sup>c</sup> sumenda est; maxime autem in nocte Paschæ, in qua qui non communicat, fidelis non est. Ideo brevia sunt et stricta apud eos spatia, ne anima fidelis intereat tanto tempore jejuna medicinæ; Domino dicente, "Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, non habebitis vitam in vobis<sup>6</sup>."

<sup>u</sup> So corrected by Wilkins: "adulteris," in Spelman.

<sup>x</sup> Altered by Wilkins into "permissio."

<sup>y</sup> So altered by Wilkins: "exierit," in Spelman.

<sup>z</sup> Corrected by Wilkins into "quæ."

<sup>a</sup> "vacationis" is a needless correction.

<sup>b</sup> Altered by Wilkins into "permittant," For "discurrere," Wilkins has "discutere."

<sup>c</sup> leg. "carnis," Wilkins.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. ix. 7 (not Vulg.).

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xiii. 23; &c.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxv. 18, &c. Vulg. ("in conspectu populi").

<sup>4</sup> John i. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Phil. ii. 21.

<sup>6</sup> John vi. 54.

XXIII. *De juramento.*

“Non jurare omnino<sup>1</sup>.” De hoc consequente<sup>d</sup> lectionis series docet non adjurandam esse creaturam aliam, nisi Creatorem: ut prophetis mos est,—“Vivit Dominus,” et, “Vivit anima mea,” et, “Vivit Dominus Cui assisto hodie<sup>2</sup>.” Finis autem contradictionis est nisi Domino<sup>3</sup>. Omni<sup>e</sup> enim quod amat homo, hoc et juratur<sup>f</sup>.

XXIV. *De contentione duorum absque testibus.*

Statuunt, ut per quatuor sancta evangelia, antequam communicet, testatur, quid probatur; et deinde sub iudice fama relinquatur<sup>g</sup>.

XXV. *De toro fratris defuncti.*

Audi decreta synodi,—“Superstes<sup>h</sup> frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat:”—Domino dicente, “Erunt duo in carne una<sup>4</sup>:” ergo uxor fratris tui soror tua est<sup>i</sup>.

XXVI. *De meretrice conjuge.*

Audi Dominum dicentem,—“Qui adhæret meretrici, unum corpus effici-  
tur<sup>5</sup>.” Item,—“Adultera lapidetur<sup>6</sup>:”—id est, huic vitio moriatur, ut  
desinat crescere quæ non desinit mœchari. Item, si adulterata fuerit mulier,  
nunquid revertitur ad virum suum priorem. Item, “Non licet viro dimit-  
tere uxorem, nisi ob causam fornicationis<sup>7</sup>:”—ac si dicat, ob hanc causam;  
unde, si ducat alteram velut post mortem prioris, non vetant.

XXVII. *De voluntate virginis vel patris in conjugio.*

Quod vult pater, faciat virgo, quia caput mulieris vir. Sed requirenda  
est a patre voluntas virginis, dum “Deus reliquit hominem in manu con-  
siliisui<sup>8</sup>.”

XXVIII. *De primis vel secundis votis.*

Eadem ratione observanda sunt prima vota, et prima conjugia, ut secun-  
dis prima non sint irrita, nisi fuerint adulterata.

<sup>d</sup> *leg. consequentia, and om. series: the words are from S. Jerom.*

<sup>e</sup> *leg. omne.*

<sup>f</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern., XXXIV. 3.*

<sup>g</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern., XV. 14; reading “flamma” for “fama.”*

<sup>h</sup> “super istis,” in Spelman.

<sup>i</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern., XLV. 35.*

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 34.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. xxv. 26; 1 Kings xvii. 1 (not Vulg.); &c. &c.

<sup>3</sup> Hebr. vi. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. ii. 24; Matt. xix. 5; &c.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Levit. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. xix. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Eccclus. xv. 14.

XXIX. *De consanguinitate in conjugio.*

Intelligite quid Lex loquitur, non minus nec plus; quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur, nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse.

XXX. *De vindicandis adsuetis.*

Nunquam vetitum<sup>k</sup>; licet. Verum observandæ sunt leges jubilei, hoc est, quinquaginta anni, ut non adfirmetur<sup>l</sup> incerta vice ratio<sup>m</sup> temporis. Et ideo omnis negotia[tio] subscriptione Romanorum confirmanda est<sup>n</sup>.

XXXI. *De gentilibus qui ante baptismum credunt, quam pœnitentiam habeant.*

Remittuntur quidem omnium peccata in baptismo; sed qui cum fideli conscientia infidelis temporarius<sup>o</sup> vixit, ut fidelis peccator judicandus est.

Finit Patricii Synodus. [*S.*, I. 55-59; *W.*, I. 4-6; *Ware*, pp. 31-39.]

<sup>k</sup> "vetitus," in Spelman.

<sup>l</sup> Altered by Wilkins into "infirmetur."

<sup>m</sup> So Wilkins: "rato," in Spelman.

<sup>n</sup> *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXV. 8.

<sup>o</sup> "infidelem tempor. . .," in Spelman.



## APPENDIX B.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE ANCIENT LAWS OF IRELAND<sup>1</sup>, CALLED SENCUS MOR, RELATING TO THE CHURCH.

#### [1. *Place, Time, and History of the Code.*]

Locc don laidse Teamuir, ocus  
loc do Seanchus hi samrad ocus i  
fogmur, ar a glainni [ocus ar-a-  
haibne] is na haimseraib sin; ocus  
Raith gut aird, in baili adta Lec  
Patraic aniu, i nGлинд na mbodur,  
i fagus do Nith nemundach, a loc

The place of this Poem and the  
place of the Sencus was Teamhair<sup>a</sup>,  
in the summer and in the autumn,  
on account of its cleanness and plea-  
santness during these seasons; and  
Rath-guthaird<sup>b</sup>, where the stone of  
Patrick is at this day in Glenn-na-

<sup>1</sup> The *Sencus Mór* is the code of the old Irish law, derived from Pagan times, but drawn into the form of a code, and modified so as to be in harmony with Christianity and to recognize the Christian Church, under the influence of Christian ecclesiastics. The date at which it was compiled, is affirmed by itself, and by the *IV. Mag.*, to have been that of S. Patrick; who with Benignus and Cairnech makes up the ecclesiastical trio of its nine alleged compilers. Irish scholars like Dr. O'Donovan assert the language of the code itself, apart from the Introduction and the Glosses, to be consistent with such a date. The place also at which it was in part drawn up, viz. Tara, which ceased to be a royal residence A.D. 565, indicates that it was at least commenced before (at latest) that year. On the other hand, the more than questionable Christianity of at least two of the Kings named as among its compilers,—the analogous case of Howel Dda's Laws, where the mere fact of a triple code (besides other difficulties) shews that the literal statement of its origin only approximates to the truth,—the great improbability that the influence and the territorial endowments of the Church could have been so great in Ireland at that early date,—and the general presumptions that lie against the literal truth of a legend of

such a character and period,—incline to the conclusion that the story in the Introduction contains only a nucleus of truth; and that Dr. Todd's is the soberer judgment, who holds it "not impossible that such a work may have been begun in the times of S. Patrick, but that the *Sencus Mór* in its present form cannot be of so remote an age;" although he would date even the later portions (now, however, we suppose, inseparable from the rest) as not later than the 9th or 10th centuries. The 13th century appears to be the earliest date of any existing MS. The Irish, with a translation, of a portion of the code, was published at Dublin, vol. i. in 1865, vol. ii. in 1869, under the authority of a Royal Commission for the purpose, by Dr. W. Neilson Hancock, with the cooperation of Mr. O'Curry and Dr. O'Donovan until their deaths, and then of Professor Thaddeus O'Mahony; under the title of *Ancient Laws of Ireland—SENCUS MÓR*. Vol. I. *Introduction to Sencus Mór, and ATHGABAIL, or Law of Distress, as contained in the Harleian MSS.*; and vol. II, *Law of Listriss completed, Laws of Hostage-Sureties, Fosterage, Saer-Stock Tenure, Daer-Stock Tenure, and of Social Connexions*. Other volumes are to follow. The extracts here given are those portions only which refer to the Church.

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

a ngeimrid ocus a n-errac, ar gaire  
leo a conad ocus a uisce, ocus ar  
tesaidecht i naimsir in geamfuaicta.

Ocus it inunda aimser doib, aim-  
ser Laegaire mic Neil, Rig Eirenn;  
ocus Tetosius rob aird rig in domain  
and in tan sin, ocus deismerecht air-  
side, ut dixit in filed—

“Patraic ro baithuis go li,  
“In aimsir Tethosi,  
“Pritcuis soiscela cen met,  
“Do tuait molfaig mac Miled.”

Ocus persa do Seancus lin per-  
sannu in tSencusa, .i. :—

“Laegairi, Corc, Dairi dur,  
“Patraic, Beneoin, Cairneach coir,  
“Rosa, Dubiac, Fergus co feib,  
“Naei sailgi sin tSencuis moir.”

Persa na laide imorro Dubthac Mac  
ua Lugair, rig filed bfer nErend.

Tucait a denmu in tSencusa; Pa-  
traig do toidect i nErind do silad  
batuis ocus credme do Gaeideluib,  
.i. is in nomad bliadain do flaites  
Tetosi, ocus is in cetramad bliadain  
do flaitius Laegaire mic Neill, Rig  
Erenn.

mbodhur, near Nith nemonnach, was  
the place during the winter and the  
spring, on account of the nearness  
of its fire-wood and its water, and  
on account of its warmth in the time  
of winter's cold.

And they were composed at the  
same time—in the time of Laeghaire,  
son of Niall, King of Erin; and  
Theodosius was monarch of the  
world at that time, and it was in  
commemoration of this the poet  
said :—

“Patrick baptized with glory,  
“In the time of Theodosius,  
“He preached the Gospel without  
failure  
“To the glorious people of Mi-  
lidh's sons.”

And the authors of the Senchus  
were the number of the persons of  
the Senchus—viz.,

“Laeghaire, Corc, Dairi the hardy,  
“Patrick, Benen, Cairnech the just,  
“Rossa, Dubhthach, Ferghus with  
science,  
“These were the nine pillars of  
the Senchus Mor.”

But the author of the Poem was  
Dubhthach Mac ua Lugair, royal  
poet of the men of Erin.

The cause of the Senchus having  
been composed was this:—Patrick  
came to Erin to baptize and to dis-  
seminate religion among the Gaei-  
dhil, i. e., in the ninth year of the  
reign of Theodosius, and in the  
fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire,  
son of Niall, King of Erin.

\* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \*

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

Iarsin mbreith sin tra ro forcongrad o Patraic for feraib Eirenn ar co tistais co haen maigin fri haentaib imac[a]lma do. Iar tiactain imurro doib don dail ro prítcad soscela Crist doib uili; ocus ot cuas dferaiib Eirenn marbad na mbeo ocus beougað na marb, ocus uili comaceta Patraic, iar tiactain do i n-Eirinn; ocus ot condcatar Laegaire cona druidib do sarugað tria firta ocus mirbaile dermara i fiadnaisi fer n-Erend, rosleatsat for, ogreir De ocus Patraic.

Is and asbert Laegaire: "Rictai a les, a firu Eirenn, suidiugað ocus ordugað cach rechta lind [cid cenmota in ni seo"]. "Is ferr a denam," ol Patraicc. Is and sin tarrcomlad cac aes dana la hErind co tarfen cach a ceird fia Patraic, ar belaiib caea flata la hErind.

Is and ro herbad do Dubthaç tasfenad breitemnusa ocus uile fili-decta Eirenn, ocus nach rechta ro falnasat la firu Eirenn, i rect aicnid ocus [a rect faidi] ocus i mbretaib innsi Eirend ocus i filedaib.

Toairngertatur do nicfad berla ban bias, i. recht litre; ar in Spirit naem ro labrastar ocus do aircechain tria ginu na fer fireon cet rabatur i n-innis Eirenn, amail do n-aircechain tria ginu na [prim faidi] ocus na n-uasal aitre, i rect petarlaice; a ro

After this sentence Patrick requested of the men of Erin to come to one place to hold a conference with him. When they came to the conference the Gospel of Christ was preached to them all; and when the men of Erin heard of the killing of the living and the resuscitation of the dead, and all the power of Patrick since his arrival in Erin; and when they saw Laeghaire with his druids overcome by the great signs and miracles wrought in the presence of the men of Erin, they bowed down, in obedience to the will of God and Patrick.

Then Laeghaire said—"It is necessary for you, O men of Erin, that every other law should be settled and arranged by us, as well as this." "It is better to do so," said Patrick. It was then that all the professors of the sciences in Erin were assembled, and each of them exhibited his art before Patrick, in the presence of every chief in Erin.

It was then Dubhthach was ordered to exhibit the judgments and all the poetry of Erin, and every law which prevailed among the men of Erin, through the law of nature, and the law of the seers, and in the judgments of the island of Erin, and in the poets.

They had foretold that the bright word of blessing would come, i. e. the law of the letter; for it was the Holy Spirit that spoke and prophesied through the mouths of the just men who were formerly in the island of Erin, as he had prophesied through

siaċt reċt aicnid mar nad rochat recht litri.

Ina breia fir aicnid tra din ro labairustar in Spirit naem tria ginu breitemon oculus filid fireoin fer n-Ei-renn, o congabad in insi so co creitium anall, dos airfen Dubthaċ uile do Patraic. Ni din nad taudcaid fri breitir nDe i reċt litri oculus nuaidnaise, oculus fri cuibsen a cresion, conairged in ord breitemnaċta la Patraic oculus eclaisi oculus flaite Erenn; doneoch robba dir reċt aicnid [uile] ingi creitium, oculus a coir oculus comuaim n-Eclaisi fri tuait. Conide Senchus mar insen.

Nonbur tra do erglas do orduċad in liubairsi, .i. Patraic, oculus Beneoin, oculus Cairnech, tri Epseuib; Laegaire, oculus Corc, oculus Daire, .i. trí Ríg; Rosa, .i. mac Trícim, oculus Dubiaċ, .i. suí Berla, oculus Fergus, .i. filed.

Nofis, din, ainm in Liubairse ro ordaigset, .i. fis nonbur, oculus ata a desmereċt rinn anuas.

Is i so tra in Cain Patraic, issed nad cumaic naċ breitem daenna do Gaedelaib do taibhuch nach ni fo-geba i Senchus mor.

<sup>a</sup> i. e. Tara.

<sup>b</sup> Near the source of the Ardee (anciently

the mouths of the chief prophets and noble fathers in the patriarchal law; for the law of nature had prevailed where the written law did not reach.

Now the judgments of true nature which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of this island, down to the reception of the faith, were all exhibited by Dubhthach to Patrick. What did not clash with the Word of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of the believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick and by the ecclesiastics and the chieftains of Erin; for the law of nature had been quite right, except the faith, and its obligations and the harmony of the church and the people. And this is the Senchus Mor.

Nine persons were appointed to arrange this book, viz., Patrick, and Benen, and Cairnech, three Bishops; Laeghaire, and Corc, and Daire, three Kings; Rosa, i. e. Mac-Trechim, and Dubhthach, i. e. a doctor of the Bérla *Feini*<sup>d</sup>, and Fergus, i. e. a poet.

Nofis, therefore, is the name of this book which they arranged, i. e. the knowledge of nine persons, and we have the proof of this above.

This is the Cain Patraic, and no human Brehon of the Gaedhil is able to abrogate anything that is found in the Senchus Mor.

[*Introduction, vol. I. pp. 2-19.*]

called the Nith), co. Louth.

<sup>d</sup> Dubhthach's poem above-mentioned, and

## [EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

its history, are given here in the original work. It recited the condemning to death of the murderer of Odhran, S. Patrick's charioteer.

<sup>d</sup> i. e. of the dialect of the Feini, in which these laws were written.

[2. *Dire-fine equal for King and Bishop.*]

Is a Sencas Mar ro airled comdire do Rig ocus Epscop, ocus aige rechta litre, ocus suad filed forcan di cendaib forosna, ocus do briugad direnar cetaib, oca mbi caire ansic co na thochus techta.

In the Senchus was established equal 'dire'-fine for a King, and a Bishop, and the head of the written law, and the chief poet who composes extemporaneously, and for the brewer, who is paid 'dire' for his hundreds, and who has the ever-full caldron and his lawful wealth<sup>a</sup>.

[*Introduction, I. 40.*]

<sup>a</sup> So also in dispensing hospitality, the haunch was reserved for "the King, Bishop, and literary doctor" (*Introd., I. 49*).

[3. *Tithes, First-fruits, Alms, Contracts.*]

Aatat a tri noda icat, dechmada, ocus primiti, ocus almsana, aragairet re cuairt duinebad, traethad cairde la Rig ocus tuaith, aragair tuarathlia cotha.

There are three things which are paid, *viz.*, tithes and first-fruits, and alms, which prevent the period of a plague, and the suspension of amity between a King and the country, and which also prevent the occurrence of a general war.

Astad caich in sochar ocus ina dochur aragair bailiuth in betha.

The binding of all to *their* good and bad contracts prevents the lawlessness of the world.

Acht na cuic curu ata taithmechta la feine, cia ro nasatar : cor moga cen a flaith, cor manaig cen apaid, cor meic beoathar cen athair noca, cor druith no mire, cor mna sech a ceili.

Except the five contracts which are dissolved by the Feini, even though they be perfected : the contract of a labourer without his chief, the contract of a monk without his abbat, the contract of the son of a living father without the father, the contract of a fool or mad woman, the contract of a woman without her man.



[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

Olcena atsúiter cuir bel amail  
adrodad Adum in derbdiubairt: at-  
bath in bith uile ar aen uball.

In like manner are fixed the con-  
tracts by word of mouth, as Adam  
was condemned for his red fraud:  
all the world died for the one apple.

[*Introduction, I. 50-52.*][4. *A stumbling Bishop to be degraded.*]

Atat ceitheora sabaid tuaite noda  
desruithethar i mbecaib: Rig gubre-  
iach, Epscop tuisledach, file diubar-  
tach, aire eisindraic nad oiget a  
mamú. Ni dlegaiter doib dire.

There are four dignitaries<sup>a</sup> of a  
territory who may be degraded: a  
false-judging King, a stumbling Bi-  
shop, a fraudulent poet, an unworthy  
chieftain who does not fulfil his  
duties. 'Dire'-fine is not due to  
these.

[*Introduction, I. 54.*]

<sup>a</sup> See also pp. 56, 57: "Inflicting wounds, or committing acts of treachery, upon bodies or persons, or fratricide, or secret murder, or refusing to entertain a company, or adultery, if it be committed by any one of an ecclesiastical grade, deprives such ecclesiastical orders of full honor-price at once until they pay 'eric'-fine, and do penance; and they all return to their former dignities except the Bishop, who does not return, but becomes a hermit; or, according to others, it is the virgin Bishop only who does not recover his grade or his perfection again; the Bishop of one wife does return, i. e.

when he performs penance within three days." And p. 61: "All men whose office did not compel them to frequent the Church, have a 'cumhal' for frequenting the Church. If a person of the six grades of the Church has done these deeds, he shall move to a higher grade, so as he does penance in proportion to the dignity of the grade, however insignificant the crime. . . . When they [the Brewys] have not increase of property to entitle them to recover their rank, they must do penance at their own Church," &c.

[5. *Value of Bishop's Testimony.*]

Ar forbrise Ri cach a fiadnaise,  
ar is tualaing som forgell for cach  
recht, acht a da comgrad d'inraicaib,  
no sui, no Epscop, no deorad De.

The King excels all in testimony,  
for he can, by his mere word, decide  
against every class of persons ex-  
cept those of the two orders of reli-  
gion or learning who are of equal  
rank with himself, as the doctor, or  
the Bishop, or the pilgrim [exile of  
God].

[*Athgabail, or Law of Distress, I. 78.*]

[6. *Furniture of a Church.*]

Is and ro airled etach fri lith, arm fri nith, ech fri aige, dam fri h-ar, bo fri blícht, mucc co nur, cauru co lí; toichned Ri, biathad airec, esbuid fledi, intreb n-ecalsa, &c.

It is in it (*the rule of one day's stay*) were included *distresses for raiment* for the festival day, weapons for the battle, a horse for the race, an ox for ploughing, a cow for milk, a pig with fatness, a sheep with its fleece; the withholding of his food-tribute from a King, the food-tribute of a chieftain, the deficiency of a feast, the furniture of a church, &c.

[*Law of Distress, I. 122.*]

[7. *Relics—Churchyard.*]

Athgabail dechmaide im crichad selba, im fuigell, im dirind uas cae, im rodarc tunne [im set roderc] im diubu nuire, &c.

Distress of ten days for the partition of lands, for a relic, for the mountain *land* high above all, for things *of value* seen on the sea, for valuable articles, for digging a churchyard, &c.

[*Law of Distress, I. 200-202.*]

[8. *Advice of Church in making Laws.*]

Is cosse conamas athgabail huine, ocus aile, ocus treisi, ocus cuicthe, ocus dechmaide la Feni a comairleib Eclaisi, a nnoisib tuat, a firechtaib filed, a comcetafidib flatha, a comairle breitheman, acht ni ima tormaig cubus ocus aicne a firbrethaib iar cubus.

Hithert<sup>o</sup> have been enumerated the distresses of one day, and of two days, and of three days, and of five days, and of ten days, by the Feini by the advice of the Church, from the customs of the laity, from the true laws of the poets, from the concurrent opinions of the Kings, from the advice of judges, except what conscience and nature added from true judgments according to analogy.

[*Law of Distress, I. 208, 209.*]

[9. *Injuring Utensils of the Altar.*]

(This is included in a list of injuries for which a distress of three days is ordered. The cup and chalice are the utensils specified.)

[*Law of Distress, I. 233-235.*]

[10. *Exemption of Clerks from duty of interfering to prevent violence.*]

Bit sellaig slana and chena, .i. cleirig, oculus mna, oculus mec, oculus aenad meisi gona na anacal na urgair, oculus eccuind oculus escunind.

There are also other lookers-on who are exempt, i.e. clerics, and women, and boys, and people who are not able to wound or protect or forbid, and imbeciles and incapables.

[*Law of Distress, I. 242, 243.*]

[11. *Why distress is fourfold.*]

Oculus ar ind hi it ceteora selba bit for each adgair oculus adgairter: selb fini atardai, oculus selb flata oculus selb Ecalsa, oculus selb maithrai, no selb altrama; ro bi co comraicet huile for oen; rom bi imbet a di, no a tri, no nachae aenar nacha techta.

(Among other reasons) Because there are four who have an interest in every one who sues or is sued: the tribe of the father, the chief, the Church, the tribe of the mother, or the foster-father; it may be that they all may be in one; it may be that they may all be in two, or in three, or one alone may have an interest in him.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Oculus ar ind hi it ceithri rechta ro mesraigset ar breitemnacht: recht naicned, oculus recht fetarlug, [recht faide,] recht nudfiadnaise.

And because there are four laws which are brought to bear upon judicature: the law of nature, the patriarchal law, the prophetic law, the law of the New Testament.

[*Law of Distress, I. 260, 261.*]

[12. *Exemption for those who go to obtain the Communion for a Sick Person.*]

Dlomtar turbuid; a teisið annso: tubað sloig fo mendad; iarmoraçt cruid, no coibdena; no gabala, no

*The occasions* of exemption are here set down; these are they: the attack of a host upon the house;

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

cimidi, no fir muindtire consla i n-ailtri, no coingi comna, no lega do neoch biss fri bas, &c.

pursuit of cattle, or a party; or the seizure of cattle, or a prisoner, or a member of a tribe having gone on a pilgrimage, or to obtain the communion, or a physician for a person on the point of death, &c.

[*Law of Distress, I. 266, 267.*][13. *Delay of Ten Days in distraining Cattle belonging to the Church.*]

Ni gaibier atgabail neime graid flatha no Eculsa conar fastur doib cu dechmuid.

The exempt cattle of the chieftain grade or of the Church shall not be distrained until a delay of ten days has taken place.

[*Law of Distress, II. 48, 49.*][14. *Steward Bailiffs of Kings and Bishops.*]

Acht athuig forrta bitís fri cinta o Riguib.

Except steward-bailiffs which Kings had to be accountable for their liabilities.

[*Gloss.*] .I. acht na haúig ro bítis ac na Riguib da foiritin re ic a cinuid, for a toibged caé in fola cinuid no in fola fiac roddlesta do na Rigaib, .i. maoir no reáuire in R iat síde, uair adetge lais in ugdur, atgabail do gabail do na Riguib ocus do na Hespocuib budém, cid troscud do legdis ima fiachuib cuir ocus cunnurria, ocus im cinta coisi ocus laime. Is amluid ro bidis na Riga ocus na Espuic i nallut, do rer na narsanta, ocus atúig forrta acuá da fine budein, no doer cele ag in Ri, no doer manuá ag in Espuc, ocus cumaá amluid sin do betís na graid seáta, ocus na graid ecalsa uile. Ocus do daer ceilib flata no dia ngelfine an atúig forrta, ocus do doermancuib eaculsa, no dia ngelfine

[*Gloss.*] That is, except the stewards whom Kings used to have to relieve them in paying for their liabilities, and whom all sued for the liabilities of crime or liabilities of contract due from the Kings, i. e. these were the stewards or agents of the King, for the author of *this law* was loath to take distress from the Kings or Bishops themselves, though *the persons suing them* fasted on them for their liabilities of bargain and contract, and their crimes of foot and hand. The Kings and the Bishops in ancient times, according to the ancients, had stewards of their own tribe, or the King had a 'daer'-stock tenant, or the Bishop a 'daer'-stock tenant of ecclesiastical lands, and all the septenary grades and all the eccle-

na hatuig forrta. No bitis ac tobuic doib gaic neic dligdis ocus a gabail aigabala uime, da risdais ales; ocus gaic cin ro acurta ar na Riguib cumad dibsim ro gabta aigabail uime. Da leicdis na Riga troscad ocus da ngabta aigabail do na Rigaib tar fis in atuib forta, is fiac indligid athgabala ann, ocus a da trian don cinn ocus aen trian don athuic forrta; no cumad don athuic forrta no betis in da trian; ocus gaic indligeid aigabala do gentur risin atuc, is fiach indligid athgabala do inn, ocus a da trian aice buden ocus a aen trian don Ri; no dono cumad a breit do aenur a ninbuid is de gabtur in aigabail; ocus in inbuid is don Rig no gebta i cuma fiach indligid aigabala do breit do aenur. Ocus gaic indligeid do dena in tathaic forrta fein um in aigabail is a ic do aenur; ocus da tecmad indligeid aigabala do denum don cinn, cumad e in tatuic forrta no icfud; ocus aitgin in gaic neic racus a lopud, ocus i corpfiaic daigabail in athuib forrta dic on cinn; no cuna ica etir ini na rachuid a lobad di.

siastical grades were similarly *provided*. Their (*the Kings*) steward-bailiffs were of the 'daer'-stock tenants of the chieftain or of the 'Geilfine'-tribe, and their (*the Bishops*) steward-bailiffs were of the 'daer'-stock tenants of ecclesiastical lands or of the 'Geilfine'-tribe with which the *Bishop's* church was connected. They used to levy for them everything that was due to them and take distress for it, if necessary; and for every liability for which the Kings were sued, it was from these that distress was taken. If the Kings had permitted fasting *to be performed* and if distress were taken from the Kings without the knowledge of the steward-bailiff, there is fine of illegal distress imposed for it, of which two thirds are due to the head *Kings*, and one third to the steward-bailiff; or *according to others* the two thirds were due to the steward-bailiff; and for every illegality of distress committed against the steward he shall be paid fine for it (*the illegal distress*), of which he himself shall possess two thirds and the King one third; or else he shall obtain all when it is from him the distress is taken; and when it is taken from the King, he alone shall get the fine for illegal distress. And as regards every illegality which the steward-bailiff shall commit respecting the distress, he alone shall pay for it; and should it happen that the head (*King or Bishop*) committed illegality of distress, the steward-bailiff shall pay for it, and make restitution for



[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

everything that has gone into forfeiture, and the original debts of the steward-bailiff shall be paid by the head; or *according to others* the part of it which has become forfeited shall not be paid for at all<sup>a</sup>.

[*Law of Distress, II. 94, 95.*]

<sup>a</sup> In Irish tenure of land, the chief supplied the stock, the occupier the labour. In Sær-stock tenure, which was the nobler of the two, the occupier gave no security; in Daer-

stock tenure, he did. See Dr. Hancock's *Pref.* to vol. ii. of the *Senchus Mór*, pp. xlvi. sq. 'Geilfine' was a tribe-relationship extending to the fifth degree (*Id. ib.* xli).

[15. *Distraint of Ecclesiastics.*]

[*Gloss.*] Aithgabail aesa ecolsa; troscad ocus apud iaram nad ngeba a paiter naç a credo ocus nad tet do sacarcaic ocus do aubairt. Mad aes graid no aes creidme \* \* im toig a cluicc no im cois a altoire, ocus apud na ro oiffrither fuirri, ocus nad mbentar cloc do trataib. Do airchindchaib ocus aesgraid inso. Ma atloat gaibter a sesci no a mblicta, mana tincatar.

[*Gloss.*] As to the distraint of ecclesiastics: fasting *is to take place* and afterwards notice *is to be given* that they say not their Lord's Prayer nor their Creed, and that they go not to the sacrifice nor to the offering. If they be persons in orders or religious persons, *let a 'gad'-tye be put* upon their bell-houses or at the foot of their altar, and a warning given that there shall be no offering made upon it, and that the bells for the hours shall not be rung. This refers to 'Airchinnechs' and persons in orders. If they abscond let their dry cows or their milch cows be seized, unless they tender justice.

[*Law of Distress, II. 120, 121.*][16. *Distress of an Abbat upon his Tenant or Monk.*]

[*Gloss.*] A cumat apad ar a manaç; ocus athair ara mac; ocus fiir aru felmac.

[*Gloss.*] It is the same with the *distress of* an abbat upon his tenant of ecclesiastical lands [monk]; and of a father upon his son; and of a tutor upon his pupil.

[*Law of Distress, II. 128, 129.*]

[17. *Privileged Residence in which there is a Bishop.*]

[*Gloss.*] Ata dono forus dila cinta di aithgabail, .i. a fuirech i ndail imbi Ri, no Epscop, no sui, no uasal nemid sechip é; a fuirech i faichi cainte, no fir nad fuilngét gruaídi, ar ní daimside dligiuth itir do duine.

[*Gloss.*] There is, however, a residence which washes out the liability of a distress, i. e. to seize in an assembly in which there is a King, or a Bishop, or a professor, or a noble 'nemidh,' whoever he may be; to seize in the green of a satirist, or of a man who does not suffer 'gruaidhi,' for he vouchsafes no right whatever to a person.

[*Law of Distress, II. 128, 129.*]

[18. *Distinctions of Sundays and Festival-days.*]

Mac in uiriuch desa imurro, dath fo léi a eduíg cach lae, .i. foru brut no foru inur, ocus da etuch dathu uime dia domnuíg; ocus itir a lom ocus inua do.

The son of the 'aire-desá' chief wears clothes of a different colour every day, i. e. his cloak or his tunic *is to be of a different colour every day*, and he is to wear clothes of two different colours on Sunday; and he is to have both old clothes and new clothes.

Mac in uiriuch tuis imurro, dath for eduíge uile; ocus da étuc dathu uime cach lae, itir a lom ocus a nua, ocus da educ dathu nuaid uime dia domnuíg. Educ dathu cach lae aice, educ domnuíg ocus etuch sollumuín, áct is ferr cach étuch arailé dib.

The son of the 'aire-tuís'-chief is to have all his clothes coloured; and is to wear clothes of two colours every day, both old and new, and to wear new clothes of two colours every Sunday. He is to have coloured clothes every day—clothes for Sunday and clothes for the festival, but each of them better than the other.

Mac in uiriuch aird imurro, da etuch dáta nua cach lae imeside, ocus da etuch dathu nuaid dia domnuíg ocus i sollumuín, áct is ferr cach etuch arailé.

The son of the 'aire-árd'-chief is to wear new clothes of two colours every day, and new clothes of two colours on Sunday and the festival day, but each of these clothes better than the other.

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

Mac in da airi forgill is tairi sic.

The sons of the two inferior 'aire-forgill'-chiefs, the same as the last mentioned.

Mac na nairiuch forgill is ferr, ocus mac na Rig, etuch dathu nuaid doibside in cach aimsir, aët is fearr araile dib, ocus or ocus airget foruib uile.

The sons of the superior 'aire-forgill'-chiefs, and the sons of the Kings, are to have new coloured clothes at all times, but exceeding each other in quality (*the Sunday clothes better than the week-day clothes, and those for the festival better than those for Sunday, as already specified*), and all embroidered with gold and silver<sup>a</sup>.

[*Law of Fosterage, II. 148, 149.*]

<sup>a</sup> These are part of the duties of a foster-father. The epithets indicate the various grades of chieftainship.

[19. *Dissolution of Contracts.*]

Gach cor dib taithmither uile, is ar ain, no treise, no cethruimte taitmither. Aon fri taitmeç cor na ceile iar fis; ocus treise fri taithmech cor na mac saorlicte iar fis; ocus cuicte fri taithmeç cor na saormanac iar fis. Ma taithmeç imurro a ndiubarta nama, is inand ocus in re fri taithmenn in cenn a ndiubarta fadein, .i. co ceithre uaire fichet, ocus co dechmaid.

As to every contract of all these which is dissolved, it is in one day, or three days, or four days they are dissolved. One day for dissolving the contracts of the tenants after knowledge of them; and three days for dissolving the contracts of the emancipated sons after knowledge of them; and five days for dissolving the contracts of the 'saer'-stock tenants of ecclesiastical lands after knowledge of them. If their dishonest contracts only are dissolved, the time is the same as that in which the chief dissolves their own dishonest contracts, i. e. in twenty-four hours, and in ten days.

[*Law of Saer-Stock Tenure, II. 218, 219.*]

[20. *Social connexion between the Church and its Tenants of Ecclesiastical Lands.*]

[*Gloss.*] .i. is i lanamnacht uil itir in Eclais ocus a manchu, praipect

[*Gloss.*] The social connexion which subsists between the Church<sup>a</sup>

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

ocus oiffrenn, ocus imaind anma on Eclais da manchaib, ocus airitiu caċ meic do forċetal, ocus caċ manaig do coir aithrige; dechmada ocus primiti ocus almsaċna uaithaibsiu disċ, ocus lan log enaċ in nertslainti, ocus trian log enaċ fri bas; ocus breitheamnus, ocus imdenam, ocus fiadnaise don Eclais for a manċaib, itir saermanach ocus daermanaċ, ocus for caċ tuata uile cid saermanach he, muna raib Eclais aile, [Eclais is comuasal resi], aca testugud.

and its tenants of ecclesiastical lands is, preaching<sup>b</sup> and offering,—and requiem for souls is due from the Church to its tenants of ecclesiastical lands, and the receiving of every son for instruction, and of every *such* tenant to right repentance; tithes, and first fruits, and alms, are due of them to her, and full honor-price when they are in strong health, and one-third honor-price at the time of death<sup>c</sup>; and the Church has *the power of pronouncing* judgment, and proof, and witness, upon its tenants of ecclesiastical lands, both 'saer'-stock tenants and 'daer'-stock tenants, and upon every other layman, even though he be a 'saer'-stock tenant of ecclesiastical lands, unless there is another Church of equal dignity claiming him.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 344-347.*]

<sup>a</sup> The Church, ('eclais'), i. e. 'ecan clas,' the assembly of wisdom; or 'eclas,' i. e. 'iclas,' because the Church supplies every one with what he requires; or 'eclas,' i. e. 'uag clas,' pure assembly, the Church is an assembly which is purer than all others; or eclas, i. e. 'ecen leas,' by which one's welfare is effected, when he is in difficulty; or 'eclas,' from the Greek *ecclesia iusti populati*, i. e. the assembly of the just. 'With her tenants of ecclesiastical lands'

('manchu'), i. e. with the people who give it (*the Church*) valuable ('somainacha') goods ('maine'), after a proper way, ('cae'), or manner. (*Law of Soc. Con., II. 345.*)

<sup>b</sup> Another MS. adds, "Baptism and communion, and requiem of souls."

<sup>c</sup> The same MS. adds, "And every first calf, and every first lamb, and every first-born of children, and every tenth child from that out."

[21. *Restitution for Illegal Taking of Church Property.*]

Asrenar aithguin cach dichmairc cairichther co troscad, acht in Eclais.

Restitution is paid for every illegal taking with which they are charged by fasting, except *when* the Church is concerned.

[*Gloss.*] Co troscad, .i. co na dern-tar troscad ime ac iarraid a aithgena iar na gabail; is ann ata aithgin do tuata ann muna troiscet. Acht in

[*Gloss.*] Fasting<sup>a</sup>, i. e. when fasting is not performed in seeking its restitution after it has been taken; restitution is *not* paid to a layman unless

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

Eclais, .i. aċt mainib o eclaisdacda berair he, is ann ata aithgin and ria troscad, uair isse cuit in in aċtnaigie a bail ata aithgin laċta no gnimraid don tuait ann, biaid a diablad do Ecluis. Aithgin olcena, .i. aithgin uile ċena in cach ni berair o neoch cen athcomarc is in nerrach co na torrachtain ina uide icce coir, .i. cenmota Eclais.

the fasting is performed. Except *when* the Church *is concerned*, i. e. unless it (*the property*) has been taken from an ecclesiastic: if it has, there shall be restitution before fasting, for the force of the "except" is *that* where there is restitution of milk or work to a layman, there shall be double *restitution* to the Church. Restitution *is also paid*, i. e. restitution *is* likewise *paid* for everything which is taken away from one without asking permission, i. e. for the forced relief or loan which is to be forthcoming in its proper time of payment, i. e. except *when* the Church *is concerned*.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 352, 353.*]

<sup>a</sup> For the custom of fasting in connexion with distraint, see Dr. Hancock's *Pref.* to *Senchus Mor*, vol. i. pp. xlviii. sq.

[22. *Duty of the Church on account of Land, &c.*]

[*Gloss.*] Rath tarairrdig tabuirt in cele don ni teit a nairim caċ forcruid nairbid. Tabuirt na Ecluisi, biathad in aen cineda gin fine, gin tir, gin inilled, ocus cach mic ocus gach manuig. Ocus tabuirt manuig, .i. .x. 7rl.

[*Gloss.*] The excessive return for the stock is the implied duty of the tenant out of that which goes to the account of each excess of measure. The implied duty of the Church is the feeding of the last survivor without a tribe, without land, without cattle, and of every son *left destitute*, and of every tenant of ecclesiastical lands. And the implied duty of a tenant of ecclesiastical lands, i. e. the tenth, &c.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 354, 355.*][23. *Restitution of Eric-fine and of Penance.*]

Aithgin neirci ocus aithgin peine do Eclais ria troscud; aithgin ocus dire ocus enecclann iar troscad, ocus

Restitution of 'eric'-fine and restitution of penance *are to be paid* to the Church before fasting; restitu-



[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

a log do pennait in dichmairc in sein. Aithgin do caé cena ina dichmairc ria troscud; aithgin imorruocus direocus eneclann in taide,ocus in elguin ria troscud, issed dno in dichmairc iar troscad. Cia troiscther imorru imon taideocus imin elguin, ni icíar diablad do neoch ro raidsem, co ro cinne breithium. Issed a trocar; a etrocar imorru diablad neich dlegar ria troscad do ic iar troscad i taideocus i nelgum. Ise fein atai im in dichmairc, naé aili imorru innis in taide.

tion, and 'dire'-fine, and honor-price after fasting, and the amount for the illegal taking are paid in penance. Restitution *is due* to every one in general for illegal seizure before fasting; but restitution, and 'dire'-fine, and honor-price *are due* for theft, and for illegal seizure before fasting, and these *penalties* are for illegal taking after fasting. But even though fasting be performed in cases of theft and forcible seizure, double shall not be paid for anything we have mentioned, until the Brehon decides it. That is the leniency of the case; but the severity is that the double of the thing due before fasting is to be paid after fasting for theft and forcible seizure. He (*the plaintiff*) himself is *the witness* of the illegal taking, but another person tells of the theft.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 354-357.*][24. *Contracts for the Gathering for the Festivals.*]

Ni bi cor cor nechtar da lina sech araile, inge curu lesaigter a cumtus; iteside inso comul comuir fri coibne techta in tan nad bi occaib fadesin comobair trebta do luad; fochraic tire; tinol cua; comull sollaman.

The contract made by either party is not a *lawful* contract without *the consent* of the other, except in case of contracts tending equally to the welfare of both; such as the alliance of co-tillage with a lawful tribe when they (*the couple*) have not the means themselves of doing the work of ploughing; the taking of land; the collecting of food; the gathering for the festivals<sup>a</sup>.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 356-359.*]

<sup>a</sup> Gathering for the festivals, i. e. gathering of food for consumption at the festivals, i. e. at Easter and Christmas. (*Law of Soc. Con., II., pp. 358, 359.*)



## APPENDIX C.

### HYMN OF S. FIACC<sup>a</sup>.

1. Genair Patraicc innemthur, ised atfet hiscelaib :  
Maccan sembliadan deac intan dobreth fodéraib.
3. Succat aainm itubrad ; cedaathair bafissi ;  
Macc Alpuirn, maic Otide, hoa deochain Odissi.
5. Báí se bliadna ifoguam, maisse dóine nistoimled,  
batarile cothraige cethartrebe diafognad.
7. Asbert Uictor frigniad mil contessed fortonna :  
forruib achois forsindleice marait aes nibronna.
9. Dofaid tarelpa, huile de mair baamru retha,  
conidfarggaib lagerman andes indeisciurt letha.
11. Ininnsib mara torrian ainis, innib adrími ;  
legais canoin lagerman, ised adfiadat líni.
13. Dochum nerenn dodfetis aingil de hifithisi :  
menicc atchithi hifisib dosnicfed arithisi.
15. Robochobair donderinn tichtu Patraicc, forochlad :  
roclos cian son agarma macraide caille fochlad.
17. Gadatar cotíssad innoeb aranimthised lethu,  
aratintarrad ochlóen tuatha herenn dobethu.
19. Tuatha herenn tairchantais dosnicfed sithlaith nua,  
meraid code aiartaige bedfás tír temrach tua.
21. Adruid friloegaire tichtu Phatraicc nicheilltis ;  
rofírad ind[f]átsine innaflatha asbeirtis.
23. Baleir Patraicc combeba ; basab indarba clóene :  
ised tuargaib aeua suas de sechtreba dóine.
25. Ymmuin ocus abcolips, natricoicat noscanad ;  
pridchad baitsed arniged demolad dé nianad.

## HYMN OF S. FIACC.

1. Patrick was born in Nemthur ; it is this that has been declared in histories :  
a child of sixteen years, when he was brought under tears.
3. Succat his name it was said ; who was his father is to be known :  
son of Calpurn, son of Potitus, grandson of deacon Odisse.
5. He was six years in slavery ; men's food he ate it not :  
many were they—four tribes, whom Cothraige<sup>b</sup> served.
7. Victor<sup>c</sup> said to Mil's<sup>d</sup> slave that he should go over the waves :  
he pressed his foot on the stone : its trace abides : it wears not away.
9. He went across all the Alps—Great God ! it was a marvel of a journey !  
until he staid with German in the south, in the south part of Latium.
11. In the isles of the Tyrrhene sea he remained, therein he meditated :  
he read the canon with German : it is this that writings declare.
13. To Ireland God's angels were bringing him in his course :  
often was it seen in visions that he would come thither again.
15. It was a help to Ireland the coming of Patrick, who was called :  
afar was heard the sound of the cry of the children of the wood of Fochled<sup>e</sup>.
17. They prayed that the saint would come, that he would journey with them,  
that he would turn the peoples of Ireland from Evil to Life.
19. The peoples of Ireland were prophesying that a new Prince of Peace  
would come to them,  
That his successors would abide to the day of Doom, that Tara's land  
would be waste and silent.
21. His druids concealed not from Loegaire Patrick's coming ;  
The prophecy of the Prince whereof they spake, was verified.
23. Pious was Patrick till he died ; he was a strong expeller of evil.  
it is this that raised his goodness upwards . . . (?) beyond men's tribes.
25. Hymns and Apocalypse, the three fifties, he used to sing them ;  
he preached, baptized, prayed, from God's praise rested not.

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

27. Nicongebed uacht sini dofeiss aidche hilinnib :  
fornim consena aríge ; pridchaiss fride indinnib.
29. Islán, tuaith benna bairche, nisgaibed tart nalia :  
canaid cétsalm cechnaidchi ; doríge aingel fogniad.
  
31. Foid forleice luim iarum, ocuscuilche fíuch imbi ;  
bacoirthe afrithadart ; nileicc achorp hitimmi.
33. Pridchad soscéla docách ; dogníth mórferta illethu :  
íccaid luscu latruscu, mairb dosfiuscad dobethu.
  
35. Patraic pridchais doscotaib ; rochéis mór seth illethu,  
immi contíssat dobrath incach dosfuc dobethu.
  
37. Meicc Emir, meicc Erimon, lotar huili lacisal :  
fosrolaic intarmchosal isinmorchute nísle.
39. Condathanic intapstal ; dofaith gith gáithe déne :  
pridchais trifichte bliadan croich Crist dothuataib Fene.
41. Fortuaith Herenn bai temel ; tuatha adortaís síde<sup>f</sup> ;  
nicreitset infíreacht innatrínóite fire.
43. In Ard-macha fil ríge ; iscian doreracht Emain :  
iscell mór Dún Lethglasse ; nimdil ceddithrub Temair.
  
45. Patraicc diambai illobra adcobra dul do Máchi :  
doluid aingel arachenn forset immedon láthi.
47. Dofaith fades couictor ; bahe aridralastar :  
lassais inmuine imbai asinten adgladastar.
49. Asbert, “Orddan doMachi : doCrist atlaigthe buide :  
dochumnime mosrega : roratha duit dugude.
51. Ymmon dorroega itbiu, bidlúrech díten docách :  
immut illaithiu inmessa regat fir Herenn dobrath.”
  
53. Anais Tassach<sup>i</sup> diaés intan dobert comman dó :  
asbert, monicfed Patraicc briathar Tassaig nirbugo.
55. Samaiges crich friaidchi arnacaite les occai :  
cocenn bliadne bai soillse, bahé sithlaithe fotai.
57. Incath fechta imBethron frituaith Cannan lamac Nuin,  
assoith ingrian frigabon, issed adfeit littri dúinn.
  
59. Huair assoith laHésu ingrian fribás innacleón,  
ciasuthrebrech bahuisse soillsi friéitsecht nanóeb.



[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

27. The cold of the weather kept him not from spending night in linns :  
in heaven he won his kingdom ; he preached by day on hills.
29. In Slan<sup>f</sup> in the territory of Benn-Boirche neither thirst nor hunger  
possessed him :  
he sang a hundred Psalms every night : he served the angels' King.
31. He slept on a bare stone then ; and a wet robe around him :  
a pillar-stone was his pillow ; he left not his body in warmth.
33. He preached the Gospel to every one ; he wrought great marvels  
widely :  
he healed the halt with the lepers, the dead he raised them to life.
35. Patrick preached to the Scots ; he suffered great pain widely,  
that around him might come to Judgment every one whom he brought  
to Life.
37. Emer's sons, Eremon's sons, all went to Hell :  
the transgression cast (?) them into the great low pit.
39. Until the Apostle came to them : he went the wending of a swift wind :  
he preached for three score years Christ's cross to the pagans of the Féni.
41. On Ireland's people was darkness : the peoples adored earthly gods<sup>g</sup> ;  
they believed not the true Godhead of the true Trinity.
43. In Armagh is a Kingdom ; it is long since Emain passed away :  
Dun Lethglasle is a great Church ; not pleasant to me though Tara be  
desert.
45. Patrick, when he was in sickness, desired to go to Armagh :  
an angel went to meet him on the road in the middle of the day.
47. He went south to Victor ; he it was that met him :  
the bush wherein he (Victor) was flamed ; from the fire he exclaimed.
49. He said, " Primacy at Armagh ; to Christ offer thanks :  
to heaven thou wilt soon come : thy prayers have been granted to thee.
51. The Hymn thou chocest in thy life, shall be a corslet of protection to  
every one<sup>h</sup> :  
around thee on the day of Doom the men of Ireland will come for  
Judgment."
53. Tassach<sup>i</sup> remained after him when he had given the communion to him :  
he said, that Patrick would soon come ; Tassach's word was not false.
55. He put an end to night, for light was not consumed with him :  
to a year's end was radiance, this was a long peace-day.
57. At the battle fought on Bethron against Canaan's people by the son  
of Nun,  
the sun rested at Gibeon, that is what histories tell us.
59. Since the sun rested with Joshua at the death of the wicked,  
though it was fitting, meeter were radiance at the death of the saints :

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

61. Clerich Herenn dollotar dairi Patraicc ascechsét :  
son incetail fösrolaich contuil cach úadib forsét.
63. Anim Patraic friachorp, isiarsethaib roscarad,  
Aingil Dé ícétaidchi aridfetis cenamad.
65. Intan conhualai Patraic, adella in Patraic naile ;  
ismalle connubcabsat dochum nísu Meicc Maire.
67. Patraic cen airde núabar bamór domaith romenair,  
beith ingéillius Meicc Maire ; basén gaire ingenair.

Genaír Patraicc.

\* This hymn was composed after the date when Tara ceased to be a royal residence, and therefore not earlier than the latter part of the 6th century. Consequently it was not the composition of Fiacc of Sletty, as it is affirmed to be in the Preface to it in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*. It was also, obviously, written in the interest of the Armagh claim to primacy. It is given here as the earliest do-

cument relating to S. Patrick's life, besides his own Confession and Letter. These last-named documents negative in effect both the alleged regular training of S. Patrick under S. Germanus, and his mission by the Pope. The Fiacc Hymn was written after the former legend had come into existence, but before anything had been heard of the latter. It is printed here from Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 126-

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

61. Ireland's clerics went to watch Patrick from every road :  
the sound of the chant covered them, so that each of them slept on the  
road.
63. Patrick's soul from his body, it is after pains it was separated,  
God's angels on the first night were singing it without ceasing.
65. When Patrick went, he visited the other Patrick ;  
it is together they ascended to Jesus, Mary's Son.
67. Patrick without loftiness or arrogance, it was much of good he thought.  
He was in the friendship of Mary's Son : happy was the fate to which  
he was born.

[Patrick was born.]

312, 2nd edit., and with his translation. Colgan first printed it, and from him O'Conor. And it is also in Part II. of Dr. Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 287-289. The original is in the MS. *Lib. Hymn.* at Dublin.

<sup>b</sup> A name for Patrick, = Cothírthiacus, in Book of Armagh (Stokes).

<sup>c</sup> The name given to the angel "Scotticæ Gentis" (Stokes).

<sup>d</sup> = Milchun, Patrick's master.

<sup>e</sup> See above, p. 303, note P.

<sup>f</sup> The river Slany near Saul, co. Down.

<sup>g</sup> side = deos terrenos (Stokes).

<sup>h</sup> St. Sechnall's Hymn, acc. to Stokes. But the allusion rather seems to be to S. Patrick's own *Lorica*.

<sup>i</sup> Bishop of Ráith cholptha, now Raholp, near Down (Stokes).















